Religion

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

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November 11, 1963

The Rt. Rev. Randolph R. Claiborne, Jr.
2744 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Bishop Claiborne:

It would appear that the position you held when we talked at your office on October 24th stands as I have not heard anything to the contrary regarding the possibility of my being licensed under Canon 45, Section 6, to supply and assist in this diocese. Your decision at the time that I could not be licensed certainly seemed final but I had hoped that you might have reconsidered. I am writing now, then, at some length to review what has transpired in this whole Lovett matter as far as our relationship goes, with copies to various ones in the Church so that our position will be better known. I shall faithfully convey to any recipients of this letter any comments you may wish sent to them. By the same token we would appreciate it if the decision not allowing our viewpoint in the Lovett matter to be reported in the diocesan publication, or even as a paid advertisement, would be reversed.

I. The License Matter.

1. The President of the Standing Committee, the Rev. Stuart Matthews, advised me in correspondence dated July 19, 1963, that he felt I had"abused the hospitality of the Diocese" because of my alleged failure to cooperate with diocesan officials, and he said that he would "at the next meeting of the Standing Committee...recommend that the Bishop be advised to procede with such revocation" of my license as had apparently been previously considered.

2. I was not advised when the Standing Committee would next meet nor invited to present my understanding of what had transpired, but upon learning that it would convene on July 23rd I requested permission to appear at that time. On that day I did appear to read my letter of reply to Mr. Matthews in the presence of the Standing Committee and the Bishop. In this letter I noted that I had supplied or assisted in almost twenty different congregations of the diocese, and at no time had dealt with controversial matters unless asked to do so. I make no defense of this approach to the ministry of the Church but mention it only to point out that you have no grounds for concern as to how I exercised my ministry under license from you as far as unduely disturbing the congregations I visited. I went on to say that I could not "...agree to any terms affecting my responsibilities with the Episcopal Society as a basis for the continuation of my license without consultation with the Board of Directors of the Society." I expressed the hope that other terms for my being licensed might be acceptable and indicated that I would like to continue to be available to assist and supply within the diocese. It should be noted, contrary to some reports, that I read my letter quietly and remained afterwards for any questions and discussion which you and the Standing Committee might have wanted. There were a few questions as to what I had meant by certain points in my letter, but no interest was expressed in reviewing the entire Lovett situation which I also had suggested in my letter might be helpful. I left the meeting in hopes that some other basis for my license might be agreed upon. Neither subsequently or since have I received any reply from Mr. Matthews or the Committee itself.

3. Because I had been previously scheduled to have services at a local parish on the following Sunday, I wrote you on July 29th asking if any other terms for my license than Mr. Matthews had offered were possible, indicating that, if not, you might want to obtain someone in my place for the parish that Sunday. You did not reply to that letter but did, in fact, send other clergy to the parish.

4. On September 26th I wrote you again with regard to the possibility of my beinglicensed and also enclosed a copy of the minutes of the meeting of our Executive Committee which met for three days in Atlanta, September 15-17, to review the entire Lovett story. You will recall that these minutes contained the message we sent to you via Bishop Sterling of our Executive Committee in lieu of your attending our sessions to which we had invited you. In that message our Executive Committee both commended and supported you for what you had, by that time, done with regard to seeking the desegregation of Lovett. The Committee also said: "In the instance of Lovett School, the efforts of the Executive Director and the President (of ESCRU) have been with the full knowledge and approval of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors." Furthermore, the Executive Committee sought to clarify our relationship to official channels of the Church when it said: "We seek to work through official channels when they are effective, but reserve the right to choose other avenues when the situation demands it." According to Bishop Sterling you seemed pleased that we had taken the general perspective set forth in this message to you, which incidentally I fully supported notwithstanding your reference elsewhere to the possibility that our Executive Committee and I had disagreed on what was needed. Subsequently I have learned that you have read the first portion of our message to others, wherein we commended you, without going on to the parts where our official governing group expressed aupport for the actions of our President and myself. (And in our conference on October 24th you used the message in this manner, expressing the thought that the committee and I were in disagreement because it had commended you while I had elsewhere expressed some doubts as to certain other of your actions.)It might also be noted here that at the spring clergy conference this year you read a portion of a letter from our President which ~~xxxxx~~ expressed our desire to support you, without also reading other parts which expressed our concern for the situation. At that time the implication was that the President of ESCRU and I were at odds regarding our policy.

5. Finally, in response to my initiative in my letter of September 26th, and after subsequent correspondence with the Bishop of South Carolina where I remain canonically resident, I came to your office on the afternoon of October 24th. I made notes covering our conversation that afternoon after I left and this is what I understand to have been said. After about thirty minutes of pleasant conversation about church architecture and your former parish in Huntsville, Alabama, you asked what I wanted for it was I who had sought the appointment. I reminded you of my hope that you might renew my license, which had been the primary purpose of the above-mentioned letter of September 26th, in response to which you had asked me to come see you. You said that you didn't know how I could be licensed by you if I had no more confidence in you than you felt I had and you said that licensing me might give the appearance of your approving of ESCRU's activities. At one point, after I had said that I was hopeful that we might understand one another better, I asked what I could do that might make some difference regarding whether you licensed me or not. You said, and I remember this quite clearly, that I could write to the people to whom I had said other things (and I believe you meant our membership or the recipients of our Newsletters) and tell them I had been in error about what I had said. I told you plainly that I could not say this about the past,but that I had hopes for the future regarding my evaluation of what has gone on. I reminded you that my esteem for the Diocesan establishment involved my opinions of others on your staff as well as yourself. We concluded our conversation quietly and I assisted you to your car, with no apparent sign of reconciliation or mutual understanding. My repeated suggestion that we have an opportunity to review

the entire Lovett story with an eye toward clarifying what each has done met with no response on your part indicating you felt this would be helpful. (My openness,in letters to both you and the Standing Committee, to the possibility of having an opportunity to frankly review what has transpired has met with only a stated or implied viewpoint that it would serve no purpose.)

So much for the license matter itself. Because your position regarding it is based upon your evaluation of what we have each done, and because you want me to recant and say that I have been in error in my previously stated opinions concerning your role, it seems well for me to review some of the reasons why my confidence in you has been less than what you desire. Because the issue has many stages and levels, I shall recount them in appropriate categories. I do not presume here to give a complete picture of what you may have done on the positive side, but only mean to suggest some of the reasons why it is difficult to implicitly trust the diocesan establishment to do what is right by the Lovett situation. When I refer herein to things that have been said in letters from you or those on your staff, generally sent to others who have provided me with copies, I believe I am fairly reporting the context and content. Naturally I can provide anyone genuinely interested in understanding the whole mess with exact and full copies of such letters if they want. That which I mention that has come to me by word of mouth can easily be traced to sources in most instances, and in others there has been such a plethora of reports as to what diocesan officials have said that I suggest anyone interested come to Atlanta and talk around with a few of the clergy and laity, many of whom will verify the substance of what I mention here.

II. Before the Rejection of Martin Luther King,III.

1. It has been suggested that I should have sought "to cooperate and communicate" with you more than some think I have. When I saw you early in the year, following the rejection of the King child, you said yourself at the time that I should have let you know that I "wanted to get a Negro into Lovett". You will want to recall that I wrote you almost ten months before the Kings applied, on April 7, 1962, and expressed concern about Lovett as to whether there was any discriminatory policy. I had written the school in 1959, shortly after our children were enrolled, and expressed the same concern, but it was never clear what the policy was. You said to me in reply on April 10, 1962: "I am sure there is no official racial policy at Lovett School, but I do not know anything about the applications or the processing of them."

2. I have subsequently learned that several years ago Dr. Charles Shorter, a prominent Negro Churchman of Atlanta, inquired of the Dean of the Cathedral what the prospects of his children enrolling then might be. He was told, and I doubt that you were unaware of his inquiry, that it would be against state laws at that time.

3. On January 24th, 1963, a resolution was introduced at Diocesan Council and reported out of committee favorably, which, if passed, would have had the effect of causing the policies at Lovett and elsewhere in the diocese to be clarified. It might be noted, that, contrary to speculation by some, I neither knew of the existence of this resolution nor of anyone's intention to introduce it, until after it had been reported upon favorably by the Christian Social Relations committee. You ruled this resolution out of order and were quoted in the Atlanta press as saying that it was unnecessary for, among other reasons, "In the diocese of Atlanta there are no institutions that are segregated, as far as I know."

4. On January 30th, 1963, I wrote the Headmaster of Lovett, who at that time was a priest of the Diocese of Atlanta, and advised him that Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., had inquired about the possibility of their applying for the first grade at Lovett for Martin, III, whom they wanted to have the opportunity of beginning his schooling on a desegregated basis. I indicated that she had asked me the previous August to let her know if anything developed that seemed to clarify the situation there for I had told her then that I knew of no discriminatory policy but that I didn't think there had been Negro applicants before. A copy of this letter was sent to you. Subsequently you dismissed this effort on my part to communicate with you by saying that it was only a carbon copy. For a while in the early stages of our differences you or others in the diocesan establishment claimed that I had in no wise informed you that the Kings might apply. You did not reply in any way to receipt of this letter to the Headmaster. I assumed and trusted that, were anything necessary, you would use your good offices in advance of the Kings making application to insure that they would have no difficulty. After I saw you, following their rejection, it was apparent that you had done nothing, and apparently the Headmaster, although canonically resident which I was not, had not sought your assistance.

III. Your Response to the Rejection of Martin Luther King, III.

1. On the day that Mrs. King called me to say that they had been rejected by Lovett, because the application for her son "was the first formal Negro application in the history of the Lovett School" (One wonders how many informal inquiries there were beforehand. The Rev. Warren Scott of Atlanta University inquired in behalf of another child concurrently with the King's application it was learned later.) I telephoned a local priest in whom I had confidence and advised him of this. That same day he phoned your office with the same information. It was later claimed by you or in your behalf by other diocesan officials that you did not know about their rejection until called by the press. The implication was that I had not sought to communicate and enlist your concern. The truth of the matter is that I communicated with those in whom I had some confidence to do what they could, confident that you would be advised of the development as you in fact were, contrary to other claims. I got in touch with local members, the Presiding Bishop, and other Bishops who are members of ESCRU. My hope was that these responsible persons in the Church would so encourage and support you in their concern for the situation that you would stand strong and faithful in the face of a situation obviously demanding your attention.

2. When Mrs. King told me of their treatment by Lovett she also said that her husband, Dr. King, was quite upset over this turn of events and planned to say something about it publicly. While they did not seek to enroll their child as a test case (as much as this is needed in many situations!), it was clear and imperative that what happened had to be protested. However, I suggested to Mrs. King that because what had happened was of particular concern to Episcopalians, would she see if Dr. King would be willing to let the story break through the Church press. He was and I advised one of our periodicals of what had happened. Because of this turning to the Church press first, instead of the secular media, with your knowing of what had happened all the while, you actually had more time in which to do something than if I had not tried to direct the story to the Church family first. Not only did you not do anything following my letting you know that the Kings might apply, as far as I can tell, it also appeared that you did nothing until after the story broke, and then what you did at first probably undercut the value of anything constructive you did later.

3. On March 16, 1963, you are quoted in the Atlanta papers as saying: "I am interested to know that a Baptist minister has a desire for an education for his son in a school where Episcopal services customarily take place. If Dr. King wants

an Episcopal education for his child, he can easily apply to one of our parochial schools which the Church does control. Segregation is not a policy in the Episcopal Church. I don't know any of the details of this application. The Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Atlanta, has no official connection with the Lovett School, and the Bishop of the Diocese of Atlanta has no official connection with the Lovett School. It is an independent, autonomous institution subject to no ecclesiastical control..."

4. In THE LIVING CHURCH of March 24th you are quoted as saying: "The Diocese of Atlanta has no official connection with Lovett School. I have no official connection with Lovett School. I am sure the racial policy at Lovett School must be satisfactory since the children of the Rev. John Morris have been enrolled there for some time. If the family of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., do not find the admissions policy of Lovett School acceptable and if they want their children to have an Episcopal educational background, they should apply to one of our parochial schools where the Church is responsible - such as Holy Innocents Parish in Atlanta, where the Rev. John Morris and his family are affiliated."

It should be noted that Holy Innocents at this time was the only so-called parochial school (apart from Lovett which essentially was and is a Church-related school associated with the Cathedral parish) which went into the secondary grades, I believe, but it only went through the third grade and is located considerably further out from where the Kings live than Lovett. Also it is of interest to note that the Rector of this parish is the one who introduced the resolution which would have clarified things at Lovett had you not ruled it out of order.

IV. Aftermath: Spring and Early Summer, 1963.

1. Astonished at the position you took in the matter, as many in Atlanta were, I made no public response to what you had said but began the preparation of a document detailing the many physical, historical and spiritual ties between Lovett and the Church which your statement tended to implicitly deny. You were later furnished a copy of this document which we never circulated in its original form. Rather, we sought to make it easier for you to take the right position in the matter by revising it to reduce or eliminate the many instances it recorded where you personally have been identified with and positively acknowledged the existence of the "Lovett Episcopal Day School." But before the document was even finished I received a call from the Canon to the Ordinary, the Rev. Milton Wood, as follows.

2. On March 20th, just following my receipt of information on what you had said in the issue of THE LIVING CHURCH mentioned above, Canon Wood called me to say that you wanted to see me the next day. I told Canon Wood frankly that I wasn't sure I wanted to come at that time. In view of your statement I felt it would have been better to arrange to have someone accompany me and I wasn't sure I could do this on short notice. In the course of our conversation, Canon Wood said the following things that bear notation here: "I don't think you want it said you wouldn't come to see the bishop about this matter...."; "....There's an awful lot that's not public that will be public next week unless you come out tomorrow...."; "...You are under license in the diocese... ..there is something in the Church known as discipline..."; "...Well John I just hope you'll remember yourself and your family when you make your decision....because your kids are involved.... (My kids are involved?) Yes. (Whose going to do something to my kids...) They're at Lovett....(What do you mean my kids are involved?) They're involved in the whole Lovett business...."; and "...What decision you make about Lovett, and therefore about seeing the bishop, affect your children....This puts you on the spot with Lovett...."

3. I saw you the next day, as per Canon Wood's request, and brought a friend along who is a layman. Some reports have it that I raised my voice, etc., and was

otherwise disrespectful. It will be recalled by those present, I believe, that none of our voices were raised in any way. We certainly did not have any meeting of minds and I advised you that I was preparing the document referred to above which Canon Wood asked that I submit for your review before further distribution. This was subsequently done, although apparently no errors were found in what I had recorded for no request for changes was made. At this point I began to fully advise our President, the Rev. Joseph A. Pelham, in Michigan of what was happening, with copies marked to him of any correspondence we had.

4. By the end of March it was decided that Mr. Pelham should come to Atlanta and confer with you and others regarding the developing situation. You had contacted the Bishop of Michigan and sought his assistance presumably in restraining me from circulation of the document or otherwise involving myself in the Lovett question. From our standpoint both Mr. Pelham and I realized that it was only appropriate for him to come and share some of the burden and responsibility with me in what was already becoming a very thorny situation. (Altogether now he has made three visits to Atlanta with regard to the Lovett situation, the last being this past week when he came down to join the picket line before the school.)

5. Following Mr. Pelham's conference with you on April 3rd and further consultation between him and myself we determined to wait a while in hopes that you might successfully effect some change in the Lovett situation. In the meantime, however, so many distortions and misrepresentations of fact, chiefly emanating from your office, began to come back to us that we decided that some comment from us was in order at least on a non-public basis within the Church. We did not want to enter the situation publicly and make your efforts with the Trustees any more difficult, believing at that time that, as Mr. Pelham put it in a letter of April 16th, that you were "engaged in a sincere and concerted attempt to effect change in the admissions policy of the School." We revised the document detailing the Church connections of Lovett in such a way as to minimize embarrassment to you personally. It was circulated to key Society leaders and a number of Bishops around the Church with the covering letter of April 16th, as noted above, from Mr. Pelham. I have already noted how you read only the supportive parts of Mr. Pelham's letter to the spring clergy conference, overlooking the substance of the document and the latter portions of the letter where Mr. Pelham said something that still is applicable: "The situation has, in my opinion, been clouded by a tendency to focus attention on the motives for and/or methods of John Morris' involvement in the situation rather than on the basic issue. The basic issue (and the issue to which all attention should be turned) is the action (past and future) of the Lovett Trustees. Criticism of ESCRU and/or its Executive Director, in fact, diverts attention from the basic problem which ESCRU neither created nor desired and which would have existed even if ESCRU did not exist....." And he said in closing: "Should there be indication that further direct involvement on the part of ESCRU is appropriate or should there be indication that an attempt to discredit ESCRU is underway, I will take steps to apprise the Board and/or Executive Committee of the situation and obtain its response." It should be remembered that this letter and the document it conveyed went only to persons in the Church interested in seeing the Church's teaching implemented at Lovett. Copies were not sent Lovett Trustees. It was sent to you, however, Bishop Claiborne. And I should say that both the original document and the revised one that was so circulated may be obtained on request by persons interested similiarly in seeing the Church's teaching followed. Essentially the document sets forth the manifold reasons why the Church cannot ignore the Lovett situation. Many persons around the Church were confused by your first public statement and, in fact, believed that it was not a Church-related institution.

6. Throughout the year we have gotten feedback on things you and others of your staff were saying around Atlanta and the Church. Sometimes it has been something you said to another Bishop which he repeated to his clergy and one or more of them would ask us if it were so. Generally it was not. Sometimes the half-truth was employed. Thankfully, there are those in the Church who seek to have both sides of such a controversy as we've been in before they make up their minds. The most irrefutable evidence of things said by officials of the Diocese of Atlanta has come by way of letters written from your office to an aroused and concerned Church which has written you from all over. It would appear that most of the letters to you have been answered in your behalf by Canon Wood, but you obviously must bear some degree of responsibility for what he has said. Indeed, I would assume that you would hold the same degree of confidence in him for his letter writing in your behalf as you did when you expressed support at the Bishop's Dinner this fall for Canon Wood and his action in censoring Ralph McGill in the October issue of DIOCESE. With this as introduction, let me quote in full a letter Canon Wood wrote on April 3, 1963, to a Churchman in New York City. In parentheses I shall comment on what Canon Wood says as I quote his own words:

"Bishop Claiborne has received the copy of your letter addressed to the Rev. James McDowell, Headmaster at the Lovett School. Your "shock" at the action of the Lovett School Trustees was equalled by that of a great many in this area.

"Unfortunately perhaps, the name of the school is not as you quoted "Lovett Episcopal Day School" (It has never legally been this, but is so listed in the Episcopal Church Annual and in the Directory of Schools published by the Episcopal Schools Association. The letterhead of the school, even in the early days at the new site, used to say "An Episcopal Day School". You have in your diary as Bishop spoken of showing friends the construction for the "Lovett Episcopal School" and you so spoke of it in your reference to participating in the dedication of the new facilities.), but is an independent and autonomous school by whose charter certain members of the Board of Trustees happen to be Episcopalians. (The Charter stipulates that two-thirds, or fourteen, Trustees are to be Episcopalians and seven of these must be approved by the Chapter of the Cathedral and be communicants of the Cathedral. The Dean of the Cathedral must be on the Board and presently serves as the Chairman of the Board.) This has prevented the Church from taking any authoritative action in the matter, but only very tenuous moral persuassion. (We have never been confused over the extent to which the Bishop had actual authority to order changes. We know that you have had considerable moral influence for good or bad.)

"The Headmaster long ago made the position of the Church quite clear in regard to racial policies, and now finds himself in a very precarious position. (The Headmaster made this clear at a clergy conference as far as what others know.) We all hope that it is not yet too late to take some redeeming steps in the situation through whatever moral persuasion the Bishop may have along with the Headmaster and some of the Trustees who are good Episcopalians. (The Trustees voted unanimously when they finally made their decision.)

"Perhaps the greatest failure in this situation was that the Rev. John Morris made no effort in the entire situation to secure the Bishop's support and position of whatever moral influence he might have, in order that the goal for Lovett School might be accomplished. (See Sections II and III of my letter.) Before the news was released to the press he had over two weeks in which he might have sought the Bishop's aid in accomplishing something in this matter. (See previous sections also. You are the Bishop, Sir, and knew of the Kings rejection when I did. There was nothing I could do then.)

"Of course, now the "opposition" has been pushed into more of a position of solidification which makes the Bishop's influence even more difficult. (Following upon the previous paragraph there is the implication that we had done something to push the Trustees. Our first public comment on the situation was on June 7th. If the Trustees then knew of our interest in the situation, was it from diocesan sources that they were informed?) He could readily "disown" the entire school, which would undoubtedly force the resignation of the headmaster and sever whatever ties we might have through which some redeeming influence might be brought to bear. This would be a very simple course for the Bishop, which he may ultimately have to do especially if more public pressure is brought to bear in the press (Who was in the press? We weren't.) before the full weight of his influence has an opportunity to bear some fruit.

"The whole affair was handled without much regard to responsible methods in procedures, all without any knowledge on the part of the Bishop (This can most generously be called somewhat untrue, for the Bishop's office was advised the same day I learned of the King's rejection!) until a reporter from the press called. However, I can assure you that as long as he has an opportunity to work with the trustees he happens to know (A number of them are prominent in diocesan circles.), he will continue all efforts at redemption in this situation. This, of course, depends upon whether his position is kept free from newspaper publicity. (Thanks be for the committed persons in the public media field who are not afraid of the truth and from whom we should learn some lessons!)

"Thanking you for your interest and with all best wishes, I remain.....Faithfully yours, (signed), The Rev. Milton L. Wood, Canon to the Ordinary."

7. The above letter from Canon Wood, Bishop Claiborne, represents one reason why my confidence in the diocesan establishment is less than you desire. There were other things heard and overheard. Also, there came a new development which none of us expected. Two Negro Episcopal families decided to make application to the Lovett School and, because they did not know their color, they were assigned testing dates by the school. Mrs. J. B. Mabry and Mr. Robert Cleveland, both of Atlanta, can better speak for themselves as to what went on. I shall only briefly reflect my understanding of what I heard from them after they contacted me well after they had run afoul of efforts to steer them away from Lovett. As I understand it, when your office learned that they had inadvertently been given dates to take their children to the school for testing, a considerable effort was employed in encouraging them not to go at the assigned time, including something of a red-carpet treatment for Mr. Cleveland in the office of Mr. William Bowdoin, a Lovett Trustee and prominent Churchmen. When all other efforts failed to dissuade them from going for the testing dates they were summoned to your office. You gave them assurances that you would see that things were worked out satisfactorily. But, as I understand it, delay followed delay, so that by the end of May it seemed all to no avail.

8. The combination of what seemed like a run-around treatment for the Clevelands and Mabrys, together with the continual feedback we were getting as to things coming out of your office regarding ESCRU's interest in Lovett, prompted our President, the Rev. Mr. Pelham, to direct a letter to clergy of the Diocese of Atlanta on May 23rd, enclosing the letter and document he has issued on April 16th, and advising them that he would "visit Atlanta again in early June" and "make a statement outlining the position of the Society relative to the situation which pertain(ed) at that time." On May 31st we indicated that the date for this first public statement from ESCRU would be June 7th.

9. On June 4th you made your first public statement since the first one which expressed surprise that a Baptist was interested in Lovett and essentially skirted responsibility for Lovett. Apart from the laborious effort at making the past sound better than it was, you finally took the stand which the Church had thought you would take in the beginning. You said that Lovett would have to abide by the Church's position on race or be severed from the Church. Accordingly, in ESCRU's first public comment, made by Mr. Pelham, on June 7 th, we commended you for your statement and expressed our hope that the matter would be settled. We went on to observe that there were other similiar situations needed the concern of Churchmen and we announced our plans to conduct a survey of admissions practices at Church-related schools.

V. An Apparent Showdown.

1. In a letter to the parents of students of the Lovett School dated June 14, 1963, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the School's Board of Trustees reported that the Board had unanimously decided to deny any Negro applicants admission to the school and that the Headmaster was instructed not to accept any applications of Negro students. Responding to this on July 1st you said that their actions "removed the school from the orbit of the discipline of the Episcopal Church" and that they had "forfeited the right of implied or official support for the Lovett School by the Episcopal Church." My initial reaction was positive and supportive of you in the stand you took and, indeed, I encouraged some who talked with me to express their support directly to you.

2. On July 3rd I wrote a letter to The Very Rev. Alfred Hardman, Dean of the Cathedral of St. Philip and Chairman of Lovett's Board of Trustees (who, incidentally, has said to several local persons that he fully supported the Board in its unanimous decision), and said that I had "consulted the President of this Society and it (had) been decided that steps (would) be taken in the fall to protest the Trustees' decision". In this same letter I indicated some appreciation for your efforts when I said "...with all of the efforts of the Bishop and others to obtain a different decision, the Lovett Trustees have made their decision conscious of how it stands in opposition to the Church..." We said in this letter that picketing would probably be the means of protest. Copies of this letter were sent to Lovett parents. It was Mr. Pelham's and my feeling that the action of fourteen Churchmen serving on the Board of Trustees, and thereby acting in part as the Church, should be protested although ostensibly it seemed that the school was in fact severed from the Church. Because we assumed this severence to be so we only contemplated a symbolic protest and did not envision a sustained and indefinite protest which we are now engaged in because of the fact that we now know that Lovett remains a Church-related school.

3. Apparently in reaction to our announced plan to protest and notwithstanding the fact that you had already spoken regarding Lovett stating that the Church had no more connections with it, you issued a Pastoral Letter to be read in churches on July 14th, 1963. Some have said that you issued this chiefly to be able to clarify the unofficial status of ESCRU. What you said was accurate, although one would not have known that we had much support from other bishops or the Church generally from what you said. But I accepted this as your apparently felt necessity to thoroughly distinguish between yourself and our organization and this was all right. You said in part: "It (ESCRU) has neither official approval nor financial support of the Episcopal Church. Neither the Bishop nor any official Church body has any control over this voluntary association." And you said further of me that I was canonically "a resident of the Diocese of South Carolina, and not of the Diocese of Atlanta." You did not state that at the time I was licensed by you under Canon 45, Section 6, to officiate in this diocese. The absence of this would seem to be a corollary of your present

fear that to license me might be construed as indicating approval of ESCRU. It is ironic that for three years neither of us assumed that your licensing of me constituted approval of everything that ESCRU did or said.

4. On July 16th I circulated a memorandum on our protest plans to local ESCRU members, with copies to you and a few others. In this memorandum I referred to you as having "acted forthrightly" in your stated action to sever the Church from the school. I said that I felt the Trustees had, in effect, insulted both you and the whole Church by their stand. The perspective of this document throughout was one of respect for what you done, while at the same time I discussed plans for how the Trustees' action should be demonstrably protested.

5. On July 19th the President of the Standing Committee wrote me as previously noted on page one of this letter and initiated the process whereby I am no longer licensed. I assume that he acted after consultation with you and the rest of the Standing Committee. It would appear, then, that, although you had ostensibly divorced yourself from Lovett and in your pastoral letter distinguished yourself from ESCRU, the effect of our announced plans to protest gave cause to you and the diocesan establishment to move in with all the force you could muster to protect Lovett and deter us from taking the announced steps.

6. At the same time, feedback was building up to indicate that in effect Lovett would carry along just as before as far as the Church-related factors went, notwithstanding the departure of the Headmaster to what I am sure is a far happier situation for him. Lovett had said in a letter on July 2nd that "...religious teaching will continue without change" as well as "Episcopal services in chapel and at other religious exercises." It was not clear at first whether this merely represented the determination of Lovett to carry on notwithstanding your edict. It began to emerge rather clearly that it was with some tacit, if not more actual, approval from you that their Church-related factors would continue. The following things came to my attention for the most part in early August, or their meaning became clear then.

7. I learned that in late July a number of Atlanta clergy, anxious that your edict of severence betwixt Lovett and the Church be honored, convened most of the Atlanta clergy for a meeting to discuss what they should do about this. A number of them hoped that the entire group would go on record indicating that they would not hold services at Lovett. Upon learning of their plans to meet, I understand that you communicated with them and indicated that they could best help by staying out of the Lovett situation. Therefore, as a consequence of your wishes, they simply agreed to petition the Standing Committee for advice. Ironically, it was at the same meeting of the Standing Committee on July 23rd where I appeared in behalf of the license matter that the following statement on services at Lovett was adopted: "In answer to the resolution presented to the Standing Committee by a Committee appointed at the meeting of the Clergy of the Metropolitan area of Atlanta, which was held at St. Luke's Church on July 21, 1963, it is the opinion of the Standing Committee that the participation of the Clergy in official worship and exercises at Lovett School would not be detrimental to the interest of the Church. However, the Standing Committee feels that the question should be left to the conscience of the individual clergyman as to whether he should accept or decline an invitation to participate." In the face of an effort, then, to give meaning to your ostensible act of removing the school "from the orbit of the discipline of the Episcopal Church" which you had said had "forfeited the right of implied or official support", the Diocese of Atlanta acts to enable the continuation of services as before.

8. On August 8th the Acting Headmaster of Lovett, Mr. J. A. Rabbe, who is also a Trustee of the Cathedral of St. Philip, said to parents: "....the rumour is rife that there will be no more daily chapel, no Wednesday morning communion services, no teaching of religion and an abandonment of all religious emphasis. Nothing could be farther from the truth and all of these will be continued just as in the past and have the approval of the Bishop." Our Executive Committee statment from mid-September quoted this from Mr. Rabbe and otherwise I imagine you have been under pressure to answer the implications of it. To my knowledge nothing has appeared generally regarding it. You did circulate a statement dated October 7, 1963, to the clergy of the diocese indicating that such a statement from Lovett had been "issued without the knowledge or approval of the Bishop." One wonders what in effect was discussed between you and the trustees throughout this whole thing, although we can readily appreciate that Mr. Rabbe may not have had clearance from you for his claims. If you did not give permission in the terms that Mr. Rabbe suggests for things to continue just as in the past, then he is wrong or you all misunderstood each other and others at Lovett have misunderstood you for the faculty were told at a meeting in the summer that chapel would be continued with your permission. The action of the Standing Committee, which generally does not act apart from your own wishes, would tend to confirm a kind of apriori agreement between you and Lovett even as you acted ostensibly to declare the school outside our orbit. By August 6th I either knew some of these facts or had heard sufficient reports about them to speak somewhat critically of yourrole in the emerging picture in a Newsletter of which you were sent a copy.

VI. Your Toronto Effort.

At the sessions of the Anglican Congress during August in Toronto, Canada, you apparently were busy with your representation of the Lovett story. You gathered at least one group of bishops to hear your side in the matter. I have heard various things regarding claims you made in Toronto, most of which appear to have been directed toward me. One was to the effect that I didn't want to be licensed, which of course has been manifestly untrue. (Here in Atlanta I am told that a priest member of the Standing Committee not otherwise previously mentioned in this letter states that I somehow threw my license down at the meeting on July 23rd and showed no signs of wanting to remain under license.) I also understand that in Toronto you said something about having three Negro children all lined up to go to Lovett until I got into the picture. And finally I am told you said that I was showing signs of mental illness in my actions with regard to Lovett.

VII. Our Executive Committee Meeting.

It was because of the level to which things had sunk at Toronto that Mr. Pelham and I decided that our direct action protest of the Lovett situation should come only after we had spread the responsibility for the decisions as broadly within our base of leadership as possible. Ordinarily in ESCRU we are empowered by our Board to take action when it seems needed and thus far the Board has always been fully supportive of the things which I and/or the President have decided needed forthright attention. But in this unduely thorny situation it was well that we confer with as many of our leadership people as possible. Thirteen persons came from out of town for sessions here in Atlanta , September 15-17, and at least that many Atlantans attended various sessions. In the section under the License Matter I have recounted our position in this meeting which sought to recognize your efforts vis-a-vis Lovett, at the same time that we acted to support the position taken by Mr. Pelham and myself. At this meeting it was unanimously decided that the protest action should be begun. Contrary to suggestions from you to the contrary, I was fully in accord with the

Board's final decisionsand assisted in reaching them. Because of the fact that it was then obvious that Lovett remained a Church-related school, for instance, we determined on a sustained protest instead of a symbolic period as originally suggested. Also, while at one time I had suggested that we might even consider the picketing of diocesan offices, I had concluded even before our meeting that a more appropriate witness would be some action which would demonstrate our corporate sin and failure in the whole Lovett mess. I note these things because of your suggestion elsewhere that we have been at odds within our leadership. In a letter in late September you said the following, to which I shall add several comments:

"Chan Sterling was good enough to come to Atlanta and meet with the Executive Committee of ESCRU for three days. (He is On our Executive Committee!) I am sure he did a great deal to give a clearer understanding to the Executive Committee members about the position of the Diocese.....The next day, after bowing to Chan's suggestion and turning down some of the more objectionable "active" procedures the Executive Committee outlined a plan of picketing for the school. (You unfairly represent Bishop Sterling who functioned as a responsible member of our Executive Committee and who in no wise sought to steer us away from our general consensus concerning the action that was needed. For myself, I then and subsequently expressed approval for the decisions we reached. That Bishop Sterling let us know something of the burdens and pressures on bishops was only natural and welcomed.)I suppose John Morris must be mollified in this way, but one clergyman interested in the integration of Lovett School expresses the thought of many in a letter which states, "They just seem determined to keep the school segregated and out of the Church."....."

VIII. The Censorship of a Great Churchman. While I had nothing to do with anything connected with it, the decision of Canon Wood to destroy 13,000 copies of DIOCESE, the monthly diocesan publication, and re-run it after deleting the portion of an interview with Mr. Ralph McGill dealing with Lovett certainly has been of little help in increasing my confidence in the Diocese of Atlanta. That you support Canon Wood in this, as you stated at the Bishop's Dinner, only increases the degree of responsibility you must share for the action anyway. Having virtually insulted Atlanta's most distinguished citizen, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., earlier in the year, the Episcopal Church is now seen as saying to one of her most gifted writers that he cannot speak the truth within the Church's publication which he so ably does in the daily press. None of the arguments or excuses stand up when subjected to the scrutiny of fact as to what went on in the preliminary stages of the preparation of the censored issue. It was certainly embarrassing to the Very Rev. Paul Moore, Jr. (now Bishop-elect Moore) of our Executive Committee that an article on him substituted for the deleted McGill portions, especially since the article on him was based on an interview with him done while he was here for the Executive Committee meeting. He has expressed this concern in a "Letter to the Editor" of DIOCESE, which did not appear in the most recent issue, and indicated that he also fully supports the ESCRU position concerning Lovett.

IX. Canon Wood's Most Recent Stock Letter.

You will recall, Bishop Claiborne, that when I assisted you to your car following our conference on October 24th, Canon Wood came up and he and I were engaged in conversation as you left. In asking him about some of the letters of his which have been sent to me he made some passing reference to having form letters which have to be used in answering all of the mail you get concerning Lovett. I imagine that these vary with the changing circumstances and that the letter of Canon Wood's dated April 3, 1963, was extensively used in the spring. I wonder how much the following letter from Canon Wood has been used of late? It was sent on September 23rd

to a member of ESCRU who wondered about the accuracy of what was asserted and sent it to me. I have underlined the most significant phrase. Dr. King did, in fact commend you for one of your Lovett statements, which we repeatedly did also, at the time that he wrote to you to decline an invitation to speak to the clergy. The letter is as follows:

"This will acknowledge your letter to Bishop Claiborne on September 14th (1963). However, I am at quite a loss to know to what you may be referring when you speak of "subsequent actions of Diocesan officials in condoning the flimsy explanations for the applicant's refusal."

"Without going into all of the details and the various actions of the Bishop and Standing Committee, I will simply quote to you a letter received some few weeks ago from the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., whom the Bishop knows quite well and sees from time to time in a small informal discussion group here in Atlanta. "I am gratified over the forthright stand that you have taken on the question of racial justice, particularly with reference to the Lovett School. This has certainly been a significant moral witness on your part, and I know that it gives new relevancy and life to the Church. I must say that I have been greatly encouraged by the new concern and witness on the part of the churches generally during these last few months. With this strong support I am confident that we will be able to transform this sweltering summer of discontent into an invigorating autumn of justice and freedom for all of God's children."

"Perhaps these words from Dr. King, who is a bit closer to the situation here, might suggest that you have been misinformed about a great many things around the Lovett School situation. Thanking you for your interest and hoping that this letter will be of help to you, I remain.....Faithfully yours, (signed), The Rev. Milton L. Wood, Canon to the Ordinary."

I have asked Dr. King if he would let me know how well he knew Bishop Claiborne and how many times he recalled meeting him. This is is reply:

> "I recall meeting Bishop Claiborne on only one occasion. This was at one of the informal dinner discussions that was attended by a small group of Atlanta clergymen. Because of my constant travels and the numerous demands on my schedule, I do not have an opportunity to attend the meetings of this group very often. I imagine that Bishop Claiborne attended some of the other sessions, but I was not present at the time. So, for reasons of schedule problems and other circumstances I have only had the privilege of being in Bishop Claiborne's presence once, and since this one meeting was a group situation I did not have the opportunity of talking privately with him."

X. In Conclusion.

There is very little I can say in conclusiom or in summary. I believe you will appreciate now something of why I cannot express sufficient confidence in the Diocese of Atlanta to warrant, in your terms, your licensing me to assist and supply. Perhaps it is also evident why I cannot in good conscience tell others that I have previously been in error regarding critical things I have said. So it would appear that things between us will stand where they were when we finished talking on October 24th.

At times, when I am reminded of these few clergy of our Church who are avowed segregationists and publicly identified as such, and yet who stand before the altars of their parishes each week and celebrate the Holy Communion which I am not able to do in this diocese, I shall possibly wonder about the meaning of the Church's call to us to take action and become involved in the struggle for freedom for all and for

integrity in the Church itself. I shall regret that so seldom does the Church seem to really mean that it wants us to do these things, because usually there is little support to those who do take action and sometimes even resentment that we've done so. Even now, while it is popular for the Church (at least amongst liberals and moderates) to march to Washington and the like, there is a tendency to turn away from the Lovetts in our own midst.

But I hope I shall not dwell overly much on the above, nor is this kind of thing new to me or a surprise. Rather, as I go about my travels through the Church and do have the opportunity to celebrate the Holy Communion away from home, I shall try to offer my reflections to God for his refashioning and for the renewal of my spirit. Also, I shall pray that Christ may act to bridge the gulf now between you and me which neither of us seems able to overcome.

As for the Lovett School situation, we have now completed four weeks of picketing which has involved 14 laity and 9 clergy. Ten of these were visitors and 13 were Atlantans. As long as Lovett remains a Church-related school that segregates we shall continue this action on a periodic basis, believing that it is so abominable a thing that faithful Churchmen cannot stand idly by in Atlanta at this time in history and fail to protest the immorality of the situation. We have not asked you to approve the picketing. Indeed, throughout this unhappy affair we have implicitly recognized the pressures and burdens you are under and we have not asked for too much in the way of leadership, I do not believe. We have sought repeatedly to extend opportunities whereby we might reestablish some relationship, each recognizing the different kinds of ministries needed within the Church. I hope that this may yet be possible.

Yours faithfully,

John B. Morris

The Rev. John B. Morris
Executive Director

P. S. Since finishing the above letter it has come to my attention that the Dean of the Cathedral had apparently entertained the thought of resigning from the Lovett Board of Trustees which he presently serves as Chairman. He sought your advice in the matter, but as I understand it you refused to take any position on the question. In at least considering this possibility Dean Hardman showed more perception than when he wrote an unsuspecting person earlier this Fall, and told them that Lovett was neither an Episcopal nor a Church school.

Montez, Fiji

Rel - Gen
1963

STATEMENTS FROM THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING
OF
THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
WASHINGTON, D. C. - NOVEMBER 14-16, 1963

RESOLUTION: # 1

WHEREAS, the Executive Committee of The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, after prayerful and thorough consideration of events concerning The Lovett School in Atlanta, Georgia, acted to protest in picketing, worship and personal prayer; and,

WHEREAS, The Lovett School, through its Board of Directors, has acted to deny admission solely on grounds of race; and,

WHEREAS, The Lovett School continues in fact to be a Church-related school;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity at its Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., in November 1963, commends the action of the Executive Committee and urges that protest action continue so long as The Lovett School remains a segregated Church-related school.

RESOLUTION # 2

WHEREAS, following the Presiding Bishop's 1963 Whitsuntide message, the Episcopal Church's involvement in notable witness to racial unity has been greatly increased; and,

WHEREAS, the coming days may involve even more publicity and need for the allocation of resources;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the delegates to this Annual Meeting urge that the National Board of The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity direct its attention to such organization as is necessary to insure that the hands of the Presiding Bishop and the resources of the Department of Christian Social Relations be strengthened at the 1964 General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

RESOLUTION # 3

WHEREAS, The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity has assembled for its third Annual Meeting at the International Inn, in Washington, D. C., in November, 1963; and,

WHEREAS, it has been the practice of the Society to make known to interested persons cases in which inequality, on basis of race, class, or national origin exist; and,

WHEREAS, it has become known that policies of segregation and discrimination are being fostered, knowingly or unknowingly, by the American Automobile Association, in that recognition and approval are extended to hotels, motels, and other accommodations which practice the exclusion of Negroes;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that this body express to the AAA its regret over these practices and urge that the same be discontinued; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that ESCRU memorialize its members and other interested persons to convey their sentiments to the AAA and its local affiliates, and to withdraw their support from that organization until such practices are discontinued.

RESOLUTION #4

WHEREAS, the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, meeting in Toronto, in August, 1963, urged passage of effective civil rights legislation; and,

WHEREAS, the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives has approved a bill to this effect; and,

WHEREAS, the national interest requires prompt debate and consideration of this important legislation;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, at its Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., in November, 1963, strongly urges upon the Honorable Howard Smith and Rules Committee of the House of Representatives prompt action to permit consideration of civil rights legislation by the body of the House.

RESOLUTION #5

WHEREAS, the Christian religion teaches that every man should be accepted as a child of God without discrimination because of the color of his skin; and,

WHEREAS, there has been some desegregation of tax-supported schools in every state in the Union; and,

WHEREAS, lamentably there are still some Church schools or Church-related schools that segregate on the basis of race;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity at its Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., in November 1963, encourages the Board of Directors of said Society to declare at its next meeting that the Society will call for and aid and support in direct action protest before any Church school or Church-related school that is known to have a discriminatory policy of practice, or is known to have rejected some applicant on the basis of race alone.

RESOLUTION #6

WHEREAS, the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America has on numerous occasions expressed the teaching and belief of the Church that racial segregation or discrimination is contrary to the Christian religion; and,

WHEREAS, the House of Bishops has directed the attention of the Church to their teaching through its Pastoral Letters; and,

WHEREAS, the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, in his Whitsuntide message, called upon the Church laity, as well as clergy to become personally involved in the struggle to banish the sin of racial discrimination from our society; and,

WHEREAS, many dioceses have attempted, through resolutions in Conventions and through persuasion and mediation and direct action protest, to occasion changes within these Church-related institutions;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, at its Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., in November 1963, hereby calls upon all dioceses of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of

America to disassociate themselves from any and all Church-related institutions that practice racial discrimination either explicitly or covertly.

RESOLUTION #7

WHEREAS, the Church ought to look to the condition of her own house at the same time she calls upon society to look at its house in the area of equal employment opportunities; and,

WHEREAS, the Church on her parochial, diocesan and national levels, particularly through her institutions, is an employer of large numbers of persons, and in her purchasing power of goods and services, and in particular her building programs, has an opportunity to witness to her conviction of equal employment opportunities;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, at its Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., in November 1963, calls upon the Church at its several levels to terminate any contractual relations with firms offering goods or services to the Church which have failed to demonstrate that they practice equal employment opportunities within their organization; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Church generally be requested to enter into no new business arrangements for purchasing goods or services from organizations which practice racial discrimination in relation to employment policies and practices.

RESOLUTION #8

WHEREAS, the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America has called all churchmen to support by financial assistance and direct action those who are seeking elimination of racial discrimination and prejudice in so many areas of life in these United States; and,

WHEREAS, the House of Bishops has spoken with Emphasis and clarity directing the effort and attention of the whole Church to the same circumstances and situations; and,

WHEREAS, there are many direct action citizens' groups committed to the attainment of the same human dignity as is The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity from its Christian perspective; and,

WHEREAS, we recognize and affirm that the Church is set in the midst of a world in which God is working for the renewal of human relations; and,

WHEREAS, since The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity Chapters have already engaged in action sponsored by citizens' civil rights organizations;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, at its Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., in November 1963, hereby adopt as its national policy an intention and willingness to cooperate with citizens' agencies and groups which are working to improve inter-racial and inter-cultural relations; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity local Chapters adopt, as policy, participation in citizens' civil rights group activity locally and nationally; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity Chapters maintain close liaison with such citizens' groups for the purpose of joint planning, mutual support and action; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity Chapters provide programs in which the membership may be informed as to how, where and when they may usefully participate in efforts initiated and carried out by citizens' civil rights organizations.

RESOLUTION #9

WHEREAS, industrial corporations and larger business firms generally seem to withhold from members of the Jewish community within their organizations appointment to significant executive positions; and,

WHEREAS, such differences as do exist between Jews and other religious and cultural groups imply no lack of ability or competence in a particular field of endeavor; and,

WHEREAS, such discrimination when practiced deprives deserving and able persons of rightful preference and advancement on non-justifiable grounds;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity at its Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., in November 1963, urge industrial corporations and larger business firms to consider seriously the adoption and implementation of policies which will eradicate this injustice through discrimination; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the various national associations of industry and business organizations and the Department of Commerce of the United States of America.

RESOLUTION #10

WHEREAS, the Honorable John F. Kennedy, President of these United States, has seen fit to direct by Executive Order that mortgages for private housing, made through the Veterans Administration and the Federal Housing Administration, be granted apart from any consideration of the particular racial background of the applicants; and,

WHEREAS, many financial institutions lending money for the creation of mortgages for private housing are related to the Federal government through a system of insurance of depositors' funds by an instrumentality of the Federal Government; and,

WHEREAS, it is evident that many of these lending institutions withhold funds for the creation of mortgages on the sole basis of an applicant's race;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity at its Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C., in November 1963, urge the President of the United States to consider the issuance of an Executive Order forbidding any bank or lending institution, related to the Federal government through the insurance of customers' deposits, from practicing discrimination on the basis of race in making loans to create mortgages for the purchase by citizens of private homes; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to President Kennedy.

RESOLUTION #11

WHEREAS, the Church pension fund of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America derives income from stocks and bonds invested in large

American corporations; and,

WHEREAS, the several Dioceses, Churches and institutions derive income from investments in large American corporations; and,

WHEREAS, many American corporations are said to segregate on grounds of race and religion in their hiring policies;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the above institutions and organizations of the Protestant Episcopal Church request these corporations to present a statement regarding their policies as related to employment of racial minorities in all types of jobs, including white collar executive positions.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that boards of trustees and directors of the various Episcopal Churches and institutions continue to manifest interest in the racial policies and practices of all companies in which they have investments.

RESOLUTION #12

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Third Annual Meeting of The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, meeting in Washington, D. C., November 14-16, 1963, express its sincere appreciation to its Washington members for their thorough work in the planning and preparation of the arrangements for this meeting and express its special gratitude to the Reverend W. A. Wendt, Acting Chairman, to his assistants, the Reverend Tilden Edwards and the Reverend H. B. Evans, to Mrs. M. Maxine Boyd, Hospitality Chairman, to Miss H. S. Campbell, General Secretary, to Mr. and Mrs. Jack Orndorff, in charge of Banquet Tickets, and to Mr. W. L. Weifenbach, in charge of General Arrangements.

RESOLUTION #13

BE IT RESOLVED, that The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, meeting in Washington, D. C., November 14-16, 1963, express its thanks and profound gratitude to the Reverend Erville S. Maynard, Jr., for the development of and arrangement for an outstanding program.

RESOLUTION #14

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Third Annual Meeting of The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity meeting in Washington, D. C., November 14-16, 1963, send its greetings to the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, meeting concurrently and express its gratitude for this opportunity for fraternity in Christ our common Lord.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The following RESOLUTION was adopted on Friday evening, November 15, 1963, at a Joint Session of The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity and The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, which met concurrently, at The International Inn.

RESOLUTION #15

WHEREAS, the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice and The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity are duly convened in Washington, D. C. to consider the requirements of faithfulness to the Gospel in the cause of justice and unity among men; and

WHEREAS, our attention has been focused upon the witness for interracial justice and unity in Chester, Pennsylvania and Williamston, North Carolina, to wit:

In Chester, our brothers have publicly demonstrated their concern for reasonable improvement of overcrowded, unsanitary, unsafe school conditions in depressed areas of that city. Four hundred and forty-one men, women and children have been arrested; their bail is presently set at $200 apiece and their fines may range as high as $300 apiece. Christian clergy and lay leaders in Chester have neither shared in nor supported this witness and this suffering.

The demonstrations and mass arrest have led the authorities of the city of Chester to agree to relieve overcrowding, eliminate unsafe and unsanitary conditions and to close and rebuild the most inadequate of its facilities, the Franklin Elementary School; and

In Williamston fifteen white Christians, clergy and four seminary students, affirming their belief that all men are members of the same human family, were arrested yesterday with fifty-four Negroes while marching into the downtown area in a demonstration for interracial justice and unity in that community. These were the first white persons to join the Negro demonstrators there since they began their actions over four months ago. During this time more than 230 demonstrators have been arrested. The marchers are being held under $500 bond;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that

We, The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice and the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity urge Roman Catholic and Episcopal clergy and laity in Chester and Williamston to stand with and support their brethren who have so clearly demonstrated their faithful convictions;

We offer our prayers, our alms and whatever other resources are available to us within our respective disciplines for the relief of those who have suffered or have been imprisoned for their witness;

We commend our Christian brothers who have been active in this just cause and send our greetings and our love to all those in whose witness we so rejoice.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The offering received at two celebrations of The Holy Communion was designated for Chester and Williamston as a tangible sign of the concern of The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

Religion

ANNUAL MEETING

"THE CHURCH AND THE REVOLUTION OF '63"

NOVEMBER 14-16, 1963 — INTERNATIONAL INN, Thomas Circle, 14th and M Streets, N. W. — WASHINGTON, D. C.

SPEAKERS

MR. BURKE MARSHALL - Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice

THE REV. JAMES BREEDEN - Consultant on Racial Matters to the Bishop of Massachusetts

MR. WILLIAM STRINGFELLOW - Attorney and Author of "A Private and Public Faith"

THE REV. WYATT TEE WALKER - Executive Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

THE REV. THOMAS R. THRASHER - Rector, Chapel of the Cross, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

MR. LOUIS LOMAX - Author of "The Negro Revolt"

THE REV. ARTHUR E. WALMSLEY - Executive Secretary, Division of Christian Citizenship

THE PRESIDENT OF ESCRU

THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF ESCRU

* *

THE REVOLUTION OF '63...THE NEGRO REVOLT...THE SUMMER OF DISCONTENT...WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

The Church in America exists in a period of revolution. This revolution is the Negro American's quest for human freedom and justice. It is America coming of age. We must listen to those deeply involved in this revolution: in government, in the Church, in the Negro community, to understand the nature and implications of the age in which we live, so that we may witness effectively and responsibly. Come to Washington and discuss what part the Church is called to take in the midst of the Revolution of 1963!

* *

This third Annual Conference of ESCRU will be held concurrently with the convention of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice which will also be housed at the International Inn. There will be joint evening receptions and a combined program on Friday night. Rooms at the Inn are $6.00 per night with two in a room and $7.00 a night with three in a room, per person. The ESCRU Banquet at which the Rev. Wyatt Walker will speak is $6.00. The registration fee is $5.00 and must be sent in advance. Space is limited, so ACT NOW AND RETURN THE REGISTRATION FORM BELOW.....

- -

TO: The Rev. William A. Wendt
Church of St. Stephen and the Incarnation
16th and Newton Streets, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

DATE: _____

AMOUNT ENCLOSED: $ _____

I SHALL ATTEND THE ESCRU ANNUAL CONFERENCE AND ENCLOSE THE REGISTRATION FEE OF $5.00. PER PERSON. (Make checks payable to: ESCRU Annual Conference) PLEASE RESERVE ACCOMODATIONS FOR ME FOR NOVEMBER 14th AND NOVEMBER 15th AS FOLLOWS (Do Not Send Payment for Room Now):

_____ Assign me to a room with two persons at $7.00 each per day.
_____ Assign me to a room with three persons at $6.00 each per day.
_____ I would prefer a single room at the International Inn's usual rate.
_____ I will arrange for my own housing elsewhere in Washington.
_____ I shall attend the ESCRU Banquet on Friday evening, November 15th. Cost: $6.00.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

WHAT IS THE ESCRU ANNUAL CONFERENCE? An annual gathering of Episcopalians concerned with the renewal of the Church in matters of race, and with cultural and racial unity in society....for the deepening of commitment and a strengthening of practical resources and program....for certain business of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity....and to attest to the teaching of the Church in these matters.

WHO MAY ATTEND? Any concerned Churchman may register and attend. Members of the Society vote in the business sessions.....If this announcement is your first introduction to the Society and you would like more information, write: ESCRU, Room 200, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

WHEN? Registration opens at 3:00 P.M., Thursday, November 14th, 1963, at the International Inn, with an opening service of Evening Prayer at 5:30 P.M. Sessions continue until 1:00 P.M., Saturday, November 16th. The meeting will thereby adjourn in time for clergy to return for Sunday services....lay persons will miss little more than a day from home responsibilities in attending, and may want to remain in Washington the balance of the weekend for sightseeing. Arrangements can be made with the International Inn for extending the time on rooms.

HOW MUCH? A Registration Fee of $5.00 per participant is to be sent now. A room for two nights, with two in it, will cost $14.00 and the Friday night Banquet is $6.00, making a possible overall cost of $25.00, apart from travel and other meals.

WHAT ELSE? In addition to the speakers listed on the reverse side, there will be Chapter Reports and workshops on local ESCRU program, Resolutions and Memorials, and the Election of four members of the national ESCRU Board of Directors. Meeting concurrently with the NCCIJ will provide a unique opportunity for ecumenical dialogue as common concerns and problems are faced together.

AND WHAT ABOUT THE CIVIL RIGHTS SITUATION IN CONGRESS? The Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley of National Council encourages ESCRU members and others attending the Annual Conference to come early and see their Congressmen and others on "the Hill". Write him at 815 Second Avenue, New York 17, N.Y. for suggestions of how you can assist in the Church's effort in Congress at this time.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE - Members may submit their proposed resolutions for the consideration of the Annual Conference to a committee in the Baltimore area chaired by the Rev. Jack Malpas, 4711 Edmondson Avenue, Baltimore 29, Maryland.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

E.S.C.R.U. OFFICERS

PRESIDENT - The Rev. Joseph A. Pelham

VICE-PRESIDENT - Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew

SECRETARY - The Rev. John W. B. Thompson

TREASURER - Mr. Malcolm E. Peabody, Jr.

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

PROGRAM - The Rev. Erville B. Maynard

ARRANGEMENTS - The Rev. William Wendt

Members and Others in the Washington assisting with arrangements.

The Episcopal Society
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Research Department
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Religion

Challenge
to Justice
and Love

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE

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Chairman, Local Communities Follow-up Committee

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE November 19, 1963

Interreligious and interracial conferences have been formed in 46 cities across the country, and significant programs of action are underway in 19 of these cities, it was announced by the Rev. Galen Weaver, executive secretary, National Conference on Religion and Race (NCRR).

The announcement was based on a comprehensive field report recently completed by NCRR.

The National Conference was formed immediately after the historic gathering last January in Chicago of clerical and lay leaders of the major faith groups in the United States. The purpose was to see how organized religion could bring its full moral force to bear on eliminating racial segregation and discrimination. The NCRR became the vehicle for implementing the recommendations which evolved from the meeting.

"These activities clearly indicate that religious groups are trying to assume a full role of leadership in the struggle for racial justice in Twentieth Century America," Rev. Weaver said.

The 19 cities or states implementing follow-up efforts are: Boston, Chicago, Columbia (Mo.), Des Moines, Detroit, Gary, Kansas City (Mo.), Lexington (Ky.), Little Rock, Milwaukee, Omaha, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Francisco, Seattle, Syracuse, Toledo, Washington (D.C.), and Delaware State.

- more -

CONVENERS: Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches; Social Action Commission, Synagogue Council of America; Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference

The follow up efforts are in the areas of employment, education, housing, legislation, public accommodations, use of purchasing power and home visitation programs.

The other 27 cities or states in which meetings have been or will be held include: Ann Arbor (Mich.), Birmingham, Cleveland, Davenport, Dubuque, Hartford, Houston, Indianapolis, Miami, Marion (Ind.), Marion, (O.), Minneapolis for Minnesota, Newark, New Jersey, New Orleans, New York, North Carolina, Oakland, Oklahoma, Peoria (Ill.), Rhode Island, Rochester, (N.Y.), South Bend, Springfield (Mass.), Springfield (N.J.), Warren (Ohio), and Waterloo (Iowa).

Furthermore, the NCRR Secretariat has received inquiries on organizing religion and race groups from Cincinnati, Dayton, Denver, Los Angeles, Joliet (Ill.), Mansfield (Ohio), Phoenix, Richmond (Ind.), San Diego, San Rafel (Calif.), Stamford, Norwalk (Conn.), and Santa Barbara.

Leading the way in programming is Chicago. The Chicago Conference is credited with helping to avert a major riot by placing religious leaders in the streets in a community in which a Negro family had moved. The Chicago Conference also has a program to mobilize the purchasing power of the churches and synagogues to use against discriminatory lending and hiring practices, has outlined a series of coordinated TV programs with the four Chicago stations, and is carrying out a campaign to enlist clergy support throughout Illinois for the Civil Rights Bill now pending in the Congress. Other cities in advanced stages of programming are: Washington, D. C.; Detroit; St. Louis, Pittsburgh; and San Francisco.

Religious leaders in Washington, D.C. by-passed a large public meeting and formed in May and June a series of seven action or project committees under the auspices of the "Interreligious Committee on Race Relations," an

ongoing CRR program. The group has been active in a variety of ways through the Summer, including testimony before the District Commissioners in support of fair housing legislation. The committee now plans to hire professional staff full time to build a massive home visit program to promote better understanding between the white and Negro communities.

An interreligious civic effort for open occupancy in Detroit has been reorganized into the Metropolitan Detroit Conference on Religion and Race. A broader civic effort, also involving top religious leaders has been formed by Walter Reuther under the title of "Citizens' Committee for Equal Opportunity." At present, the CRR is concentrating its energies on housing problems.

A CRR was held in St. Louis in May and a steering committee has been outlining a program of action. The CRR, which plans to hire staff, has received at least one grant and has another possible commitment for funds.

The Allegheny County Council on Civil Rights in Pittsburgh has been the vehicle for the formation of the Pittsburgh Area Religion and Race Council. It has circulated religion and race literature to all the clergymen in the area, and is devising programs on the use of the purchasing power of the churches and synagogues.

Funds from various sources have been pledged to the steering committee in San Francisco, and plans laid for the hiring of full time staff.

11-20-63

and cooperation between the Socialists and Communists. "For 12 years [Guy] Mollet calls the Communists agents of the East, but in the election he calls for and accepts their support. And he gets elected by Communist votes while [Michel] Debre gets defeated by them. Do you wonder that the general has no respect for that kind of political behavior?"

A more detached Gaullist observer comments: "The only one who ever counted the Communist votes out was Pierre Mendes-France. None of the others ever did. In fact, Mendes is the only one who even tried to push through some of the reforms the general finally succeeded in accomplishing, but the Parliament cut him down, and he couldn't muster popular support as de Gaulle did. Maybe that's why the old man still likes and respects Mendes."

In listing de Gaulle's accomplishments his followers make a number of impressive points. They cite the end of the Algerian war and the fact that independence has been peacefully granted to most of the rest of the French colonial empire. They note that the general's victory has weakened both extremes, the right-wing O.A.S. and the Communists. In fact, de Gaulle wisely refused to concede to the Communists their view of the political spectrum by refusing them the accolade of "the left"; he tried and almost succeeded in rearranging the Chamber of Deputies' seating accordingly. Even in this case he was finally able only to achieve a compromise victory, with the members of his U.N.R. strung out from right to left in the front rows and the Communists still seated on the left in the rear.

The Gaullists point also to the positive achievements of the Franco-German entente, to the continuing economic and fiscal strength of France, to her annual growth rate of more than 5 per cent, and —perhaps most important of all—to the stability and continuity of government. This last, they say, is the result of General de Gaulle's having achieved a more equitable balance between the presidency and the legislature, a balance which has given force and direction to government policy. An official of the ministry of information summed it up for me succinctly: "The Parliament's there. The president's there. We are using them both. It may not look just right on paper, but it is working out in fact." Whether it will continue to work out in fact and in the future is the open and crucial question.

Are Southern Churches Silent?

For the most part, Yes—when it comes to race relations. So says a close observer of the scene, and he tells why.

Religion General

SAMUEL SOUTHARD

The Christian Century Nov. 20, 1963

✦ IN SOME southern churches there has been counsel for silence, even in the face of news centering on a local church and attracting worldwide attention. Consider, for instance, what happened between May 15 and June 15 in 1961. Newspaper stories each day told of riots in Alabama, with extensive coverage of the actions of a mob that formed outside a Negro church in Montgomery on the night of May 22. The violence was denounced in vigorous editorials and given front-page coverage in, among other Alabama newspapers, the *Birmingham News*, the *Auburn Plainsman* and the *Lee County Bulletin*. In contrast, the state's Protestant and Jewish periodicals either remained silent or offered insipid comments. In an editorial in the June issue of the *Alabama Churchman* Episcopal Bishop Charles C. J. Carpenter did denounce violence, but he made no reference to segregation and he assured his readers that most citizens were kind and peaceable. The editor of the *Alabama Baptist* echoed that assurance in his issue of July 6; most of "our people," he insisted, were "peaceable."

There was silence in Mississippi as events built toward violent climax in the fall of 1962, silence that was broken only after the white mobs had been quieted. In September, with tension mounting, the editor of the (Mississippi) *Baptist Record* acknowledged that "serious problems" were rising in the state; he urged that prayer be offered on behalf of the authorities responsible for solving the problems and warned private citizens against taking the law into their own hands. He did not, however, mention race relations in so many words until October 4, when word of the exploding situation had been spread on the front pages of newspapers the world over. In the issue of that date he condemned rioting and violence. Several weeks later he was among those who felt that a resolution concerning human relations and modern tensions should be passed by the Baptist state convention when it was offered to that body. But when pastors objected, the measure was tabled.

Some Mississippi pastors, however, did speak out

Mr. Southard is a member of the faculty of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky.

that fall of 1962. In Oxford, on October 7, Baptist, Episcopal, Methodist and Presbyterian pastors called on their people to repent for having assented passively to conditions that had spawned lawlessness. Their sermons came within a week after the mayor of Oxford, an active churchman, had accused Mississippi patrolmen of "inactivity" and University of Mississippi professors had condemned the riots. During the preceding summer one Baptist pastor had tried to interest a campus religious group in taking positive steps that might help prevent violence.

Few ministerial associations or local churches have taken specific action looking toward desegregation of their facilities; few have urged peaceful acceptance of federal decisions on access to public accommodations. For the most part ministerial groups that *have* taken such actions are to be found in large cities or in border states; e.g., Front Royal, Virginia, September 1958; Atlanta, November 1958; Chattanooga, February 1961; Birmingham, May 1961 and May 1963; Baton Rouge, June 1961; Montgomery, November 1962.

Denominational officials have often been even more reluctant to speak out than have local pastors. When a group of Mississippi Methodist ministers came out openly against segregation in January 1963, Bishop Marvin Franklin was quoted by the Louisville *Courier-Journal* as saying that he did not want to be quoted on the subject.

I

A primary reason for silence on the part of both pastors and denominational officials is their desire to conserve the numerical and financial gains accruing to religion as the result of its "popularity" since World War II. They fear specific discussion of racial issues in the light of Christian principles. Why? Because, as one able denominational official has explained, "it would split the convention." This official has used his considerable talents to keep direct mention of desegregation out of the periodicals and programs for which he is responsible.

The official stand for silence was dramatized when, in 1958, the Southern Baptist Convention's Home Mission Board withdrew from circulation *The Long Bridge,* a study guide for church groups which contained a discussion of racial problems. In defending the withdrawal of that book the editor of the *Western Recorder* wrote in his April 3, 1958, issue:

> . . . Baptist leaders as a group have expressed no stand on integration. . . . Many persons are reluctant to express themselves because they fear more harm than good results from such controversy. . . . The fear was that such resentment could result from even circulating and discussing the matter as to hinder our present world mission efforts. The Southern Baptist Convention could be split by this matter if either side became very adamant.

The prevalence of silence in religious periodicals and at denominational assemblies means that ministers have no forum for discussion of race relations. As John Jeffers, pastor of First Baptist Church, Auburn, Alabama, has observed of the southern scene:

> There is a sizable segment of our citizenry, who are not vocal, who would favor a moderate approach to racial problems.
>
> The majority of Baptist ministers that I know in Alabama would like to offer leadership to this segment, but have been unable to determine how to do this effectively. The problem is how to lead without being appropriated by one or the other extremes which immediately destroys the effectiveness of your leadership. When thus appropriated, you are effective only with the one faction. Neither the opposite one nor the moderate group will listen to you any longer.
>
> Our primary need is a means of communication among [ministers] so that we might pool our wisdom and act as a fellowship rather than in isolated instances. The nature of our polity seems to render our regular denominational channels rather helpless at this point.
>
> There needs to be a "cooling off" or "calming down" period in these most troubled areas before we can hope to re-establish lines of communication with our Negro community.

In March 1961 Mr. Jeffers preached a sermon on "The War Nobody Wins," describing the losses entailed in the hardening of positions—for intransigent segregation or for militant legislation such as called for by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He declared that whoever makes the first move toward reconciliation will be accounted great in the eyes of God.

Institutional silence was broken when, a month later, Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke in the chapel of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville; it was, so far as I know, the first time he had been heard in a southern institution of higher learning with a predominantly white constituency. He was warmly received by faculty and students, who welcomed his persuasive address on the Christian motives for brotherhood. Such open discussion of a current moral problem was, however, viewed with alarm by the editor of the *Alabama Baptist,* who in a May 4 editorial declared that speeches on controversial issues should be avoided, for "all things are not expedient." As an alumnus and friend of the seminary, he wrote, he felt that its graduates would be damaged by news of Dr. King's chapel talk. Certainly the controversy reflected in the editorial did not arise over the content of Dr. King's message, for no copy of his address was ever printed; the issue was rather whether a leader of Christian nonviolence should be heard at all.

Another reason for silence is the preference of some southern ministers for working with strategically placed individuals in efforts looking toward peaceful desegregation. Some of these clergymen believe that premature publicity would wither those efforts as does scorching sunlight a tender plant. They prefer to see Christian attitudes take root and flourish quietly, through specific attitudes and activities of laymen, rather than to have atten-

tion called to some dramatic pronouncement by a clergyman.

As an example of such quiet growth, consider what happened during the pastorate of Swan Haworth at First Baptist Church in Vicksburg, Mississippi, between 1939 and 1951. Dr. Haworth consistently referred to Negroes who visited his study as "Mr." or "Mrs." so and so. On one occasion he introduced some Negro visitors in that manner to certain members of his church who chanced to be arriving for a meeting. The members became indignant; later the deacons sought to remove the possibility of future disturbances by ruling that Negroes could not visit the church without their permission.

The result was quite unexpected. Members of the woman's missionary society declared that *they* would invite whomever they pleased to speak at their meetings. Younger members of the congregation sought to provoke the deacons; only the pastor's calm advice prevented precipitous action by the young people. Dr. Haworth continued quietly to offer elementary courtesy to Negro citizens, and eventually the deacons voted unanimously to strike from their minutes the section forbidding Negroes to come to the church.

II

Still another reason for silence is the presence in the southern churches of many persons who are unable to discern or accept any relationship between love for God and love for neighbor. The blessing of having a large, affluent church can prove a curse when situations arise in which social mores run counter to Christian conscience. When on boards of deacons and stewards one sees prominent citizens—a governor, perhaps, and leading lawyers, businessmen and physicians—it is easy to understand how Christian ethics and southern culture are often assumed to be synonymous. (Incidentally, Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi has for many years been a deacon and Bible class teacher in the First Baptist Church of Jackson.) Prominent citizens who are church members have made determined efforts to muffle the few statements southern religious groups have made on race relations. In 1959 the First Baptist Church of Front Royal, Virginia, repudiated its pastor's stand for desegregation of schools. After Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, three strong churches in Alabama voted to withhold funds from the seminary.

Another reason for silence is the awareness that militant segregationists are likely to launch counterattacks against ministers who speak publicly for moderation and for Christian love in times of racial tension. Take the experience of Bruce Evans, pastor of University Baptist Church in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Dr. Evans had become known for his insistence in the pulpit and in private conversation on the truth that love for God *and* for neighbor must prevail in race relations. In August 1961 he joined 50 other ministers in signing a statement calling for "justice, decency and humility" in race relations. Shortly thereafter the school board denied to his wife employment as a high school mathematics teacher, explaining: "A few people who advocate integration have infiltrated our school system." Dr. Evans received strong support from his congregation, however, until April of this year when, after prolonged discussion, he finally resigned.

When in the summer of 1961 another minister in Baton Rouge wrote to me that he and his colleagues were being followed about by indignant laymen, that ministers' telephones were being tapped, and that a segregationist organization had been formed with the aim of muzzling the ministry, I was skeptical. But on December 31 of that year a federal grand jury indicted a state senator and two other men for tapping the telephones of religious leaders who had signed the statement on justice in race relations.

From such incidents one might conclude that ministers are eager to be prophetic but are held back by laymen in their churches. Such, however, is not always the case. Sometimes laymen also are silenced by social isolation or economic boycott. In 1953 a railway conductor who taught a Sunday school class in Lebanon Junction, Kentucky, began to apply to discussion of race relations the biblical reminder "God is no respecter of persons." As a result, he suffered isolation and abuse. Finally he abandoned his position; as he wrote in the *Review and Expositor* for April 1956, a main reason for his decision to do so was that he had received support from none of the ministers and laymen in the community.

Regrettably, southern ministers usually find that they cannot count on regional denominational support in efforts to stand firm against attacks based on their championing of justice and decency in race relations. Some who have written articles for denominational periodicals in the south have been surprised to find that when their articles appear all references to Negroes and racial integration have been deleted.*

III

Though it is indeed true that many southern pastors, denominational officials and laymen have been silent in these days of racial crisis, there are those who *have* spoken out. Invited to address the Baptist state convention of Georgia after being defeated by a militant segregationist in his bid to retain his seat in Congress, Brooks Hays accepted—and did not hesitate to discuss the racial situation. That same year the president of the Florida Baptist convention declared that Christians who flout the Supreme Court rulings on integration are "immature." And Virginia Baptists refused to endorse Governor

*See "Segregation and Southern Churches," in the *Journal of Religion and Health* for April 1962.

J. Lindsay Almond's policy calling for massive resistance to public school desegregation.

At their 1961 convention Georgia Baptists turned down a report which termed integration of public schools a violation of religious conviction. Kentucky Baptists voted to desegregate their hospitals, though a similar proposal in neighboring Tennessee lost out. In December 1961 the South Carolina Baptist Student Union voted 117-25 to urge the state Baptist convention to "give careful study to their responsibility and opportunity to open doors of knowledge and service to qualified students regardless of race or creed."

Missionaries on furlough have often spoken against segregation to southern white audiences that have never before heard a white man condemn it. They have been listened to because they present racial prejudice as a stumbling block to evangelization of the heathen and a scandal to whites who call themselves Christian. It is hard to silence missionaries from one's home state. After a Mississippi Baptist journal in the fall of 1962 had printed a letter from a missionary pleading for development of Christian attitudes at home so souls can be won abroad, protests flooded in on the editor, who cried: "But she is a native of our state and a missionary! It is our conviction that she has a right to be heard."

In 1962 a representative of one denomination's Alabama office came before a meeting of home and foreign missionaries to request them to delete references to racial unrest from any speeches they might make in the state that fall. This prohibition was subsequently questioned in a speech by William Gilliland, a missionary to Nigeria. How could anyone, he asked, expect him to keep silent on a question that had been raised by at least one person in every Alabama audience he had addressed: What is the effect of our racial strife on your missionary work? And when Mrs. Gilliland, a physician, spoke to the woman's missionary union of Montgomery on the difficulties racial strife poses for missionary work, the women crowded around her—some of them in tears—to thank her for her message; they had never before heard that particular application of the gospel to their racial practices.

Missionary motivation often plays a part in changing individual attitudes—the quietest and most enduring accomplishment southern churchmen have achieved in race relations. The process typically begins with the pastor and one or two laymen discussing race relations with leaders in the church, emphasizing the relation of God's love to love for men, and the effect of local attitudes on the missionary witness of the church.

That was the procedure followed when a Nigerian couple studying at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary started attending Crescent Hill Baptist Church in Louisville. Earlier, John Claypool, the pastor, had pointed out that acceptance of the couple into membership would demonstrate concern for missions in Africa. Now he discussed with the board of deacons the relative merit of loss of Christian witness and loss of a few members from the rolls. After a period of prayer several of the deacons confessed that they had entertained some hard feelings and prejudices in regard to the proposal to accept the Nigerian couple, but that they now realized that such an attitude was unchristian and were ready to give strong support to that proposal. And in the woman's missionary union several of the older women agreed that to reject the couple would be to repudiate the heart of their work.

IV

Although southern ministers prefer to work quietly in the area of race relations, their remarks *can* be very specific. In Albany, Georgia, Brooks Ramsey, pastor of First Baptist Church, began in November 1961 an attempt to bring city officials and Negro leaders together to seek resolution of racial tensions. Known as a moderate on the racial question, he had on several occasions declared that the church was open to all who honored Jesus Christ. As racial tension mounted in Albany through the summer of 1962, militant segregationists in the congregation solicited his signature on a petition calling for writing segregation into First Baptist's constitution. Mr. Ramsey not only refused but announced that he would vigorously oppose circulation of the petition among members of the congregation. Later, when an usher turned away three Negroes who attempted to enter the church for a Sunday morning worship service, Mr. Ramsey publicly expressed his regret that the visitors had not been seated. In the face of attacks by the segregationists for his stand, he sought and received a vote of confidence from the church.

In the fall of 1962, after three Negro churches in the Albany area had been burned in reprisal for attempts to foster Negro voter registration, the *Christian Index,* Baptist state paper in Georgia, carried an editorial which said in part:

> How many Christians have been bold in their demands for racial peace? How many have demanded enforcement of the law that removed the mask from the Ku Klux Klan and other preachers of hatred? How many realize that the devil's disciples who bombed a Jewish temple in Atlanta a few years ago and who now burn Negro churches in South Georgia may someday bomb and burn other churches? . . . Beware in this day if all men speak well of you. It is because silence is your indictment that you are more a coward than a Christian of conviction.

Diplomat

✦ HE SOUGHT to spare their feelings; and with lies
Hid truth . . . and built a bubble paradise;
But dealt them bruises, when the bubble burst,
Harsher than if they'd seen the truth at first.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ.

prodding; wickedness in high places effectively defies legal process of law. Nor has America been particularly adept at winning friends abroad in recent years. Do the authors really exercise moral and political realism in urging that we "take momentary satisfaction in the fact that we have digested this new experience of responsibility and concomitant guilt with comparative success" (i.e., how nice it is we can still live with ourselves after having decided to use our nuclear arsenal if circumstances so dictate)?

Is it no longer true that—as Niebuhr used to insist so convincingly—collective man in a secular society is even less moral than individual man and that most of our seeming virtue is simply national self-interest? How can we say, except in arrogance, that America has tasted "all the bitter and sweet fruits of mature vitality which is the portion of mankind as a whole"? The rise of democratic governments round the world is due as much to the influence of British parliamentarianism as to our own influence. If, as the authors suggest, those who do not accept democracy may not be ready for it, what are the signs of the *kairos*? Are there not many levels of democratic involvement? Is it really a sign of maturity when the criticism of friend and foe no longer greatly disturbs us?

To ask these questions is perhaps akin to carrying coals to Newcastle. On the other hand one may well wonder if the authors' optimism is warranted by the realities of our present-day situation.

CORNELIUS J. DYCK.

Sprightly Spoofery

PEN-ULTIMATES. By Martin E. Marty and Dean Peerman. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, $2.95.

✦ CHRISTIAN SATIRE is rare and American Christian satire is practically nonexistent. The American church of whatever breed takes itself much too seriously to laugh at itself except in slight pen and ink cartoons showing balding rectors engaged in risibilities with their flocks. It is hence refreshing to find two Christians with enough courage to hold up the follies (and/or vices) of contemporary folk religions in America. *Pen-ultimates* is a collection of weekly pieces appearing in The Christian Century from 1960 to 1963. Many build on some religious idiocy appearing in the press; some reflect a particular gripe of the writers. There is hardly a category of pompousness, sentimentality, positive thinking, imitativeness, vanity, pseudo-religiousness, quackery, superstition, dullness or venality which is not exposed to ridicule.

The quality is remarkably even for a collection which depends on weekly beach-combings, but there are pieces funnier than others and some are more sharply ironic. (I am aware that the writers disclaim any effort to be funny. But to try to be funny and to be funny are two different things. Perhaps the charm of the Marty-Peerman humor is that it is not contrived.) In the funny category is an absolute gem: Bunny Foster's letter to her protégé. Bunny is an employee of the Chicago Playboy Club who has adopted a Korean orphan and writes her a Christmas letter. In it Bunny describes in deadly earnest the high ideals which warm the bosoms of the Playboy bunnies. "I get to thinking that what I am doing is sort of a religious thing . . ." The Marty-Peerman spoofing is never better.

Less mild is the attack on more serious lunacies: the "beauties" of the Johnson Island nuclear explosion; the deconsecration of churches left vacant by superhighway construction and the arrival of nonwhites. Quite wonderful is a collection of chestnuts from avant-garde preaching; called "To Quote Tillich . . . ," it bristles with the clichés of people who would not be caught dead with one.

In the early decades of the 18th century Joseph Addison brought the mildly satirical essay to a high level of artistry. Essential to that achievement was Addison's own moral and philosophic consistency. He could laugh at Englishmen because he was himself a wise and good man. Contemporary men, even Christian men, do not have such a wide and solid footing. But the Marty-Peerman satire does speak from a base which, though less ample than Addison's, gives what they say pen-ultimate moral seriousness. I can think of no more appropriate way to define this base than in the words of John, "Little children, keep yourselves from idols."

KARL A. OLSSON.

Religion

The Christian Century 11/27/63

Special Report

Divided Flocks in Jackson

✦ ON THE FRONT of St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church across the street from the governor's mansion in Jackson, Miss., there is a mosaic showing Christ with people of all races gathered about him. The inscription reads: "There shall be one shepherd and one flock."

For several weeks a small band of students from nearby Tougaloo Southern Christian College have been forming integrated groups to visit the white churches of Jackson. The Roman Catholic, the Episcopal, one United Presbyterian and one Missouri Synod Lutheran Church have admitted them.

On Worldwide Communion Sunday (Oct. 6), with churches displaying posters showing red, white, yellow and black hands taking cups from one communion tray, Julie Zaugg, a white student, and Bette Poole and Ida Kate Hannah, both Negroes, were turned away from Capitol Street Methodist Church in Jackson. As they left they were arrested and taken to the city jail where they were charged with trespassing and disturbing public worship. The next day, after having had five minutes to confer with a lawyer by telephone, they pleaded *nolo contendere* (I will not contend). Each was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and fined $500 on each of the two charges. Subsequently they were released on $1,000 appeal bonds provided by two national Methodist agencies, the Board of Christian Social Concerns and the Woman's Division of Christian Service. After hearing Attorney William Kunstler, who had been retained by the National Council of Churches to defend the girls, argue that bail should not be punitive, Judge William Cox refused to lower the amount, adding, "It seems to me that they came down here looking for trouble and they found it."

After the *Chicago Daily News* had reported the incident, Methodist Bishop Charles Brashares of the Chicago area called the arrests and convictions "a tragedy which belittles American democracy and Christian witness around the world . . . totally contrary to Methodist discipline and the law established by our governing body." The next Sunday a Chicago Methodist minister, Stanley Hallet, accompanied the three students to the Capitol Street church steps, where they were joined by two white students from Millsaps College in Jackson. There the group prayed and read from the Bible.

I

The third act of the drama was played out the following week, when five ministers and a layman from Chicago went to Jackson to join the visitation. They called on the pastors of Capitol Street and St. Luke's Methodist churches, but were unable to see either Bishop Marvin Franklin of the Jackson area or W. J. Cunningham, pastor of Galloway Memorial Church. Three members of the team did visit District Superintendent J. W. Leggett, who is to head the Mississippi delegation to next year's

Methodist General Conference in Pittsburgh.

At 8:30 A.M. on Sunday three girls, one white and two Negro, were arrested as they attempted to attend Trinity Lutheran Church (Lutheran Church in America). At 9:20 A.M. John Garner, a white physics instructor at Tougaloo and a member of the Galloway Memorial church, arrived to attend his Sunday school class accompanied by Joseph Buckles and Elmer Dickson, two of the visiting white ministers, and Joyce Ladner, a Negro student. Before Sunday school began the four were arrested (inside the church) on charges of trespassing and disturbing public worship. At 11 the three girls who had been arrested on Oct. 6 were escorted to the Capitol Street church by two white ministers, Donald Walden and myself. We were arrested on church property as we were being turned away. At St. Luke's Methodist a fifth minister, James Reed, and a student were turned away but were not arrested.

The next Sunday, Oct. 27, two Methodist and two Evangelical United Brethren ministers from Chicago and two Negro students from Tougaloo, in separate teams of three members each, visited Galloway and Capitol Street churches. This time a new tactic was employed: after they were turned away the ministers escorted the students back to their cars, then returned to the church steps to pray. Preston Cole, Methodist, and Sheldon Trapp, E.U.B., were arrested while praying in front of the Capitol Street church.

II

The legal procedures employed in these cases are significant as guideposts in the racial struggle. Attorney Kunstler, who had defended the freedom riders arrested in Jackson last year and who is chief counsel for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, sought a federal injunction restraining the city of Jackson and the state of Mississippi from interfering with his clients' constitutional rights under the First amendment. He quickly added as party plaintiffs the others arrested during the third week—a legal maneuver that took their cases out of the city and state courts. To get the cases transferred Kunstler cited a little-used section of the U.S. Civil Rights act of 1866. When Judge Cox refused to sign a writ of habeas corpus, Kunstler went to Atlanta to have a higher court issue a writ of mandamus instructing Cox to issue the writ and set bail for the 12.

Earlier, on Oct. 25, Mayor Allen Thompson of Jackson, who is a member of the Galloway church, had admitted in court that he used the city's police powers to enforce segregation. He said that if a church wanted to be mixed, that was all right with him; but if they wanted to be segregated, he would use police power to keep them segregated—whether it took one or 500 policemen.

The situation in Mississippi is undoubtedly fraught with extreme danger. In an informal conversation Marquis Childs, nationally syndicated columnist, said that the situation is frighteningly reminiscent of what he saw in Germany in the 1930s. In an opinion handed down in October the U.S. Fifth circuit court said that the state of Mississippi has a "steel hard, inflexible, undeviating policy of racial segregation." If he is to live comfortably in Mississippi, a white man must accept this policy or be subject to harassment, loss of credit, numerous traffic arrests, even threat of death.

While other southern states seem to be making some progress in freeing the moderate to speak his opinion, Mississippi remains regimented on the issue. The Democratic candidates for the governorship did not run against each other but against Pres. Kennedy; Paul Johnson won the primary election because he "stood tall last fall"—a reference to the fact that he stood in the door of the University of Mississippi to bar Negro student James Meredith. The state has little industry and seems to be getting poorer, though Gov. Ross Barnett denies emphatically that such is the case. Negroes, who comprise 46 per cent of the population, seldom are able to vote, and they enjoy few job opportunities. Aaron Henry, Clarksdale druggist who is president of the state branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, says that the proposed law to give the franchise to all persons who have achieved a sixth-grade education would still leave more than half the Negroes disfranchised.

III

In the face of today's racial tension the Methodist Church finds itself in a difficult situation. Nearly one third of its members live in the deep south. Its administrative structure locates all executive power in the regional jurisdictions. Its nongeographical, segregated Central jurisdiction is totally out of touch with the geographical, white Southeastern jurisdiction which it overlaps. It was not until 1939 that the 1844 rift which split the church on the slavery question was healed. Now there are real fears that another rift will take place if the civil rights issue is pushed too hard. Just now there is a chance that the national Methodist Woman's Division of Christian Service may lose as much as $100,000 in contributions to its missions program because it put up half the bail money for the three girls.

It is obvious that the Methodist Church in Mississippi is hopelessly beholden to the culture. After the University of Mississippi riots 28 Mississippi Methodist ministers issued a statement saying that the pulpit must be free if the Word of God is to be preached, that they do not believe in discrimination on the basis of color or race, that the schools should not be closed to avoid integration, and that they are all anticommunists. Today only 12 of those ministers remain in Mississippi; the former pastors of the Galloway and Capitol Street churches, who supported but did not sign the statement, are no longer serving churches in the Mississippi conference.

The man who has directed the attack on racial segregation in the churches is the Rev. Edwin King, 27, a native white Mississippian who is dean of students and chaplain at Tougaloo. At the latest Mississippi annual conference he was ordained, yet by a vote of 89-85 he was refused admission to the conference, which means that he cannot be appointed to serve any of its churches or have access to its benefits. Dr. Leggett describes King as an "irresponsible troublemaker with mental problems"; another person, however, describes him as "Mississippi's Pastor Niemöller."

The arrest of Sheldon Trapp may have ramifications for the Methodist-Evangelical United Brethren merger, for there has been much E.U.B. dissatisfaction with Methodist foot-dragging on the racial issue. Many northern Methodists have sought to persuade their E.U.B. colleagues to hold out for dissolution of the Central jurisdiction and for modifications in the jurisdictional and episcopal systems before union is consummated. Thirty Illinois E.U.B. pastors, including seven professors at their church's seminary in Naperville, recently issued a statement that said: "This issue is sufficiently serious that a full discussion of it is essential even if it delays or imperils the basis of union."

The problem posed by the jurisdictional system looms large. That system originally was designed as a means of facilitating unity. There are many churchmen who now feel that it has failed its purpose, that it is a hindrance to the unity it sought to further and therefore should be changed. In testifying against the arrested ministers and students one Mississippi pastor intimated that it is the function of the Central jurisdiction to keep the Negroes from joining white churches.

Seth Granberry, pastor of the Capitol Street church, has acknowledged that he has no control over the situation. He says that if he were to permit a Negro to enter his church the pews would be empty the next Sunday; further, that if a white and a Negro bishop were to present themselves together at the doors of his church they would be arrested.

There is little likelihood of such a presentation occurring.

The theological issue was clearly stated by one policeman as he interrogated a visiting pastor: "I'm a Methodist and I paid for that church, and we'll run it the way we want to run it. It's our church." The question in Jackson today is, Who is Lord of the Church? On the front of St. Peter's Church there is an answer—the biblical one.

GERALD FORSHEY.

MA, file

dolences to Mrs. Kennedy and to members of the late President's immediate family in their hour of bereavement.

Russian Wheat Deal a Typical Communist Bargain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 4, 1963

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, it just seems some of our officials can never learn that the Communists are not to be trusted. They have one objective, world domination by the Soviet Union and every phase of their national life is geared to that end. Trade with the Soviets is to them a political weapon. Agreements, treaties, promises are just so much paper to the Communists. Breaking treaties, welching on agreements, lying, is a part of Communist strategy. In fact, it is written into their constitution.

For some reason our officials just will not accept this. We continue to believe that we can deal with the Communists as an honorable government with the result that in every deal they win and we lose.

The latest farce is the deal to sell wheat to Russia. In spite of all the assurances that U.S. interests would be protected, we have now arrived at the point where none of the original agreements will be included.

This should prove to us, Mr. Speaker, that you cannot do business with the Communists and that you can trust the Communists only to do what they have said all along they will do, win the cold war and destroy us.

As a part of these remarks I include an editorial from today's Wall Street Journal, "How One Thing Leads to Another." It is a step by step account of how Communist Russia has conned us into giving them all they wanted in the first place on the wheat deal. The editorial follows:

HOW ONE THING LEADS TO ANOTHER

When the Russian wheat deal was first proposed last October, the late President Kennedy, in clear and specific language, laid down some excellent terms. He carefully explained what the deal would be—and would not be.

This would be a private, commercial transaction, the Government's role being limited to granting the necessary permission, he said. The sale would be for gold or American dollars, either cash on delivery or "normal commercial terms." Basically, in his words, "the Soviet Union would be treated like any other cash customer * * * who is willing and able to strike a bargain with private American merchants."

In presenting this arrangement, Mr. Kennedy emphasized that one feature of it was that the wheat sold to the Soviet Union would be carried in American ships.

Thus, while even then the wheat sale was not without its critics, it was generally accepted by the public on the basis of this straightforward arrangement. On such terms the Russians could buy wheat on the world market anyway, and it seemed as though we would get a fair "quid" for the Russian "quo."

Now, it seems, things aren't quite what they seemed.

One of the first things that happened, once the Soviet buyers got the U.S. Government's approval to the principle of a sale, was that they balked at having the wheat shipped to them in American ships. Mr. Khrushchev, figuratively at least, banged the bargaining table, and the U.S. Government relaxed this part of the arrangement.

After that it developed that the Soviet Union didn't want to pay cash after all, either in gold or U.S. dollars. Nor were the Communists willing to deal on normal commercial terms, meaning such short-term credit as they might get from either the private sellers or private banks. A few efforts at obtaining such credit on their terms, here and in Europe, were unproductive. Whereupon the Soviets said to us: No credit, no deal.

So next the proposition was that the U.S. Government, through the Export-Import Bank, itself finance the Russian wheat purchase by guaranteeing a loan for 75 percent of the purchase price.

The first reactions to this, not unreasonably, were objections in Congress. A bill was introduced to prohibit this U.S. financing of Russian trade. And although Treasury Secretary Dillon argued that we must underwrite the sale or there would be no sale, the Senate Banking Committee appeared unpersuaded that the deal was worth that price. Appeared unpersuaded, that is, until the assassination of President Kennedy.

Then, in the aftermath of that tragic event, the Senate committee quietly decided to put aside its objections to financing the Russian wheat sale. The explanation given was that this was intended as a tribute to the man who had so carefully spelled out the original terms, and somehow as a gesture of confidence to the new President.

This action had hardly been taken, yielding one more point to the Soviet bargainers, when there developed an argument over the shipping rates for transporting the wheat to Russia. The Russians decided they were too high, implying that if something can't be done to get cheaper shipping rates—a special U.S. subsidy, perhaps?—maybe they would have to get their wheat somewhere else.

What interests us here is not so much the wrangle over the Soviet Union's credit standing, although Senator MUNDT had a point about the unpaid Soviet debts due us from World War II. Nor so much even the fact that a Soviet wheat loan would be a major change in the Export-Import Bank policy, which has so far never extended credit or credit insurance to a Communist bloc country.

Rather, the intriguing thing here is the progressive change in the wheat deal and the attitude of U.S. officials to the changing Soviet demands. We have witnessed a typical Communist maneuver. First a proposition that has the sound of reasonableness. Then, a bargain seemingly struck, demands for a little change. Finally, this being agreed to, a new set of demands. The same sort of thing has happened a thousand times over in different kinds of bargaining with the Communists.

Unfortunately, the American reaction is also all too typical. Congratulations at a well-struck bargain; next a little yielding in the hopes of saving the bargain. Finally, "getting a deal" seems to become to us as important as the terms of the bargain. And before you know it, the Russians have what they were after in the first place.

Whatever else may be said about the present proposals, they are a far cry from the thoughtful terms laid down by President Kennedy last October. It is really astounding, when you think of it, how one little thing leads to another.

Religion

National Council of the Churches of Christ Urges Signatures on Civil Rights Discharge Petition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 3, 1963

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, December 9, Members of the House of Representatives will have an opportunity to take an important forward step toward the passage of one of the most significant pieces of legislation that Congress has considered in many years, the Civil Rights Act of 1963.

This opportunity will be presented to Members of the House in the form of a petition to discharge the Rules Committee of further consideration of the civil rights bill and I hope that the required 218 Members of the House, both Democrats and Republicans, will sign their names to this petition.

As evidence of the support of many of the major religious denominations in our country for the passage of the civil rights bill and specifically for the use of the unusual discharge petition procedure, I draw the attention of Members of the House to the adoption on December 5, 1963 of a resolution on civil rights legislation adopted by the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States.

The text of this resolution follows:

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A. RESOLUTION ON CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

(Adopted by the general assembly Dec. 5, 1963)

The eyes of the world are upon the American Congress, watching to see whether our national legislative body, in a bipartisan way, can meet the challenge of one of the greatest moral issues of our time. Six months have already passed since comprehensive civil rights legislation was introduced. Further delay by the Congress could undermine the faith of the American people in the capacity of its political institutions to function and the confidence of all men who love liberty in the ability of the United States to advance the global struggle for freedom.

The General Assembly of the National Council of Churches, therefore, calls upon the Congress of the United States to take every step necessary to insure the earliest possible passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1963, including the immediate use of a discharge petition which will enable the House of Representatives to take action on the bill.

The General Assembly of the National Council of Churches also calls upon Christians across the Nation to urge their Representatives in Congress to sign such a petition when it is presented.

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'Three great men by the name of John . . .'

A Cardinal's Tribute To Father LaFarge

At the Requiem Mass in St. Ignatius Loyola Church last week for Father John LaFarge, S.J., a Cardinal spoke memorable words. And a Jesuit editor took notes. This is the text prepared from those notes of the sermon by His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston:

I am presuming on the permission of my good friend, His Eminence Cardinal Spellman, to say a few words on this ocasion. And I am presuming on the permission of Very Rev. Father Provincial of the Jesuit Fathers to violate one of their sacred rules that pertains to "no eulogy" at the Mass for members of the Society of Jesus. However, I have no intention of preaching a eulogy, I only desire to present to you, in brief form my personal appreciation of a Father, a friend of yours and mine, the late Father John LaFarge.

I was thinking of the late Father John LaFarge this morning on the plane that brought me from Boston to New York. So many events are happening in these times that it must have some meaning in the mind of God. Three great men by the name of John have been called recently to eternity. Pope John XXIII, the only Church high authority who ever understood me in Vatican circles—and for that I think there must be something supernatural about him, because I do not understand myself. And then there was our friend, President John F. Kennedy, and then today God has called to his reward another here by the name of John.

Blinding

It is difficult, even impossible, for human eyes to visualize God, because no eyes of any human being could gaze upon God and all His attributes without being blinded by infinite perfection. But there are various things about God that epitomize in words His place in religion, of God. If I were to epitomize the personal appeal of the life and work of the beloved Father John LaFarge, I would say: "Like God Himself, he was always active, yet always calm."

'He was always active, but always a priest, an instrument of God, the true tool of Christ. Activity dominated his life until it was closed. Yet in the midst of activity he was always calm . . . Let us cherish his memory by perpetuating his work . . .'

This great man of God never played to the galleries. In the heat of discussion, he never appeared attempting to win with catch phrases, or to make any impression but by way of presenting the truth as he saw it.

The accomplishments of John LaFarge are so numerous that it would be impossible to name them all. They are all indications of his activity. He wrote an autobiography, "The Manner is Ordinary," referring to his way of life. In my opinion, the book should be entitled "The Manner is Extraordinary."

I first met Father LaFarge 40 years ago in Boston, when the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, founded by Mother Katherine Drexel, were building an information and recreation center for the Negro people. I invited Father LaFarge to come to that Mission, for the work on my part was voluntary. I especially needed and wanted his advice.

Aid for Poor

he founded the first Catholic Interracial Council in the United States. Since that time these councils have multiplied from one end of the country to the other. He also founded the Catholic Laymen's Union as a supporting arm, as it were. When a Negro demonstration rolled into Washington it surprised everybody by its magnificent order and organization. They paid Father LaFarge a great tribute—a position of honor, so that all the country could behold the man who spearheaded, as it were, the Catholic movement for Negro welfare.

Inspiring

The Church was dragging its heels. Not that we missed our duty in the past. But then we seemed contented to let things develop in their own way, confident that in God's good time things would work out. In this work of inspiring Catholic Interracial councils Father LaFarge lives forever in the hearts of our Negro brethren and will be forever admired by all of us.

But he did far more than that. He caused the National Catholic Welfare Conference to

men by the name of John have been called recently to eternity. Pope John XXIII, the only Church high authority who ever understood me in Vatican circles—and for that I think there must be something supernatural about him, because I do not understand myself. And then there was our friend, President John F. Kennedy, and then today God has called to his reward another here by the name of John.

Blinding

It is difficult, even impossible, for human eyes to visualize God, because no eyes of any human being could gaze upon God and all His attributes without being blinded by infinite perfection. But there are various things about God that epitomize in words His place in religion, from the world He has created. Foremost among them are two attributes: God is always active and God is always calm. **Semper agens. Semper quietus.**

Look about and you will see manifestations of God's activity: all the universe in perfect order, day and night succeed, the seasons follow one another, millions of heavenly bodies beyond reach. They all indicate with countless other things in the order of nature the limitless activity of the infinite being whom we call God. Even though we never hear a whisper from a tabernacle door, nor a prayer answered, try to add up the millions of people who come to God and want to offer their homage, thanks or petitions to the Eucharist.

God is always active, and yet we see no manifestations of His anger or His vengeance against all the evils in the world and the beings made in His image. As a general of the armed forces once said, at the root of every difficulty or problem on the earth is theology. Therefore theology has the answer for all wrongs.

No Catching Phrases

Yes, **semper agens, semper quietus.** These are two very beautiful and practical attributes. The accomplishments of John LaFarge are so numerous that it would be impossible to name them all. They are all indications of his activity. He wrote an autobiography, "The Manner is Ordinary," referring to his way of life. In my opinion, the book should be entitled "The Manner is Extraordinary."

I first met Father LaFarge 40 years ago in Boston, when the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, founded by Mother Katherine Drexel, were building an information and recreation center for the Negro people. I invited Father LaFarge to come to that Mission, for the work on my part was voluntary. I especially needed and wanted his advice.

Aid for Poor

He came and he recommended that I establish a program of aid to boys and girls of poor families. I followed his advice, and from it was born an organization of which I am the sponsor, Catholic Scholarships for Negroes, Inc. The guiding spirit of the organization was Mrs. Roger Putnam, of Springfield, Mass., I believe. I am a sort of voluntary episcopal protector and guide. Since that organization was founded, hundreds of capable but poor Negro students have had an opportunity to go to a Catholic college. Every year the number increases.

Ever since that contact with Father LaFarge, I gradually became interested in his works. They are innumerable. Way back 30 years ago he founded the Catholic Interracial Council. It wasn't fashionable in those days to be identified with any interracial work. To be sure, it was fashionable to help a Negro. But to demand civil rights and to encourage them to aspire to the highest posts and careers and opulence enjoyed by others, was far from fashionable 25 years ago, to be frank. But fashionable or not, Father LaFarge, as a result of his eperiencesx in missionary work, especially in rural areas, dedicated himself to helping the Negro and other minority groups.

Animated by his love of God and neighbor, he was dragging his heels in the movement for Negro welfare.

Inspiring

The Church was dragging its heels. Not that we missed our duty in the past. But then we seemed contented to let things develop in their own way, confident that in God's good time things would work out. In this work of inspiring Catholic Interracial councils Father LaFarge lives forever in the hearts of our Negro brethren and will be forever admired by all of us.

But he did far more than that. He caused the National Catholic Welfare Conference to organize a rural life department. Before we ever heard the words "ecumenical" or "ecumenical spirit" in our life, as a result of the Pope's opening the doors and letting the fresh air of the twentieth century in, Father LaFarge was representing this ecumenical spirit in the highest places. Throughout his life he made contacts with thousands of people of all religious groups and he numbered a great many of them among his friends.

A few years ago, when Harvard University gave me an honorary degree, Father LaFarge was there for his 15th anniversary of graduation. He was one of the few men I knew on the campus. Everyone knew him and respected him. He is still known and esteemed for his scholarship and linguistic abilities by men and women in all parts of the country.

Ecumenical

He was far ahead of us all in spreading the spirit of the ecumenical council. Before the week is out, the Council will reach its decision on the liturgy. But years ago Father LaFarge was a power in the liturgical movement, far ahead of his time. In the field of international peace, he held an exalted place. Scholar, prolific writer, add all he wrote and you have a small library. Editor for a time of the greatest Catholic weekly in the country, popularly known as America, he attained an enviable reputation as its gifted editor.

He was always active, but always a priest, an instrument of God, the true tool of Christ. Activity dominated his life until it was closed. Yet in the midst of activity he was always calm, never disturbed, never upset, always reaching the root and core of every discussion and calmly, intelligently coming forth with a common denominator acceptable to all.

God is always active and He is always calm. If I apply these terms, I do not know any priest of God to whom I could better apply them than to Father LaFarge.

Crusader for Truth

Now all is calm, all is peaceful. Please God, he is now in the mansions of Heaven. Let us cherish the memory of this great crusader for the truth. And we can do it best not only by our prayers but by perpetuating more and more the wonderful spirit of Catholic interracial work.

There was a man sent by God whose name was John—John LaFarge.

October 17, 1961

Dear Mr. Ridder:

The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the publication of The Catholic News is a milestone in the history of the Archdiocese of New York. On this happy occasion I congratulate you, your dedicated Editor and the zealous members of your staff who have faithfully fulfilled this important apostolate, and I join the religious, the clergy and the faithful of the Archdiocese in prayerfully wishing all those associated with The Catholic News God's continued blessings.

With kind regards, I am
Very sincerely yours in Christ,
✠ F. Cardinal Spellman
Archbishop of New York

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THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1963 31

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
OF NEW YORK

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CHAIRMAN

MRS. W. MURDOCH MACLEOD
GENERAL DIRECTOR

December 6, 1963

To: National Christian Social Relations Committee
and State Presidents.

Re: Civil Rights Act

Dear Friends:

I am writing this letter from Philadelphia following the session of the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches in which the enclosed resolution was adopted (with only a handful of dissenting votes). How good it is to have several C S R state chairmen and state presidents here.

The urgent need at this moment is for each of us who shares the concern that the Civil Rights Act be passed to write our representatives in the House to sign the discharge petition which will bring the proposed Bill to the floor for debate and action. Even though your congressman knows your convictions on civil rights it is important that you urge him to sign the discharge petition.

The petition is to be introduced Monday, December 9. Members will have only that week to sign it, 218 signatures are needed.

Bus loads of Assembly delegates will interrupt their attendance tomorrow to have appointments with their representatives in Washington. You can help further by seeing that your local TV and Radio stations are given a copy of the Assembly's resolution urging action by all concerned people. Share the information and need also with key people in your church and community, urging them to write, wire or phone their congressman.

Those closest to the Washington scene say that the action of church people now can literally be decisive.

With special greetings to you, and in haste,

Eleanor French

Eleanor French, Director
Christian Social Relations

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.
on
CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

The eyes of the world are upon the American Congress, watching to see whether our national legislative body, in a bi-partisan way, can meet the challenge of one of the greatest moral issues of our time. Six months have already passed since comprehensive civil rights legislation was introduced. Further delay by the Congress could undermine the faith of the American people in the capacity of its political institutions to function and the confidence of all men who love liberty in the ability of the United States to advance the global struggle for freedom.

The General Assembly of the National Council of Churches, therefore, calls upon the Congress of the United States to take every step necessary to insure the earliest possible passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1963, including the immediate use of a discharge petition which will enable the House of Representatives to take action on the Bill.

The General Assembly of the National Council of Churches also calls upon Christians across the nation to urge their Representatives in Congress to sign such a petition when it is presented.

MARKED COPY

Saturday, December 7, 1963

INFORMATION SERVICE

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Entered as second-class matter January 4, 1924 at the Post Office at New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

"The Businessman and the Negro"

Religious conviction and governmental action are important in the struggle for Negro equality. However, many of the major dimensions of the problems are economic and capable of resolution only as American business and labor face up to the realities.

It is, therefore, of major importance that the September issue of *Fortune,* a highly influential spokesman to and for the business world, devotes its lead article to the title given above. The author, Charles E. Silberman, is a member of the board of editors of *Fortune.* His extended article deserves to be read in full. It in turn is based on a chapter in his book, *Crisis in Black and White,* soon to be published by Random House.

The following extracts, reprinted with the permission of *Fortune,* present some of the economic realities and point up needed responses by employees.

"The events of this past spring and summer, beginning with the demonstrations in Birmingham in April and May, represent a major watershed in the history of U.S. race relations. Birmingham, and its aftermath in a hundred cities around the country, demonstrated, so that no one could doubt it any longer, the depth of Negro discontent, the extent of Negro anger and hate, and the ease with which it can flare into violence. Politics, churches, schools, and all aspects of American life will be affected by this anger. Businessmen in particular will be involved more deeply and painfully in the racial struggle. . . .

"The great mass of Negroes . . . are more concerned with where they work than with where they eat: winning the right to eat at a desegregated lunch counter is small consolation to men who can't afford the cost of the meal.

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Page 7 The Need for Sanctions
Page 7 Creative Extremism
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Page 8 "A Flower for the Graves"

Explanation Enough

"I am against bigotry and discrimination because I think they are wrong. I am for human understanding, for equal justice, for equality of opportunity because I think they are right.

"May this country always be the kind where a man needs —and the people demand—no greater explanation than this."

—Lyndon Baines Johnson, April 3, 1962.

The great majority of Negro Americans are still mired in poverty. . . .

"The Verge of Crisis"

"Two out of three Negro households earn less than $4,000 a year, and one Negro male in nine is out of work. This poverty and insecurity are particularly galling to the Negro, who sees the white society that surrounds him grow increasingly affluent while he remains tied to his slum. Contrary to popular impression, Negroes' economic position has actually deteriorated over the last ten years, relative to that of whites. Negroes did make enormous advances during World War II and the boom years that followed, for the shortage of labor drew them into factory and white-collar jobs that had always been barred to them. As a result, Negro income increased 80 per cent faster than white income, and the median income of Negro families jumped from only 37 per cent of white income in 1939 to 57 per cent in 1952. But this escalation came to a halt with the slowdown of the economy after the end of the Korean war. As a result, the median income of Negro families dropped from its high of 57 per cent of white income in 1952 to 53 per cent in 1962.

"The future is even bleaker than the present; it is no exaggeration to say that Negroes are on the verge of a major economic crisis, for the gap is widening between Negro education and training, on the one hand, and the requirements of the labor market, on the other. Automation, new management techniques, and changes in consumer spending patterns are all reducing the demand for unskilled and semiskilled labor and increasing employment in professional, managerial, clerical, and sales jobs, many of which require considerable education and training.

"These white-color occupations account for no less than 97 per cent of the total increase in employment that

has occurred since 1947. The professionalization of the labor force accelerated during the mid-fifties, and will pick up more momentum in the decade ahead. But Negroes are badly prepared for this change. Three Negro men in five now work in unskilled or semiskilled blue-collar jobs, compared to three out of ten white men, and more than half the Negro men over the age of twenty-five (versus 21 per cent of white men) have had less than a grammar-school education. . . .

"But Negroes' lack of education and training, and their concentration in unskilled occupations—conditions produced by past discrimination—do not entirely account for Negro poverty. On the contrary, the Negro unemployment rate is higher than the white rate in every major occupational group. Among craftsmen and foremen, for example, Negro unemployment runs to 9.7 per cent, compared to 4.8 per cent for whites; among clerical workers, 7.1 per cent versus 3.8 per cent. While a great many Negroes can't find jobs because they lack the necessary skills, all too many Negroes who do have the education and training are unable to put their skills to work.

Employment—Limited

"Many firms employ Negroes only in a few job classifications. In the South, employment of Negroes is limited by the tradition that Negroes not be permitted to work on an equal status with whites, and that they never be placed in a supervisory position over whites. In the North, exclusion of Negroes from the better jobs stems less from conscious corporate decisions to discriminate than from the conscious or unconscious biases of the personnel officers, the foremen, the executives, i.e., all those involved in hiring and promoting. At the heart of this kind of unconscious discrimination, management consultant John Perry has suggested, is the concept of 'place'—i.e., the notion that certain jobs and certain situations are appropriate, others inappropriate, for Negroes. In almost every company, that is to say, whether through accident or choice, tradition has reserved some jobs almost exclusively for Negroes and some almost exclusively for whites ('Negroes wouldn't be happy there'; 'Negroes wouldn't fit in there'; 'I'm not prejudiced, but my customers might object').

"Because discrimination is so endemic, Negro youngsters all too often see no point to finishing high school or going on to advanced training; they drop out at the first opportunity, and they shirk their studies while they are in school. 'Education is a difficult enough process under any condition,' Dr. Carl Hansen, Superintendent of Schools of Washington, D.C., has explained, 'because educational effort is primarily an expression of hope on the part of the student. . . . The Negro pupil is obliged to be more hopeful than the white student. He is asked to have faith and confidence which at the moment he is in school seems unreasonable and unjustifiable.'

"The Politics of Repair"

"Jobs are the fulcrum, therefore, on which Negro progress rests, and to which Negro protests will be directed. Businessmen will be in the thick of the fray. Corporations of every sort will be served with demands to hire more Negroes in non-menial positions and to train them for promotion. The pressure to open up job opportunities will encompass every level, from apprentice to foreman to executive, though the emphasis will be on the broad middle range. The pressure will be at least as strong in the North as in the South; more than half the Negroes of the U.S. now live in the cities of the North and West, where they constitute a large and rapidly growing proportion of the population. The methods used will run the entire gamut from polite moral suasion to legal action to boycotts, mass picketing, and sit-ins.

"Thus, the problem of race relations may become a major—at times the major—preoccupation of top management for a number of years to come. As J. W. Putsch, President of the National Restaurant Association, told his members in June, 'American businessmen are now involved in something greater than a business problem.' They are, in fact, engaged in one of the most far-reaching and important changes in the nation's history: an attempt to liquidate, in one generation, the consequences of 250 years of slavery and 100 years of discrimination and neglect. To do so, needless to say, will require difficult and heroic decisions on the part of civic and political as well as business leaders; it will require changes in the behavior of Americans in every walk of life. . . .

"If businessmen are to do more than just float with the tide, if they are to play a constructive role, they will have to look beyond the usual rules and canons of business management. Pressed by demands from angry Negro activists on the one side and resistant white workers, trade unionists, and executives on the other, managers will find themselves involved in an unending process of accommodation, mediation, adjustment, and persuasion. Executives, in short, will need to learn the art of politics in the highest sense of that term, for they will be engaged in what has been called 'the politics of repair.' Businessmen like to think of themselves as conservatives; they now have a rare opportunity to conserve American society by repairing what has to be repaired and changing what has to be changed. . . .

"Are Tests Necessary?"

"To end this vicious circle that keeps Negroes untrained and unemployed will require patience and imagination, and, in many cases, a break with corporate tradition. How can it be done? IBM now includes mathematics and science professors from Negro as well as white colleges in the summer programs it runs at several computer centers; the program explains to the professors the career opportunities that are available for their students and the requirements for those careers. Texas Instruments, the Dallas electronics manufacturer, has gone farther. It helped establish guidance councils at two nearby Negro colleges where scientists, engineers, and executives from firms in the Dallas area have been helping the colleges overhaul their obsolete curricula and beef up their inadequate placement services.

"A few companies have tried modifying their employment and promotion procedures. When the Negro boycotts were under way in Philadelphia last year, for example, the president of one major corporation decided to take a look at his company's position in advance of any attack. He discovered that his Negro employees—200 out of 2,000—were all at the bottom rung, although the company had no overt biases. Upon further examination, it developed that Negroes stayed at the botom because they never took the written exams which the company used to measure qualifications for promotion; they simply assumed that the tests were designed to give the company an excuse for not promoting them. Since the tests bore

little relation to the job functions involved, the president ordered them replaced with job-performance tests and on-the-job training. As a result, seventy Negroes were upgraded. 'I'm convinced that we'll have to do some innovating in order to hire more Negroes,' says IBM's Bricker; reexamination of corporate testing procedures, in his view, is a good place to start. He feels that there are a great many positions where on-the-job training can be given Negroes who fail the usual qualifying tests.

"If Negro employment is to be increased, moreover, firms will have to find substitutes or shortcuts for the experience they now demand as a prerequisite in certain jobs. A large merchandising chain, for example, recently asked the National Urban League for help in hiring Negroes for a number of jobs, including store managers. But there was an unintentional catch; the firm required ten years of merchandising experience with the chain as a condition for promotion to manager. Since it had never employed Negroes in merchandising jobs before, the requirement obviously made it impossible for them to qualify for at least another ten years. The Urban League suggested that the firm develop methods for testing managerial ability in a shorter time.

"The Doctrine of the Debt"

"Negroes are not content with equal opportunity any more; they are demanding preference, or 'positive discrimination' in their favor. Negroes liken their position to that of a runner who is kept at the starting line until his opponents in the race are halfway to the finish line; merely 'freeing him' to run will not enable him to catch up. More and more Negroes, therefore, are espousing 'the doctrine of the debt,' which holds that the U.S. owes the Negro something for 250 years of slavery and 100 years of discrimination. 'If those who make the decisions in this country are really sincere about closing the gaps,' Whitney Young, the brilliant young director of the National Urban League, argues, 'they must go farther than fine impartiality. We must have, in fact, special consideration if we are to compensate for the scars left by three hundred years of deprivation, which actually represented special consideration of another sort.' Hence Young is demanding special priority in employment, suggesting as a precedent the ten-point preference given veterans on civil service exams after World War II.

"The Urban League is proposing that when a Negro and a white have equal qualifications for a job, the former should be given the preference. Militant Negro organizations are demanding considerably more; they are insisting, in effect, that business firms hire Negroes not because they are qualified but because they are Negroes. And they are developing a good deal of muscle to back up their demands for preferential hiring. The most widely used technique is the boycott, or 'selective patronage campaign,' as Negroes prefer to call it. 'Don't buy where you can't work' campaigns were frequent during the 1930's, but they were sporadic and only occasionally effective.

"The contemporary use of the weapon began three years ago in Philadelphia. The campaign was organized and directed by a group of Negro ministers (some four hundred ministers cooperated) with no formal organization. The ministers' technique is to approach one company at a time, usually a manufacturer or distributor of consumer products for which a number of competing brands are available—e.g., bakeries, dairies, oil companies, supermarket chains. If the company refuses to negotiate with the ministers, it is given an ultimatum to hire a specified number of Negroes in specified job classifications before a given date; if the demands are ignored, a boycott ensues. With four hundred ministers using their pulpits to announce the boycott, a substantial portion of the Negro population takes part. A number of firms—e.g., Pepsi-Cola, Esso—have come to terms without a boycott. Others held out—but generally not for long; Gulf Oil capitulated in twelve days, Sun Oil in three months. All told, the ministers have won concessions from twenty-four firms so far. The technique has spread to Boston, New York, Atlanta, Detroit, and other cities, and is bound to be widely imitated. . . .

In Conclusion—

"When all is said and done, however, business must take the initiative not because it is expedient, nor even because it is necessary, but because it is right. 'I tremble for my country,' Thomas Jefferson wrote, 'when I reflect that God is just.' Nor can there be any question about the moral issue involved, unless we are to discard the Judaeo-Christian tradition altogether. 'Unlike any other social problem religion has ever had to come to grips with,' the Reverend Will D. Campbell of the National Council of Churches has written, 'here is one on which there is no room for argument. . . . It was settled for the Jews in the wilderness when they were admonished to accept the Ger, the sojourner, the stranger within their gates . . . and it was settled for Christendom at Pentecost when members of every race and nation and tongue were "altogether in one place hearing the mighty works of God."' "The question, therefore, is no longer what to do, but whether there is still time in which to do it."

The Wrong Time

"My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and nonviolent pressure. History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups are more immoral than individuals.

"We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was "well timed," according to the timetable of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word 'Wait!' It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This 'wait' has almost always meant 'never.' It has been a tranquilizing thalidomide, relieving the emotional stress for a moment, only to give birth to an ill-formed infant of frustration. We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that 'justice too long delayed is justice denied.' We have waited for more than three hundred and forty years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter."

—Martin Luther King's Letter From Birmingham City Jail to certain Alabama churchmen, April 16, 1963.

White Attitudes on the Negro

The *Newsweek* survey of Negro opinion was summarized in the September 28 issue of INFORMATION SERVICE.

The October 21 issue of *Newsweek* publishes the results of a parallel national Harris polling of "white America" in late August of this year.

Both surveys represent substantial empirical contributions on the basis of creditable research. Both deserve reading and study in their unabridged *Newsweek* form. Here some highlights of findings and conclusions are abstracted.

Perhaps most enlightening are the findings on major areas of Negro-White agreement and disagreement. The agreements carry some surprises. On immediate job integration 87 per cent of Negroes ask this; 82 per cent of whites find the demand acceptable. Equal access to public accommodations seems to be far less a controversy in the "white mind" than in Congress. A nearly unanimous Negro demand; it is favored by 82 per cent of the nation's white respondents. Integrated education is favored by 89 per cent of Negroes; accepted by 76 per cent of whites. Curiously the proportions prophesying greater Negro job opportunity "five years from now" is an exactly equal 77 per cent in both groups.

Disagreements

Three areas of wide disagreement emerged. Only 3 per cent of Negroes felt they were "moving too fast" toward equality; 74 per cent of whites expresed this view. Just 34 per cent of whites believed that "the movement" was supported by rank and file Negroes. Negroes, from an obviously closer vantage, testified by 91 per cent that it was so supported. Finally, at the vital point of integrated housing a 78 per cent Negro support contrasts with a 42 per cent white opposition. The latter figure is both ominously large and rather surprisingly small.

Another important insight is provided by isolating and comparing the views of whites who have had social, vocational or educational contact with Negroes as peers (rather than as subordinates) with those who have not had such relationships. Sharp declines in the proportion of stereotypical prejudice and rises in favorable attitude to Negro demands were the almost invariable consequence of this kind of social contact.

Conclusions

Some conclusions drawn by the *Newsweek* writers are quoted below:

"White America admits it stands guilty of discrimination. Across the nation, 76 per cent of whites recognize that the Negro is a victim of prejudice; even in the South, 60 per cent concede this. By wide margins, whites specifically recognize that they have given the Negro second-rate schools, the most menial jobs, the poorest housing, and have even robbed him of the democratic weapon of protest—the right to vote.

"Whites are ready to make amends—up to a point. In North and South alike, they say they are quite ready to pass laws that would guarantee the Negro equality on the job. The North, Midwest, and West would also support Federal laws granting the Negro equality in school, at the lunch counter, and in restaurants, hotels, and motels. Specifically, a clear national majority of 63 per cent favors President Kennedy's civil-rights bill, including its controversial public-accommodations provision, and would even favor a Federal fair employment practices law. Only the South draws the line against joining this consensus.

"Whites, North and South, do not want the Negro living next door. A majority would support Federal measures to provide 'good' Negro housing. But most are opposed to any Federal law that could enforce integrated housing.

Prejudice

"The white image of the Negro is cruelly blurred by prejudice. It is an implausible and contradictory caricature, half Stepin Fetchit—lazy, unwashed, shiftless, unambitious, slow-moving—and half Sportin' Life—cunning, lewd, flashy, strong, fearless, immoral, and vicious.

"By a margin of 2-1, white Americans say the Negroes are moving 'too fast.' Though they accept the idea of demonstrations in general, the whites strongly object to picketing, boycotts, sit-ins, and lie-downs.

"Despite an ingrained personal bias against the Negro, white America is beginning to move ahead, reluctantly and grudgingly, toward giving him equality. One hopeful sign: 43 per cent of white Southerners now say they would not mind if their children went to school with Negroes."

Eternally Torn

The general summary statement carries echoes and reinforces Gunnar Myrdal's posing of the "American dilemma":

"They [the pollers] traveled a nation divided—by race, by custom, by sectional differences. But, most of all, the white American is divided within himself. He is biased against black skin—yet a sense of justice tells him he is incontestably wrong. He is pulled one way by his intellect, the other way by his emotions. Conscience whispers, 'Equal rights, freedom for all'; convention says, 'But a Negro is "different."' The white man is eternally torn between the right that he knows and the wrong that he does. And for most Americans, it is as hard to give up prejudices as it would be to deny openly the democratic ideal of equality."

"The Relative Progress of the American Negro Since 1950"

"The year 1963 marks the one hundreth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation and ushers in this second century of freedom. It provides, therefore, an excellent opportunity for assessing the progress of the American Negro and for gaining a new perspective." Thus reads part of the editorial note by Walter G. Daniel, editor-in-chief, to the Fall, 1963 number of *The Journal of Negro Education* on the theme title above. *The Journal of Negro Education* is published quarterly by the Howard University Press, Washington, D.C., under the auspices of the Bureau of Educational Research of Howard University (single issue $1.50; yearly $4.00. Price of this special Yearbook Number is $2.50).

This is a special follow-up of the 1953 Yearbook number of the *Journal* designed to utilize comparative 1950 and 1960 Federal census statistics and to appraise critically the past decade of developments. "More specifically, the aims of the Yearbook are (a) to define the present status of the Negro in the American social order, (b) to ascertain trends in the relative progress of the Negro population especially since 1950, (c) to explain how he has reached the present status, and (d) to suggest how his status might be improved in the foreseeable future."

Briefly described, there are 17 chapters written by educators and social scientists under 6 section headings:

"Section 1. The Progress of the Negro after a Century of Emancipation.

"Section 2. General Characteristics of the Negro Population—1960.

"Section 3. Economic Status and Advancement.

"Section 4. Progress in the Attainment of Equal Civil Rights, Especially in Housing and Political Life.

"Section 5. Social and Educational Development.

"Section 6. The Relative Progress and the Future of the Negro in the United States."

This is the thirty-second Yearbook issue of *The Journal of Negro Education* which is published "in accord with the definite policy of presenting, at least once a year, a rather comprehensive study of some specific problem dealing with the life and education of the Negro or some other minority group."

This number of the *Journal* contains a wealth of important material on the relative progress of the Negro since 1950.

In Chapter XVII, "Critical Summary and Evaluation," James M. Nabrit, Jr., President of Howard University, makes the following general summary statement:

"Progress in any instance is comparative in nature and requires measurement from some base. Negroes in America have made substantial progress in terms of past levels of achievement. In the most important areas of life, however, in the past decade, they have not made significant gains as measured against the gap existing between themselves and the white population. This is true in employment, in housing, and in education. The greatest advancement has come in the area of civil rights and in the increasing political effectiveness of Negroes. The progress made in these respects provides the necessary and fundamental basis upon which higher achievements can be reached with respect to employment, housing, and education. It is entirely likely, therefore, that the decades of the Sixties and Seventies will see a far more rapid improvement in the relative progress of Negroes than was evident in the period of the 1950s."

"How Not to Integrate the Schools"

"I am one of those creatures equally repulsive to Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi, the Black Muslim's Malcolm X, and to many other Americans—the white wife of a black man and the mother of two Negro children. Even worse, I am out of step with the civil-rights leaders at whose side I have fought for many years."

Thus reads the opening paragraph of "a personal testament" by Inge Lederer Gibel entitled "How *Not* to Integrate the Schools" appearing in *Harper's* magazine (November, 1963. 60 cents).

The article is in part a criticism of certain leaders for integration whose ". . . increasingly orthodox slogans are blinding some civil-rights leaders to the real needs of most Negro—and white-children."

Class and Race

Mrs. Gibel believes that "in the North at least, what we think of as the race struggle has become much more a problem of class and economics than of color. Unless we recognize this, the 'Negro Revolution' will fizzle out into a mere statistical adjustment." The result would be the black man represented at the top of the social and power structure according to his numerical proportion, but the majority of the black people along with the poor whites remaining at the bottom.

The Racial Balance

With regard to reasonable "racial balance" in the Manhattan school which her daughter attends, she questions its effectiveness in view of the "track" system which separates children sometimes as early as kindergarten into more or less intellectually homogenous classes. "In the process the concept of integration bogs down, for the middle-class white five-year old and a child of the same age from a lower-class non-white home will seldom be assigned to the same group. The middle-class Negro or Puerto Rican child will fare better than the lower-class white child. But since most of the city's poor happen to be non-whites, the burden falls on their children, even though no race prejudice is involved."

What Negro Parents Want

An informal survey conducted by a friend of the author, called "Jean Brighton," in the latter's apartment building, which is nearly all Negro, indicated that the question of segregation is not uppermost in their thoughts. The interview began with asking "Have you heard about the school integration campaign? Do you know that they're thinking of bussing Negro children out of Harlem and bringing white children in so that all schools in New York will have white and colored kids together?" "Invariably," Mrs. Gibel reports, the reply was "What, before they improve the schools?" When the interviewer said "yes" and explained that the civil-rights organizations were putting complete school integration at the top of their list of demands, backed up by a boycott of the schools, "everyone she talked to was certain that such a boycott would not be supported by the mass of Harlem parents, even though they all believed in integration. But without hesitation they felt that forced integration of the kind proposed would only continue to drive middle-class white children out of the schools. What these Negro parents wanted from the schools—and what, unfortunately, they were not getting—was a longer day; more and better textbooks that would be more representative of the minority and urban groups in our culture; dedicated teachers (of any color); smaller classes; and special programs which really serve the low-income child and are not aimed just at the middle-class child the schools are trying desperately to retain. . . .

"Ironically, in New York at least, many white middle-class 'liberal' families agonize about whether to send their children to overcrowded, often understaffed schools with a high percentage of children from 'deprived backgrounds,' or to a nice, safe private school. Most middle-class Negro families, on the other hand, do not spend much time agonizing . . . but make the latter choice."

What Volunteers Can Do

Mrs. Gibel does not believe that simply mixing Negro children from the slums with middle-class white children will work and makes some suggestions as to how to speed integration by other means.

"The crucial factor . . . is the teacher. Good salaries are important, of course, but salary and prestige can't buy dedication. A dedicated teacher can turn a rathole into a palace, she can turn slum children into empire builders."

Other suggestions the author makes involves doing away with the idea that middle-class values are bad and shouldn't be emphasized by progressively-minded teachers. "What's wrong with being clean, honest, and hardwork-

ing?" she asks. There seems to be a need also for providing breakfasts at school as well as late-afternoon snacks. The necessary labor for this service to children to be supplied by volunteers.

Mrs. Gibel believes that the "track" system should be abolished and the children grouped in different ways throughout the day. In this way, each child would have an opportunity to be in the "best" group and the "worst" group and it will be possible to let each advance at his own pace.

Faculty and volunteers should be racially mixed and textbooks should be used "with which our urban low-income non-white youngsters can identify." A suggestion is made "that new schools, whenever possible, should be built in fringe areas rather than in the heart of racial ghettoes."

"And let us by all means intensify our attack on the housing barriers which create the Harlems of this nation and the slum schools in their midst. Bussing children around the city is no more than a feeble—and foredoomed—palliative for this underlying evil."

What Mrs. Gibel is advocating is "a massive crash program for all schools in low-income areas. It will be expensive, but not nearly as expensive as the present costs of maintaining the much-studied 'hard-core multi-problem family,' of sending a boy through reform school and on to graduate study in the penitentiary, of more and more policemen, an ever-growing rate of illegitimate births and of addict-induced crime."

"*Prejudice and Your Child*"

A clear and useful analysis of factors contributing to prejudice along with helpful suggestions as to what can be done to reduce and prevent feelings of prejudice in children has been reissued in a second and enlarged edition as a paperback, title above (Boston, Beacon Press, 1963. $1.75). The author is Kenneth B. Clark, associate professor of psychology at the College of the City of New York and research director of the Northside Center for Childe Development.

The Effects of the 1954 Supreme Court Decision

In the Introduction, Dr. Clark reminds the reader that the Supreme Court decision in May, 1954 declared that laws requiring or permitting racial segregation in public education are a violation of the United States Constitution. This decision is regarded as historic from the legal, educational, and human points of view. It was made after taking into account "a growing body of knowledge in psychology and the social sciences, the result of extensive research into the development of racial attitudes and the effect of prejudice on the development of American children."

"The Supreme Court, in effect, challenged boards of education, public officials, parents, educators, and all citizens who believe in democracy to re-examine American social practices in order to determine whether they damage or enhance the human potentialities of children." A problem remains primarily concerned with the responsibility of individual citizens in their local communities. "Parents, social workers, educators, clergymen, and others must now mobilize their energies for effective implementation of this decision."

Dr. Clark writes: "It is probably not enough to believe that racial prejudice, discrimination, and segregation are morally wrong. In order to become actively involved in the struggle to eradicate these symptoms of social maladjustment and save our children from their harmful effects, it is necessary to know *why* they are wrong. Responsible citizens must understand clearly what negative racial attitudes are, how they affect our society, and the ways in which they are communicated to our children. When the effects of these forms of prejudice on the personalities of children are clearly understood, then the efforts to immunize our children from their virulence will be more effective."

Church and Prejudice

The first part of *Prejudice and Your Child* discusses the "problem of prejudice" and the second suggests "a program for action." In this second part there is a chapter entitled "What Can the Churches Do?"

Dr. Clark notes that in spite of the pronouncements and resolutions of church bodies "the Christian Protestant Churches represent one of the most entrenched areas of racial segregation still existing in American society. . . . The stark fact is that less than one-half of 1 per cent of Negro Protestant Christians in the United States worship regularly in non-segregated churches."

"Probably American churches, like American schools and colleges, have generally failed to offer moral guidance in terms of concrete action programs for the improvement of race relations because the church, like secular organizations, feels compelled to conform to the existing patterns of social attitudes, values, and norms found in the larger society. If the church permits itself to become a captive of the more practical and materialistic pressures of the larger society, then it will be unable to provide for our children the example of positive race relations which they need."

"The church cannot expect to be taken seriously in this area of moral guidance as long as it continues to talk against segregation while maintaining rigid patterns of racial segregation within its own walls. . . . Isolated examples of interracial parishes, or an occasional visit to a Negro church, or the extension of an invitation to a 'nice' Negro family—these cannot be considered meaningful racial experiences for children."

The church, the author suggests, "has the responsibility of developing moral sensitivity in the children and families associated with it. . . . With the progress in race relations in other areas of life, Negro and white Christians must modify existing racial patterns within the church itself." Efforts must be placed on building congregations "composed of individuals with similar religious interests without regard to skin color."

Parents of both Negro and white children should wish to give them the opportunity to attend racially mixed churches wherever this is possible. This might seem strange at first to the children and to other members of the congregation; but with fundamental good will and a basic application of the meaning of religion on the part of all concerned, there should be no reason for this strangeness to continue for long."

Dr. Clark urges churches to make public announcement of the new racially inclusive policy. "Such a forthright announcement by a given church would encourage other churches to take a similar stand. In this way, individuals concerned with problems of racial injustice in America will feel that they have the support and backing for their personal behavior from a respected social institution.

The third part of *Prejudice and Your Child* consists of five appendices giving (1) the legal background of the school segregation cases; (2) the text of the Supreme Court opinions, May 17, 1954; (3) the effects of segregation and the consequences of desegregation; (4) the desegregation cases; and, (5) the role of the social sciences in desegregation.

A nine-page bibliography and an index complete the volume.

The Need for Sanctions

Why have many denominations and, in particular, the United Church of Christ, turned from pronouncement and persuasion to rules and sanctions in the effort to desegregate the Church?

Dr. Herman Long of the Race Relations Department of the United Church has contributed an illuminating background article on this question to *Social Action*, September, 1963, under the title "Beyond Tokenism." Excerpts make up the following summary.

Dr. Long, president-elect of Talladega College, analyzes the "revolution of hope" within the Negro community and then poses the present problem:

". . . The rapid spread of actual desegregation changes is not, in and of itself, sufficient ground for satisfaction, for the changes involved are partial and they appear to be of great magnitude only when measured against the fixed racial status which was obtained sixty or more years ago. Measured against the standard of the absolute human expectation for freedom and self-realization, they are quite small indeed. The practical problem, therefore, is that hopes and demands have outsped the actual changes to the point of serious lag in our ability to provide adequate implementation, even in situations of the best intention.

"This largely describes the issue we are facing in the secular domain of racial change. In the area of the church, the situation is ostensibly more complicated and difficult, primarily because desegregation changes in the schools, libraries, parks, and other public accommodation facilities, however small, have far out-distanced those which characterize the institutional church. Accordingly, there is less momentum and less experience to build upon. Among the state-supported institutions of higher education in the South, for example, it is reliably reported that as of the current year some 70 per cent of the schools have become racially integrated. This compares with only 31 per cent of the church-related institutions of higher education in the South, as reported in a special survey made for the Division of Home Missions' Institutions of the National Council of Churches in 1960. . . .

A United Church Study

"A brief look at the educational, hospital, and social welfare institutions of the United Church of Christ, in regard to their patterns of racial practice, will serve as further illustration. The information, in this case, comes from a study reported for the current year to the Executive Committee of the General Synod on better than 90 per cent of the schools, hospitals, adult and children's welfare institutions acknowledging a relationship to the United Church of Christ.

"Almost all of the Negro students attending United Church of Christ educational institutions were found in the predominantly Negro schools of the South—the AMA colleges. Outside of these institutions, Negro enrollment amounted to less than a tenth of one per cent of the total enrollment. At the level of faculty representation, only 3 Negro faculty members were reported among all of the institutions covered, North and South, excluding of course the AMA schools.

"Among the institutions for the aged related to the United Church of Christ, only two Negroes were reported in the total number of clients served by these agencies. The number found in the children's institutions was only slightly larger, but in both instances representation of Negro clientele was clearly of token variety. Even in the city mission institutional program, one project in the city of St. Louis accounted for almost all of the Negro clients reported as being served by projects of this general type.

"Exclusive of Flint-Goodridge Hospital in New Orleans, a predominantly Negro facility, only four Negro physicians were reported as used on the staffs of UCC hospital institutions; these were at just two hospitals, one in Detroit and the other in Louisville, and all involved the category of visiting rather than regular medical staff. At the level of client services, the majority of Negroes reported were accounted for in the out-patient category—exactly the opposite pattern for other clientele; and this suggested a racially restrictive factor in the accessibility of resident accommodations and services. The placing of Negro patients only in sections of wards or semi-private rooms where other Negro patients have already been located—a policy reported by some of the hospitals—was partial though significant evidence of a racially selective factor in hospital admissions.

Church Patterns

"Findings of a similar study of practices involving the 'aided' local UCC churches have not yet been completed, but the study of metropolitan Congregational Christian Churches, made in 1958, indicated that a similar pattern of racial restriction obtained within this area of denomi-

Creative Extremism

"But as I continued to think about the matter I gradually gained a bit of satisfaction from being considered an extremist. Was not Jesus an extremist in love? 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you.' Was not Amos an extremist for justice—'Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.' Was not Paul an extremist for the gospel of Jesus Christ—'I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus.' Was not Martin Luther an extremist—'Here I stand; I can do none other so help me God.' Was not John Bunyan an extremist—'I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a butchery of my conscience.' Was not Abraham Lincoln an extremist—'This nation cannot survive half slave and half free.' Was not Thomas Jefferson an extremist—'We hold these truths to be self evident that all men are created equal.' So the question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremist will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice—or will we be extremists for the cause of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill three men were crucified. We must never forget that all three were crucified for the same crime—the crime of extremism. Two were extremists for immorality, and thus fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth, and goodness, and thereby rose above His environment. So, after all, maybe the South, the nation, and the world are in dire need of creative extremists."
—Martin Luther King's Letter From Birmingham City Jail to certain Alabama churchmen. April 16, 1963.

national influence. Only nine of the predominantly white churches located in the South had taken the full step of admitting Negroes into membership, and among the 1,043 churches surveyed nationally only about a fourth had taken such action. A little better than 30 per cent of the churches had adopted policies permitting racially inclusive membership, but in the majority of cases the churches had ignored the matter of racial policy altogether.

"Thus, wherever we turn within the institutional picture of the church we encounter a general pattern of exclusion, at the worst, and tokenism, at the best, which is not unlike the deeply entrenched racial pattern obtaining for the society at large. Indeed, in the purely quantitative aspects of desegregation change, the institutional church comes out second-best as compared with the secular community; and in addition the momentum toward changing the institutional pattern of the church is at considerably lower ebb. . . ."

The Difference

"The crucial difference between the church and the secular community in relation to processes in the racial area appears to be the absence of a formulated and applied discipline or sanction. Voluntary acceptance of and commitment to the faith were presumed to be sufficient to override the individual and social contamination of the racism which became, historically and culturally, endemic to the American as well as the entire western community. And yet, wherever the institutional church has spawned its different agencies and forms, the voluntary principle has almost always led to institutionalized racial exclusiveness. If the absence of what Dr. Franklin Littel has called the authority and sanction of the historical church has failed to prevent this from happening, and indeed is in some degree responsible for its presence, then we may be almost certain that a continuation of voluntarism will not lead to its correction. There would seem to be no other meaningful alternative for the churches, at this late and telling moment, than to turn their energies in the direction of adopting broad-scale implementing sanctions and procedures in the way that secular bodies already have done."

How's That Again?

A story out of Macon, Georgia, tells of the forced resignation of the pastor of the First Baptist Church there after an eleven year tenure. The issue asserted by the pastor, denied by the Deacons, was "justice to minority groups."

The incident was one of many similar ones in these times. What makes it memorable is the statement of the pastor who accepted the call to succession. The Rev. Albert Cardwell, former pastor of Sherwood Baptist Church of Albany, Georgia, commented on the racial crisis that whether the church "has a role in such a situation is a problem the Southern Baptist Convention has been struggling with for years."

"I personally feel," he explained, "that it's useless to alienate my congregation by taking a strong stand. It's more desirable to keep the lines of communication open, so that if I have anything to say, I will have their attention."

"A Flower for the Graves"

"A Negro mother wept in the street Sunday morning in front of a Baptist Church in Birmingham. In her hand she held a shoe, one shoe from the foot of her dead child. We hold that shoe with her.

"Every one of us in the white South holds that small shoe in his hand.

"It is too late to blame the sick criminals who handled the dynamite. The FBI and the police can deal with that kind. The charge against them is simple. They killed four children.

"Only we can trace the truth, Southerner—you and I. We broke those children's bodies.

"We watched the stage set without staying it. We listened to the prologue unbestirred. We saw the curtain opening with disinterest. We have heard the play.

"We—who go on electing politicians who heat the kettles of hate.

"We—who raise no hand to silence the mean and little men who have their nigger jokes.

"We—who stand aside in imagined rectitude and let the mad dogs that run in every society slide their leashes from our hand, and spring.

"We—the heirs of a proud South, who protest its worth and demand its recognition—We are the ones who have ducked the difficult, skirted the uncomfortable, caviled at the challenge, resented the necessary, rationalized the unacceptable, and created the day surely when these children would die.

"This is no time to load our anguish onto the murderous scapegoat who set the cap in dynamite of our own manufacture.

"He didn't know any better.

"Somewhere in the dim and fevered recess of an evil mind he feels right now that he has been a hero. He is only guilty of murder. He thinks he has pleased us.

"We of the white South who know better are the ones who must take a harsher judgment.

"We, who know better, created a climate for child-killing by those who don't.

"We hold that shoe in our hand, Southerner. Let us see it straight, and look at the blood on it. Let us compare it with the unworthy speeches of Southern public men who have traduced the Negro; match it with the spectacle of shrilling children whose parents and teachers turned them free to spit epithets at small huddles of Negro school children for a week before this Sunday in Birmingham; hold up the shoe and look beyond it to the state house in Montgomery where the official attitudes of Alabama have been spoken in heat and anger.

"Let us not lay the blame on some brutal fool who didn't know any better.

"We know better. We created the day. We bear the judgment. May God have mercy on the poor South that has been so led. May what has happened hasten the day when the good South, which does live and have great being, will rise to this challenge of racial understanding and common humanity, in the full power of its unasserted courage, assert itself.

"The Sunday school play at Birmingham is ended. With a weeping Negro mother, we stand in the bitter smoke and hold a shoe. If our South is ever to be what we wish it to be, we will plant a flower of nobler resolve for the South now upon these four small graves that we dug."—Eugene Patterson in the *Atlanta Constitution* of September 16, 1963, as quoted in *New South*, published by the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., issue of September, 1963.

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1963

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

Advent II NEWSLETTER December 8, 1963

"It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated, here, to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on..... that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." - Abraham Lincoln

"A rising tide of discontent...threatens the public safety...The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state or legislative body can prudently ignore them."; "(The) result of continued Federal legislative inaction will continue, if not increase, racial strife--causing the leadership of both sides to pass from the hands of reasonable and responsible men to the purveyors of hate and violence."; "We face...a moral crisis as a country and a people... It is time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative body, and above all, in all our daily lives."

- John F. Kennedy

"...and, above all, the dream of equal rights for all Americans whatever their race or color. These and other American dreams have been vitalized by his drive and by his dedication. And now the ideas and the ideals which he so nobly represented must and will be translated into effective action."; "...no memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought so long. We have talked long enough in this country about equal rights. We have talked for a hundred years or more. It is time now to write the next chapter, and to write it in the books of law."; "John Kennedy's death commands what his life conveyed--that America must move forward. The time has come for Americans of all races and creeds and political beliefs to understand and to respect one another. So, let us put an end to the teaching and the preaching of hate and evil and violence. Let us turn away from the fanatics, from the far left and the far right, from the apostles of bitterness and bigotry, from those defiant of law, and those who pour venom into our nation's bloodstream. I profoundly hope that the tragedy and the torment of these terrible days will bind us together in new fellowship, making us one people in our hour of sorrow."

- Lyndon B. Johnson

OUR HEARTS HAD ALL MET IN ONE MAN

"Weep, brothers, weep! You have cause. It is right, it is manly. The murder was cruel. It searched for and found the spot where it might meet and wound a nation's heart....Weep, brothers; confess to the success of the enterprise. The shot was well aimed. It brought us all down, down into the dust. Our hearts had all met in one man; and there they all received the fatal blow. It was cruel to hurt us so...." - The Rev. E. N. Kirk, 1865.

When we mourn the death of someone important to us we recall the times we met or the times we watched him, as well as our own whereabouts when it all happened. As John Kennedy flew South to sorrow I enplaned for upper New York State where I spoke that evening. The next day I was lunching with a group of clergy in Schenectady when the waiter brought news that the President had been shot in Texas. We prayed for him and for the country. Surely he'll recover if this is really so. We hurried out and in the lobby the finality of it all crashed in: He's dead!

My next engagement was Sunday evening. Seldom in my travels is there free time that I do not employ actively in visiting ESCRU folks or looking up others, but it had been a busy fall and I had decided to stop at the Holy Cross Monastery and rest a few days. It was a good place to go to cry. The radio in my U-Drive-It took me to Dallas, and Washington, and throughout the land and abroad where my horror and incredulity merged with everyone else's. The long-distance telephone eased my feeling that I should fly home. Repeated readings by Robert Frost over one network articulated something for many: "I have been one acquanited with the night. I have walked out in rain--and back in rain. I have outwalked the furthest city light." Whitman's "O Captain! my captain!" erradicated a hundred years as the reader said: "Here Captain! dear father! This arm beneath your head; It is some dream that on the deck, You've fallen cold and dead."

It was not a dream. The shots were well aimed and we were a stricken people. The grief has not passed nor will it quickly. Our hearts had all met in one man and he is dead. We would mourn for any President's death, but there is more here than the office he held or even the cruel circumstances. There was a beauty and vitality about the man and his mind which compelled admiration, even, I believe, from some who differed with him on policies. As was said in a sermon in Atlanta: "He was courageous, resolute, brilliant, aggressive..." He was this and more; idealist and pragmatist, he inspired confidence as someone who would venture much and get the job done, even if we might have felt he should have risked more. He understood and welcomed pressure in behalf of common goals. It was reassuring to know that he was at the helm. It is not easy to transfer this confidence to a new captain, although I think that he, too, will merit it. It is ironic that he in whom our hearts had met will, in death, be our strongest ally for the accomplishment of national purposes toward which he had directed us.

John Kennedy's journey had ended as I concluded the longest trip I've ever taken. I stopped first in Washington and stood outside Arlington Cemetery as the cortege came by and during the graveside services which were audible over the wall to the thousands of us who could do nothing more to help. We saw the temporal power of the world go by and prayed that the harmony would endure beyond, if not because of, mourning. Taps sounded and the Cardinal's final prayer and it was time to head back to the airport, but there were no taxis as in the morning. I thought of a brave woman who had walked that day and determined that I had both the time and the will to walk also. Perhaps others similiarly will walk new paths or go down them further because of the courage of the man we buried and the woman who walked. I thought of her again when I got home and was told how my five-year-old namesake had asked, as he watched television: "Am I a 'John-John'?" - JOHN B. MORRIS

HEADWATERS OF HATE

"How many Sunday school children have to be dynamited to death? How many Negro leaders have to be shot in the chest? How many presidents have to be assassinated?", asked Churchman LeRoy Collins in an address at Columbia, S. C. The former governor of Florida went on to say that the murder of President Kennedy was fostered by "Dixie battle cries which incite sick souls to violence." It is so. I have seen these past ten years of Southern resistance to desegregation insidiously at work to produce a climate where murder seems like a simple solution. To be sure, crackpots may come forth anytime, but the tempo of the times facilitates their capacity to act. Consider the school children in some Southern schools (did it happen elsewhere?) who applauded when the President's death was announced. This would not have happened ten years ago. We are paying the price now of "massive resistance". It has become an easy thing to talk about "the encroaching Federal octopus", our regional "way of life" as over and against an evil national government, with cries for impeachment on all sides and even more. Some of the same Southern politicians who called to "pay their respects" upon the President's death contributed to the cirsumstances which made it more possible. That the accused assassin displayed left-wing leanings, although he was probably more crackpot than anything, does not absolve the right-wing fanatics whose headwaters of hate are chiefly racial. It is not difficult to discern racial prejudice under the cries of "states rights", "Buy American", "Communist", etc. The real Communists are much too disciplined to do business with someone like Oswald. Their most effective work is done through those who oppose them the most, creating the climate where anarchy and utter disregard for the state shows itself in the fatal blow at Dallas. While racism has never been an exclusive Southern product, and neither is right-wing extremism for sure, there is too much about what has happened with particular roots in Southern history to leave us comfortable. The lynch law of the South operated in classic terms in the terrible shooting of Oswald. But who is not of the South? It is only that here the sickness is closer to the surface. Because it is, notwithstanding the meaning of what happened in Dallas, the South will probably move further ultimately. - JBM

TO MORE ELOQUENTLY HONOR

President Johnson, himself a Southerner, has set the pace for what we must do now. Can we do less than support him, both because it is right and because nothing "could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill."

Write and wire President Johnson, your Senators and congressmen, and let them know you'll back them up. ESCRU chapters and members around the country sent wires in advance of President Johnson's address to Congress. This was mine: "Even as we mourn the most fitting tribute to the late President will be resolute action in civil rights. Many white citizens of the South such as myself, along with a host of other Americans, will be holding up your arms as you speak to these matters tomorrow."

Watch for the key times to send a letter or wire again....and do it! Don't wait for someone else to suggest it. The power of vox populi should not be underestimated.

Look to official Church support for civil rights legislation in the form of public stands by vestries and parish meetings, and at diocesan conventions. Our bishops have taken such a stand nationally. This must have grass-roots expression now.

Support and encourage the efforts of our national Department of Christian Social Relations in behalf of legislation. In the face of opposition from some quarters it would be well for diocesan conventions to go on record specifically backing up the National Church's program.

Finally, intensify your efforts amongst friends and fellow parishioners to give them the opportunity of deciding where they really stand on race. Legislation is needed, but the conversion of a whole people is involved. Your own witness is supremely important.

Consider the possibilities of what you might do in enlisting the concern of others through a membership recruitment effort for ESCRU....through personal contact and confrontation. The decision to join ESCRU has, for many, been the beginning of a more meaningful life in the Church.

THE ANNUAL MEETING - 1963

HOW WAS IT? With upwards of 300 persons the attendance at the Third Annual Meeting doubled that of previous years, and with an equal number of Roman Catholics attending the concurrent sessions of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice the International Inn in Washington was a behive of activity.

THE SPEAKERS. Wyatt Tee Walker, Burke Marshall, Louis Lomax, Bill Stringfellow, and Arthur Walmsley; with Tom Thrasher and Jim Breeden preaching at the eucharists. A set of tape recordings will be available to chapters later.

THE PARTICIPANTS. From all over, with far-away places like California, Texas, Minnesota, Georgia, etc., represented. The one flaw was that there was too little time for participants to talk with each other and learn how each approaches problems and opportunities in their situations back home. We'll spend more time on this at the Annual Meeting next year which convenes in St. Louis just before the General Convention.

WHAT WE SAID. Resolutions adopted at the Third Annual Meeting are enclosed with this newsletter. They include a joint one adopted by ESCRU and the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice (NCCIJ) regarding protest actions in Chester, Penna., and Williamston, N. C.

PROPOSED PROGRAM. Two proposals described elsewhere in this newsletter were commended to the national ESCRU Board for final action: One would seek financial support for the National Church when funds were otherwise withdrawn because of the Church's stand on race, and the other proposes that segregated Church-related institutions be identified in some symbolic action at the next General Convention.

WE ELECTED: To the national ESCRU Board from floor nominations in Washington - The Rev. Theodore Gibson, The Very Rev. & Bishop-Elect Paul Moore, Jr., Mr. Lloyd A. Johnson, and Mrs. Francis X. Walter. See the enclosed Statement of Purpose for their whereabouts. They joined 12 incumbent Directors and the 8 elected via the provincial mail ballot who were: The Rev. Joseph A. Pelham, Mr. Malcolm E. Peabody, Dr. Kenneth Clark, Mr. Maury Maverick, Mr. John Murphy, III, The Rt. Rev. James A. Pike, The Rev. Hugh Saussy, Jr., and the Rt. Rev. Chandler W. Sterling.

PHOTOS ON NEXT PAGE: (1.) ESCRU Banquet Headtable Guests Singing "We Shall Overcome." L-R, Mr. Raymond Hilliard, Chairman, NCCIJ; The Rev. Joseph Nicholson, Saint Louis; Mr. Lawrence Oxley, Washington; Mr. Matthew Ahmann, Executive Director, NCCIJ; The Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Banquet Speaker & Executive Director of SCLC; The Rev. John Morris, Atlanta; The Rev. John Stevens, Houston; The Rev. Joseph A. Pelham, Farmington, Mich.; Mr. Sterling Tucker, Washington Urban League; & Mrs. John Morris. (2.) Bishop Sterling of Montana; The Rev. John LaFarge, Chaplain, NCCIJ (Fr. LaFarge died the following week.); Canon duBois of the American Church Union; The Rev. Wm. Wendt, Chairman of Washington Arrangements Committee for the Annual Meeting; and the Rev. James Breeden, Boston. (3.) Mr. Louis Lomax (4.) Mr. William Stringfellow (5.) Canon Bayard Clark, Washington Cathedral; Mr. Burke Marshall; and Mr. Charles C. Johnson, Jr., of the Department of Health, Education & Welfare; (6.) The ESCRU Banquet diners, with visiting Roman Catholics (7.) An ESCRU session, with The Rev. Rowland Cox visible on the front row, along with The Rev. Layton Zimmer, The Rev. Reginald Kent, Mr. Edward Cambridge, the Rev. John Snow, and Miss Ann Orlov. (8.) Registering: Mr. William Lowry, Mr. William Weifenbach, and Mr. Jack Orndorf.

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING WASHINGTON, D.C. NOVEMBER 14-16, 1963

BEHOLD HOW GOOD AND JOYFUL A THING

IT IS FOR BRETHREN TO DWELL TOGETHER IN UNITY!

Lovett To Keep Chapel

Negroes Rejected By Lovett School

STUDENT BODY ASSEMBLES FOR CHAPEL EACH MORNING

THE LOVETT SCHOOL
FOUNDED 1926
OMNIA AD DEI GLORIAM

Fellowship of Christian Athletes

Claiborne Lists Facts On Lovett

Integration Bias At Lovett Denied

6 Picket Lovett School, Vow Periodic Protests

Lovett Boasts Choirs At All Ages

No Race Bar, Bishop Says In King Bid

THE LOVETT SCHOOL
AN EPISCOPAL DAY SCHOOL
4075 PACES FERRY ROAD, N. W.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

Alston Memorial Chapel Vestry

Group Still Picketing At Lovett

Emblem from Class of '63 Graces Lovett School

RACE RELATIONS
Church School Turns Down Negro Child

TRUSTEES SET GOALS FOR LOVETT.

THE LOVETT SCHOOL SITUATION

Picketing continued for six weeks until the day before the President's death. It will be resumed this week and continue indefinitely and periodically so long as Lovett remains segregated. See the October 13, 1963, Newsletter for the full statement by the ESCRU Executive Committee which determined after a three day meeting in Atlanta that the protest should be made.

Pickets were before Lovett on 17 out of the 30 school days during the first six weeks of picketing. To date all have been Episcopalians. Because the segregated status of Lovett is also a community concern it is expected that others will join the protest sometime early in 1964. Thus far 15 lay persons have picketed one or more times, as compared to 12 clergy. 14 visitors have participated, as compared to 13 Atlantans. Other Atlantans were to have joined the action the 7th week which was cancelled.

Demonstrating the concern of the entire Church for this "Little Rock of the Episcopal Church" visiting "picketees" (as John Burnett Morris, Jr., terms them) have come from California, Michigan, Texas, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Massachusetts. A priest from Ohio will picket next week and it is expected that other areas will send representatives. In addition to picketers sent by ESCRU Chapters, there have been representatives of the Michigan Girls Friendly Society and the Episcopal Churchwomen of the Dioceseof Michigan. The roster includes such well-known Churchmen as the Rev. C. Kilmer Myers and the Rev. Malcolm Boyd.

There is still need for assistance. Groups able to send a representative should advise the ESCRU office and suggest alternative dates when they could have someone in Atlanta for at least two full days. In the face of elusive restraints, pressures, and fears, visiting Churchmen encourage and strengthen Atlanta Churchmen. It also indicates the widespread nature of the concern for Lovett, and, finally, it sends informed persons back to interpret the situation in their respective dioceses.

The November 15, 1963, issue of TIME magazine carried a lengthy and accurate account of the Lovett situation and, for the first time in print, identified at least one of the wealthy powers-behind-the-scenes who have had decisive roles in keeping Lovett segregated. They named the Senior Warden of one of the largest parishes in Atlanta. Other interpretative pieces on Lovett have appeared elsewhere, including a story in the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE of November 17th.

Because so much confusion and misinformation concerning ESCRU's role in the Lovett situation is abroad, largely emanating from the diocesan office here, a copy of a fourteen page letter to the Bishop of Atlanta is enclosed for the information of ESCRU members. It should be remembered that ESCRU said nothing publicly until June and then and since has sought to acknowledge appreciatively such steps as diocesan officials finally took. The bitter background of it all is in this letter.

The jumble of captions or headlines amidst the pictures on the previous page tell the story as the general public sees it. The captions nearest the center picture of the school are from school yearbooks and indicate something of the religious nature of the school. The school seal is shown and under the center picture is a reproduction of a letterhead form used by Lovett since the expansion and move into new buildings. It says what some deny: "AN EPISCOPAL DAY SCHOOL". A headline tells of the addition only this fall of the cross affixed to the school building and visible in the upper left-hand corner of the center photograph. The Capetown Placard carried by the clergy and laity picketing tells its own story. The Acting Headmaster, Mr. J. A. Rabbe, shown pacing in the street on the first day of picketing in the lower center photo, reveals something of the dilemma and challenge facing the Trustees, most of whom are prominent in the Church in Atlanta. As those who "set goals for Lovett" they have thus far chosen segregation as a primary one.

"A MATTER IN DISPUTE?"

Seabury Press used to do address labels for all the clergy for ESCRU. They now use the mailing services of National Council and advised us to apply there when we wanted to send a mailing a few months ago. Although several years ago we'd been told National Council couldn't do labels for ESCRU, at several stages along the way in our request for help we were assured that there would be no difficulty. We had to submit a formal request stating the contents of the proposed mailing. We did. It would contain a covering letter and enclosures: an ESCRU Statement of Purpose and membership form, the flyer on the Annual Meeting, and a piece interpreting ESCRU's interest in Lovett chiefly on the basis of the Executive Committee's statement. Our request was refused. Several reasons were offered in reply which might or might not have bearing on the question of the organization making the request. The final reason, however, and the one which seems primary as I read their reply, was put this way: "Furthermore, the mailing that you proposed was to have included a position paper on a matter in dispute within the Church. This likewise represented a request for deviation from policy." The so-called "position paper" was to have been our official position on Lovett - namely, why we felt it necessary to protest segregation at a Church-related school. Nothing of the background dispute with diocesan officials was involved. Is it a deviation from policy to oppose segregation at Church-related institutions? Are we really supposed to take action and become involved? Or is it only satisfactory when our action and involvement is out in the world somewhere so that it doesn't upset the tranquility of the Church itself? A matter in dispute, indeed! If National Council thinks the Lovett issue is clouded will it call a hearing and let the whole question be explored? Or, must the Body of Christ be so deftly and politically contrived as to avoid discomfort to any and all bishops? It should be noted that the issue of address labels is only one instance where the timidity of National Council on intra-Church questions is revealed. Even CHURCH & RACE will not so much as report the fact that picketing is going on. How tragically the Church is continually calling us to commitment, witness and action, only to look askance when the call is taken seriously. - JBM

THE PENITENTIAL SHARE

One of two program proposals approved by the Annual Meeting and commended to the ESCRU Board for action is a plan termed "The Penitential Share". Recognizing that funds are being and will be withheld from the support of the National Church's program because of the Church's stand on race, it is proposed that ESCRU raise such funds as it can to compensate as much as possible for whatever a diocese may withhold, for instance. If a diocese, however, sacrificially makes up some parish's deficit withheld because of race and maintains its full support of the National Church, ESCRU would direct funds to that diocese. This effort would both serve to secure needed funds and would help to involve the whole Church in the effort. It might also encourage some to turn away from the use of economic pressure on the National Church, lest their share have to be borne by others.

A PERSPECTIVE

A quotation from the Executive Director's Report at the Annual Meeting, while discussing National Council: "Any shortcomings are <u>our</u> shortcomings - the Church's - and I propose that we rally to their support."

ACTION AT GENERAL CONVENTION

The Annual Meeting also commended to the Board a proposal whereby ESCRU would call for the picketing of Church-related facilities that are clearly known to be segregated (and only after a full effort has been made in negotiations to bring about change) during the week before General Convention in St. Louis next fall. One or more pickets would then bring their signs identifying the institution and join with others in an action designed to portray the failures of the Church, our penitence and intention to do something about it. It is proposed that we ask permission for the assembled pickets to walk in the procession at the opening service or, failing this, stand or walk silently outside the convention hall during the service. This proposal and the proposed "Penitential Share" will be presented in more complete form for the consideration of the ESCRU Board at a meeting early in 1964. Members or chapters wishing to record their feelings, pro or con, may write the national office. How we respond to this challenge will be critical for the future of ESCRU.

"WHAT CAN I DO TO HELP?"

Almost 4000 persons have joined ESCRU in its almost 4 years of life. Most of them were reached by another concerned person who witnessed to their commitment and to Christ and His will. Little by little confrontation is taking place. The issue of race in American life and in the Church will not leave the uncommitted alone You may be the catalyst for numerous friends you never thought cared taking a stand with you. The ESCRU Statement of Purpose and Membership Form can help you. Use the enclosed order form to obtain a supply & see how God can use you in quietly helping others to stand up and be counted.

THE INTEGRATION REVOLUTION

A 26-page booklet by this name contains representative columns by the Rev. Malcolm Boyd as published in THE PITTSBURGH COURIER. It may be ordered from ESCRU for $1.00. Postage additional if not prepaid.

S.O.S.

O O REMEMBER US, PLEASE, as the year draws to a close if you're in the bracket where this is possible. To survive, let alone move out, ESCRU must have an ever increasing number of members & friends who can give several hundred to a thousand dollars a year. Two gave the larger figure last year. If you're not in this category, don't feel guilty! Most ESCRU members who are able give more than their annual dues. By action of the Board, taken and announced last fall, minimal annual dues go to $4.00 in 1964, with $6.00 for a couple. And, while we're on the subject, please indicate always what a check is for. We're swamped and can't always remember that you just ordered some materials, etc. Lastly, by all means, please let us know if you are moving. Otherwise it costs in time and money when mailings are returned to us.

IF WE ONLY HAD THE MEANS....

We get letters at times marked "Attention: Research Dept." or "Publications Dept.", or even some right-active ESCRU members will address some inquiry "Dear Sirs" as if they didn't know that, except for membership renewals & literature orders, etc., all the mail comes to my desk. We could use the services of full-time staff in "Research" and "Publications", just to speak of a partial aspect of our work, but we haven't got them. Mrs. Crowley stays swamped with her bookkeeping duties, I with mine, and at the moment we're looking for an office secretary who should be two or three persons. Without even straining I could use a professional assistant. There are projects pending which may never get done. There is more we could and should be doing. We desperately need someone full-time in touch with the mushrooming chapters. In short, this is both a bid for your patient consideration if we seem not to turn out as you wish we could but, more importantly, it's a call for help if anyone within hearing distance has sufficient means or access to foundation assistance, or, even, planning ahead, would like to remember us in their will! Dollar for dollar I'll bet we produce more in the way of cause and effect for change and challenge as regards religion and race than most any other church-oriented group or agency. - J.B.M.

CAPETOWN PLACARD AVAILABLE

Large versions of the Capetown Placard, as used in the Lovett Protest (page 6) and measuring 22 X 28, may be ordered from the ESCRU office for display or demonstration purposes. The 6-ply poster is 75¢ each. A 50 pt. heavier board is $1.00. A carton that will take between 1 & 4 costs us 25¢. Because of its size it must go via Air Parcel Post. In short, two of the 6-ply shipped to New York City would run about $3.65 all told. Order & we'll bill you.

THE CHAPTERS

Most ESCRU Chapters are booming with program. It would, and probably should, take an entire Newsletter to fairly report on what we hear in Atlanta is happening. We will shortly issue a directory of key personnel so that the chapters may benefit from each other's newsletters, etc. The newest of our 16 officially chartered groups is in the Diocese of Central New York and is chaired by the Rev. George Nagle.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY 5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta 3, Ga.
The Rev. John B. Morris, Executive Director

"And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you -- ask what you can do for your country.

"My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

"Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

- JOHN F. KENNEDY
1917 - 1963

"Depart, O Christian soul, out of this world, In the Name of God the Father Almighty who created thee. In the Name of Jesus Christ who redeemed thee. In the Name of the Holy Ghost who sanctifieth thee. May thy rest be this day in peace, and thy dwelling place in the Paradise of God."

- BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

news

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE, 15 EAST 84th STREET • NEW YORK 28, N. Y. • TRAFALGAR 9-4500

Religion

Richard Cohen, Director
Department of Public Relations

For Release
Monday, Dec. 16

JOINT EFFORTS TO ADVANCE RACIAL EQUALITY BROUGHT CHRISTIANS, JEWS CLOSER IN 1963, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS PRESIDENT FINDS

NEW YORK, Dec. 15 -- The president of the American Jewish Congress declared today that during 1963 the country's three major religious faiths had moved "closer than ever before to mutual understanding, mutual respect and mutual cooperation."

Dr. Joachim Prinz of Newark, N.J., said the new spirit of inter-religious good will was a by-product of the civil rights struggle in which Protestants, Catholics and Jews had joined hands in "common action to advance the common good.

"Not by drinking a toast to brotherhood once a year but by working together every day to advance the cause of equality for all our citizens have Protestants, Catholics and Jews been able to develop a genuine sense of community," Dr. Prinz told the American Jewish Congress national Governing Council at Stephen Wise Congress House, 15 East 84th St.

In his address to the year-end meeting of the Congress' policy-making group, Dr. Prinz asserted:

"At a moment of moral crisis in America, the three great faiths have come into their own by embarking on a great campaign in which racial equality and social justice for all citizens have become the new religious battle cry."

He continued:

"The leaders of American Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism recognized that if the churches and synagogues were to play a significant role in our time, they had no choice but to join the great moral struggle for racial equality.

"In doing so, they have replaced the shallow and perfunctory expressions of inter-religious 'tolerance' with the genuine regard

MORE

that can come only from a shared commitment and a shared experience.

"Out of the same crucible in which full equality in a free society for all Americans is being forged," Dr. Prinz declared, "an authentic and enduring relationship of appreciation and esteem is emerging among Christians and Jews that bodes well for the American future."

In asserting that 1963 had seen more progress toward inter-religious understanding than any previous year, Dr. Prinz listed five major developments that took place during the last twelve months:

1) The March on Washington last August, in which thousands of ministers, priests and rabbis, representing almost every religious sect and denomination, demonstrated "a remarkable unity in support of the goal of jobs and freedom."

2) The Conference on Religion and Race held in Chicago last January at which Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders "for the first time sat down together to map out a joint strategy in support of their joint commitment to the civil rights struggle."

3) The Vatican Council in Rome, "from which has emanated a new ecumenical spirit embracing not only Christians but men of all faiths." Dr. Prinz noted that American Bishops participating in the Council had been among the most vigorous supporters of the proposed schema on Catholic attitudes toward the Jews which, "when finally adopted, promises to establish a new relationship between the people of the Old and New Testaments."

4) Announcement by Pope Paul VI of plans to visit the Holy Land which Dr. Prinz described as "tangible recognition of the shared roots of the Jewish and Christian traditions."

5) The growing number of inter-religious "dialogues" in communities across the country in which differences between religious groups on issues of public concern are discussed "in free and open debate in an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect."

Dr. Prinz concluded: "Having taken their stand in behalf of equal rights for all, regardless of creed or color, America's major religious groups must now impress upon the ordinary churchgoer and synagogue member that the moral mainspring of the civil rights struggle lies in the ethical and prophetic concepts which form the basis of Christian and Jewish belief.

"In this great task lies the supreme challenge to organized religion in America in 1964 and the years to follow."

The meeting was attended by more than 100 American Jewish Congress leaders from all parts of the country. Shad Polier, chairman of the national Governing Council, presided.

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AJ:FAM.

Religion
The Christian Century
12/18/63

Churches Meet Racial Crisis

Philadelphia, December 7.

✦ THE ACTION most revealing of the temper and concern of the 1963 General Assembly of the National Council of Churches took place on the day before the weeklong meeting closed. Early on that morning about 75 churchmen piled into two buses and set off for Capitol Hill in Washington. There, with the approval of their fellow delegates, they proposed to lobby on behalf of civil rights. Before returning that evening to the City of Brotherly Love, they had met individually with more than 100 congressmen and urged them to enact the civil rights bill before Congress adjourns. They contributed to the belief expressed by experienced Washington observers that for the third time in a generation the churches are making their influence felt strongly on an important government decision, that today they are counting as heavily on behalf of equality of civil rights as they counted in the 1940s against establishment of a U.S. embassy at the Vatican and for U.S. entry into the U.N.

The 5,115 persons who registered for this sixth General Assembly – coming from 31 denominations and the entire nation – were deeply affected by the assassination of President Kennedy. The President had agreed to address the assembly; the evening set aside for his address was given over to a memorial service of deeply moving Christian worship, of solemn reflection and earnst prayer. The late President was memorialized and his widow was praised for her "dignity and poise under the most shattering circumstances." Later the assembly thanked those Christians who had administered to the widows of the accused assassin and of the Dallas policeman who was killed in apprehending him. Nearly every speaker referred at some point to the tragic event which had changed history as well as the plans of the assembly. Many considered it the fruit of politically inspired hatred.

Not everybody was sure that the nation had yet repented. President J. Irwin Miller of the National Council pointed out that reaction to the murder of Lincoln contributed to the bitterness and moral collapse that developed in the days following the Civil War. Eugene Carson Blake recalled that the first President Johnson suffered rejection and defeat when he tried to pull the nation together. Dr. Blake declared that we must summon our people to put aside hatred and make a supreme moral effort in this crisis. Persons who were present at the founding convention of the N.C.C. in 1950 remembered that it coincided with a staggering defeat

of U.S. forces in Korea by Chinese armies; the mood at Philadelphia was reminiscent of that which had prevailed at Cleveland.

While the sixth General Assembly dealt with many issues and spent considerable time reorganizing the N.C.C. structure, there can be no doubt that it will be remembered mainly as the one in which the churches made a supreme effort to deal with the racial issue in its many forms. Oddly, in view of the preoccupation of many churchmen and agencies with the issue, the most important statement made at Philadelphia was not written until after the assembly began. Entitled "A call to the churches for action to meet the crisis in race relations," it was addressed to the churches on the assumption that they should deal first with their own households. As presented, it was painfully specific, and each amendment from the floor sharpened its specificity.

Because of its importance, the rest of the space reserved for this report will be devoted to it. Our report of the assembly will be continued next week.

HAROLD E. FEY.

THIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the National Council of Churches is thankful for the increasing evidences that a new pattern of race relations is being established in our nation and that its constituent communions, their pastors, congregations and members all over the land, have been stirred as never before to act for justice, freedom and equality for Negroes and all other racial minorities.

We would be the first to admit that both the actions and their results have been insufficient either fully to reflect the imperatives of the Gospel or to meet the racial crisis as it develops in the nation. Recognizing that the National Council of Churches has not yet achieved in its own life and organization full implementation of its often reiterated pronouncements for racial justice and equality, this Assembly nevertheless dares once more to address an appeal to all Churches and Christians. For we believe that the Church of Jesus Christ is commanded by its Lord to rid itself of all those forms of racial injustice which have been perpetuated through the years by us all in our Churches, church organizations, agencies and institutions. With full realization that the speed of accomplishment will vary from place to place, and with thanksgiving to God for all that has already been done, we call upon national church bodies and local congregations throughout the United States to initiate specific actions now, where such actions have not already been initiated, to achieve the following objectives:

1. All Christian Churches should in fact be open to all regardless of race and should publicly so declare. Similarly it should be affirmed that all qualified ministers should have access to pulpits or other church positions regardless of race or color.

2. Churches should develop patterns and programs whereby Negroes and whites in Christian churches may meet each other regularly in worship, fellowship and Christian service. Such patterns and programs should include (a) interchange of membership among congregations composed exclusively or predominantly of only one of the constituent racial groups in their communities, and (b) establishment of interracial groupings such as vacation church schools, camps, conferences, choirs, committees, and clubs. Churches limited in possibility of integration by housing patterns should organize small group meetings between their members and other churches predominantly of other races or colors in order to bring home to their members the extent and character of discrimination under which other Christians suffer.

3. Churches should adopt and implement a policy of recruiting, employing and promoting personnel without regard to race or color. Such policy should govern specifically the recruitment, employment, and promotion of pastors, secretarial staffs, directors of music and religious education, denominational executives, missionaries, and custodial staffs. Churches and their members as workers or employers should vigorously promote literacy and training programs, public and private, and the increase in use of such facilities in order to attack one of the largest single causes for unemployment in minority groups.

4. Curriculum materials and other publications should be examined to determine that they present an objective and helpful picture of racial difference, and emphasize the Christian's responsibility in the struggle for racial justice. Such materials and publications should contain pictures and descriptive materials which reflect the multiracial character of Christian communities and which emphasize the fact that racial pluralism enriches the experience of Christian community.

5. Churches should integrate the governing boards, staffs, and clientele of health, educational and welfare institutions owned or operated by, or affiliated with congregations, denominations, interdenominational agencies.

6. Churches should require fair employment practice clauses in construction contracts between churches and building contractors, and between general contractors and sub-contractors, irrespective of the fact that fulfillment of such non-discriminatory clauses may result in delays or increased costs.

7. Churches and their agencies should examine their investment portfolios to determine if funds are invested in enterprises which practice racial discrimination, and should remove such investments from enterprises which cannot be persuaded to cease and desist from practicing racial discrimination.

8. Churches should unite in supporting the prompt enactment of Federal, State and local civil rights legislation which will include adequate provisions guaranteeing to all without racial discrimination: (a) Civil rights including the right to vote and to equal protection of the law; (b) Equal access to education; (c) Equal opportunity for employment, union membership, apprenticeship job training, and merit promotion; (d) The right to rent or buy and to occupy housing everywhere; (e) Access to all public accommodations.

9. The churches should give moral and financial support to major civil rights organizations and to denominational and interdenominational commissions which have been established to work for racial justice. They should also support interreligious efforts, working with other Christian communions and other religious faiths in community action.

10. Churches and all Christians should remember always to act in love and without hate or bitterness, seeking always reconciliation in church, community and nation as our new pattern of justice is being established.

The General Assembly of the National Council of Churches believes that it is crucial for the Church thus to witness to the love of God by giving its wholehearted support to all those seeking racial justice. We call upon the Church to give this priority and to be willing to pay whatever price of unpopularity or sacrifice these acts may entail. This we must do to be true to the Christ who died for all men.

12-19-63 SB Religion

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 EAST 56 STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
315 LEXINGTON AVENUE • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016

SUBJECT: In the Matter of Contempt Proceedings Against Mrs. Owen Jenison

FROM: Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes

DIGEST: U. S. Supreme Court vacates judgment of Minnesota Supreme Court which affirmed the contempt of court conviction of a person who for religious reasons refused to serve on a jury. The case is remanded to Minnesota court for further consideration consistent with the constitutional guarantee of the free exercise of religion.

Facts

Mrs. Jenison was called for jury duty in a Minnesota court and was selected to sit on the jury in a civil case. When the clerk was about to administer the oath to the jurors, Mrs. Jenison refused to take it. She stated: "I will pronounce no judgment. I can't. It's against my Bible teachings. My Bible tells me 'Judge not for you will not be judged.'"

Mrs. Jenison was convicted of contempt of court and sentenced to jail for 30 days. After she had served seven days of this sentence she was released pending a review of her conviction by the Minnesota Supreme Court. One of the grounds on which she sought review was that the conviction was in violation of those provisions of the Minnesota State Constitution and the U. S. Constitution which guaranteed her free exercise of religion.

The Minnesota Supreme Court's Decision (120 N. W. 2d 515)

On March 8, 1963 the Supreme Court of Minnesota, in a unanimous decision, affirmed the conviction of Mrs. Jenison. According to Justice Otis, who delivered the opinion of the Court, the constitutional guarantee of freedom of religion was not "an absolute, unfettered privilege." He referred to the cases of the Mormons in the 19th century who sought to avoid prosecution for the crime of polygamy by claiming that polygamy was commanded by their religion. In rejecting that claim, the U. S. Supreme Court had held that while Congress could not legislate over mere opinion it was left free to reach actions which are in violation of social duties or subversive of good order.

Justice Otis then stressed the importance of the jury system in our society. He concluded:

> It is not our function or prerogative to weigh and assess the merits of a particular religious doctrine. Nevertheless, we submit that the likelihood of this relator's conscience being unduly burdened by service on a jury is slight compared with the sense of

(More)

guilt which might well afflict a conscientious objector who may be required to kill another human being in time of war without any constitutional right of exemption. We believe that if a citizen is to be relieved of jury duty for reasons of religion or conscience, his exemption should be extended by the legislature as in the case of the conscientious objector.

The U. S. Supreme Court's Decision (84 S. Ct. 63)

On October 14, 1963 the United States Supreme Court vacated the decision of the Minnesota Supreme Court and remanded the case to that court "for further consideration in the light of Sherbert v. Verner." This is the decision in which the Supreme Court, earlier this year, held that denial by a state of unemployment insurance benefits to a person who lost employment because she refused to work on Saturday, her Sabbath, for religious reasons was a violation of that person's constitutional rights to free exercise of religion. (See Joint Memo No. 388, dated July 8, 1963) The reference to the Sherbert case indicates that the United States Supreme Court was of the opinion that the Minnesota Supreme Court had erred when it held that the contempt conviction of Mrs. Jenison did not constitute a violation of freedom of religion guaranteed by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution.

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No. 401
12/19/63

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Challenge
to Justice
and Love

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE

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Chairman, Local Communities Follow-up Committee

Vol. I, No. 6
November-December 1963

NEWSLETTER

The shattering reality of President Kennedy's martyrdom, at the hands of an assassin, stunned men and women of all racial ancestries. With a fresh poignancy we all realized we had lost, with the crash of that bullet, a great and good friend of many noble causes, including that of civil and human rights for all men everywhere. We cherish the memory of his gallantry and his commitment to the struggle for justice for rich and poor, learned and ignorant, black and white, migratory workers and the unemployed, children and youth, and the insecure aged.

The following telegram was sent to Mrs. Kennedy and the children on that awful Friday afternoon, November 22, 1963:

> Deeply shocked at tragic shooting of your husband and father and our President. We mourn with you and re-dedicate ourselves to the great causes of human dignity and rights to which he gave his last full measure of devotion. We pray for divine strength to surround you and bear you up.

(Signed) Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Dr. Galen R. Weaver
for the National Conference on Religion and Race.

CONVENERS: Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches; Social Action Commission, Synagogue Council of America; Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference

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JOHN F. KENNEDY - A PLEA AND A RESPONSE.....

"We in this country, in this generation, are — by destiny, rather than choice — the watchmen on the walls of world freedom. We ask, therefore, that we may be worthy of our power and responsibility — that we may exercise our strength with wisdom and restraint — and that we may achieve in our time and for all time the ancient vision of peace on earth, goodwill toward men. That must always be our goal—and the righteousness of our cause must always underlie our strength. For as was written long ago: "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

—from the President's undelivered
speech in Dallas, Texas,
November 22, 1963.

* * * * * *

A SAINTLY MAN

Father John LaFarge, S. J., was fluent in Russian, Slovenian, Bulgarian, Polish, Czechoslovakian, Slovak, French, German, Italian, Latin, besides his native tongue, English. But he also knew the language of the heart. No one could come under the spell of his kindly countenance and not be better for the privilege. He was an aristocrat by birth and instinct but he loved all men and was deeply concerned for the humble and the oppressed. One of the founders of the Catholic Interracial Council movement, he was known, trusted and loved by men and women of all faiths among whom he moved in the spirit of an authentic saint.

At age 83 he went to his last sleep on November 24. Full of years and wisdom, he has left our sight but he remains as a benediction to all who would seek to bring healing and reconciliation among individuals, between religious groups, among the nations and the races. May he rest in peace! (Galen R. Weaver was among the throng that came to the church on November 27 to pay their respects to this great souled man).

* * * * * *

POVERTY, RACE AND RELIGION: CHALLENGE TO A CATHOLIC COMMUNITY

Some 250 men and women, clergy, Sisters and lay-men and women conferred together under the auspices of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice in Washington, D.C., November 14-17. Considered were the responsibilities of the Church to the 40 to 50 million excluded Americans of all colors who live more or less habitually below the level of nutrition, housing, health, education and recreation which should be available to them in this most affluent nation. These are the persons whose income for all purposes is less than $1,000 each. A disproportionately large share of them

are non-whites. The trend towards automated processes in manufacturing, agriculture and commerce cancels out the likelihood that these people will ever be employed again at decent wages. The economic aspects of racial bitterness and tensions were given serious attention.

Student Leadership Conference on Religion and Race

College-age youth with their religious advisers to the number of 315 from 86 campuses of the nation convened in Washington, D. C. on November 17 and remained to work hard together through noon of November 20. Missing three days of classes, these carefully selected students represented Jewish, Roman Catholic and Protestant organized groups. The Sponsoring Organizations were: B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, National Newman Club Federation, National Federation of Catholic College Students and the National Student Christian Federation.

The idea for such a conference came from youth and adults who were in attendance at the January National Conference on Religion and Race in Chicago last January. Four Seminars. Eight Workshops and several plenary sessions kept the students and their leaders occupied many hours each day and evening.

Seminars: Non-violence; Public Facilities and Housing; Politics and Power Structure; Education.

Workshops: Religious Institutions on the Campus and in the Community
The University as an Institution
The University and the Surrounding Community
The Internal Life of the University
Students and Political Action
Student Action and Academic Feeedom
Tutorial and Interracial Social Service Programs
Students and Community Organization

Actually, considerable time and attention were given to the Civil Rights bill in the Congress and what students might do to enlist support for the passage of strong legislation. Wednesday morning was devoted to an eloquently forceful speech by Senator Hubert Humphrey in behalf of meaningful civil rights legislation and to visiting their own Congressmen.

The question of a continuing organization and follow-up communication among the delegates is to be considered by the officers of the conference.

I was very happy to be there and to have a modest part in the deliberations..GRW.

Stress was also laid upon the necessity for supporting strong civil rights legislation in the Congress.

One workshop group of about 25 persons discussed program and organization for inter-religious action for racial justice.

The delegates to the annual conference of the Episcopal Society For Racial and Cultural Unity, which was also meeting in the International Inn, and the NCCIJ held several joint sessions and shared resource personnel.

Dennis Clark, now on the staff of the Philadelphia Council on Community Advancement, gave an unusually challenging paper on "Poverty and Race: The Institutional Response of the Catholic Community". This and several other papers may be published. Inquire of Mathew Ahmann.

Father John LaFarge celebrated a community mass and preached the sermon on Friday afternoon.

* * * * * *

Michael Harrington:

"The Other America: Poverty in the United States"
(Penguin Special - S 223, 95¢)

An important book which tells about an America that is invisible to most of us. Poverty, the author says, is becoming an institution, a self-perpetuating culture. A total attack alone will stand any chance of meeting this massive problem.

* * * * * *

The National Council of Catholic Men's Executive Committee on September 21, 1963 adopted a statement which was sent to Congressmen, members of the House Judiciary and Rules Committees, urging them "to vote favorably for meaningful Civil Rights legislation at this session. Diocesan Presidents and Moderators were asked by the NCCM President Frank Heller to "do everything possible to initiate a legislative action program on Civil Rights within your Council".

A very excellent Kit - "RELEASE FROM RACISM" has been prepared and advertised among the Catholic lay organizations. It sells for $5.00.

* * * * * *

Coordinated Emphasis - July 1, 1963 - June 30, 1964 - Protestant denominational social action secretaries, working cooperatively with and through the Division of Christian Life and Work of the National Conference of Churches, decided upon an annual study and action emphasis a number of years in advance. The emphasis currently is "Christians in a Rapidly Changing Economy". Suggestions for study and action may be had from the Department of the Church and Economic Life, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y. A recent brochure prepared to promote the Church and Economic Life Week (January 19-25, 1964) calls "Employment, the Master Key to the Race Problem, the Youth Problem, the Poverty Problem."

The Department offers a wealth of excellent program material. Write for the free leaflet entitled "Jobs for All", which lists these printed resources.

* * * * * *

National Council of Churches' Sixth Assembly - this biennial meeting of the representative body of the member churches or denominations will take place in Philadelphia December 1-7. There will be 120 Sections in which small groups will devote twelve hours to Bible study and discussion. The four areas to which the study groups will be assigned are Race, Peace, Technology and Livelihood. The portion of the Source-book devoted to race was prepared with the help of a number of persons including Dr. Herman H. Long, president-elect of Talladega College, Alabama - one of the delegates to the Chicago Conference and well-known in intergroup relations circles.

Outlook for Civil Rights Legislation - The strong position taken by President Johnson in his first message to Congress on November 27 and his demonstrated skill in parliamentary procedures may hasten the passage of an adequate civil rights bill. The votes for the so-called compromise measure as reported to the Rules Committee would appear to have a good chance for passage, provided it can be discharged from the Rules Committee over the head of its chairman.

> NOW IS THE TIME TO WRITE TO YOUR CONGRESSMAN TO VOTE IN FAVOR OF SUCH A DISCHARGE PETITION AND AN OPPORTUNITY FOR FLOOR DEBATE. ALSO TO WRITE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE RULES COMMITTEE (see list below). The bill is H. R. 7152.
>
> Some will want to ask for strengthening amendments, especially for broader coverage of Title II - Public Accommodations. (At present, the services of covered establishments must be those offered to interstate travellers or a substantial portion of any goods offered for sale must have moved in interstate commerce).
>
> Also for authorization to the U. S. Attorney General to initiate court suits in any civil rights matter. (This would be reinstate Part III of the 1957 Bill). It is felt by many that police brutality cannot be reached unless there is such a provision in law. The Attorney General says he does not now have power in such cases - and, to the dismay of those who have been brutally treated, has said he does not want it.

In the Senate, the strategy is to wait for the House to pass a bill and then to try to get that through without any changes. This is the most that can be hoped for, says Senator Humphrey. Even so, he predicts a filibuster lasting from two to three months - "a disgraceful exhibition!" This will be beaten in one of two ways - by invoking cloture which requires the support of two-thirds of the Senators present. Or by "attrition", which means wearing the opposition down by continuous day and night sessions until the less hardy collapse from exhaustion. For cloture, Senator Humphrey says, some 12 more votes are needed than are presently in sight.

AS SOON AS IT IS ANNOUNCED THAT THE HOUSE BILL HAS GONE OVER TO THE SENATE, LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS MUST GO IN LIKE A FLOOD, ESPECIALLY TO THOSE DOUBTFUL MEMBERS WHOSE VOTES ARE REQUIRED FOR CLOTURE FOLLOWING A REASONABLE PERIOD FOR DEBATE.

The Rev. Clyde Everton, Trinity Episcopal Church, Santa Barbara, California, suggested in a seminar on November 24 that the passage of strong civil rights legislation would be "a most appropriate living memorial to John F. Kennedy". Many others, including President Johnson, have voiced similar sentiments.

* * * * * *

The next two pages give a very brief summary comparison between three bills, only one of which is now in the Rules Committee - the so-called Compromise Bill, H. R. 7152. Dr. Lewis I. Maddocks prepared this analysis and we are grateful to him for it.

COMPARISON OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS

	THE PRESIDENT'S BILL	THE SUBCOMMITTEE BILL	THE COMPROMISE BILL
PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS	Would outlaw discrimination by operators of hotels, motels, restaurants, theaters, stores & other establishments selling goods or services to the public which substantially engage in or affect interstate commerce either because many of their customers are interstate travelers or many of their goods crossed state lines.	Added 14th Amendment provision extending coverage to every business licensed or otherwise permitted to operate by state or local governments. Presumably, would have covered private schools, banks, doctor's clinics. Only specific exemption: owner-occupied rooming houses renting not more than 5 rooms.	Was cut back by deleting the 14th Amendment licensing provision and limiting coverage to places to eat & sleep, gasoline stations, theaters, sports arenas & other amusement places. Small rooming homes were exempted, as were retail stores (unless they have lunch counters) & service places (barber shops).
VOTING RIGHTS	Would outlaw in Fed. elections literacy tests, forbid disqualifying voters for minor mistakes on application, require lit. tests be given in writing, make 6th-grade education legal presumption of literacy. Temporary Fed. referees would be appointed to register qualified Negroes when courts are slow to act.	Approved these provisions with two additions. Literacy tests would apply to states as well as federal elections. Referee-approved votes would be impounded pending decision of court suits, if there were enough to change the outcome of an election.	Provision for setting up three-judge Federal courts to expedite voting suits was substituted for temporary referees. Literacy test provisions apply only to Federal elections.
SCHOOLS	Would empower the Atty. Gen. to initiate court suits to speed school desegregation. Provide aid to school districts trying to desegregate.	Extended Atty. General's power to initiate desegregation suits, without waiting for an individual to sue, to all public facilities (parks, play grounds, libraries, etc.)	The Subcommittee's provisions were accepted.
PART THREE	Made no mention of this provision, first drafted as third section of 1957 civil rights bill but later dropped, to let Atty. Gen. initiate court suits in any civil rights matter.	Included a broad provision empowering the Atty. Gen. to initiate suits to protect all constitutional and other legal rights to all persons.	Attorney General may intervene as a party after an individual has filed suit alleging denial of equal protection of the law because of race, color, religion or national origin.

	THE PRESIDENT'S BILL	THE SUBCOMMITTEE BILL	THE COMPROMISE BILL
EMPLOY-MENT	Asked only that permanent status be given the President's committee which seeks by persuasion to end discrimination by Gov't. contractors. President endorsed passage of FEPC legislation separately.	Included section identical to a bill approved by the House Labor Comm. banning discrimination by private employers or labor unions with more than 25 workers or members. Orders would be issued by an administrative board, subject to appeal to court.	FEPC Section was approved with the change that final orders would be issued by Federal district courts rather than the board. In effect, this would shift the burden of proof in court from the employer to the government.
FEDERAL AID	Authorized the Administration to cut off any type of Federal aid from states or localities that discriminated in its use.	Limited the cut-off feature to specific projects or programs involved, and added court review of a Federal cut-off order.	Approved the subcommittee version, limiting it further to grants and loans, thus exempting guarantee or insurance programs (as Fed. insur. on bank dep.)
COMMUNITY RELATIONS	Proposed a mediation service to help settle racial disputes, specifically complaints about public accommodations.	It accepted the idea, but limited the staff.	Was omitted apparently because of latent opposition to a new bureaucracy and a feeling that special appointees of the President would be more effective.
CIVIL RIGHTS COM-MISSION	Would extend the fact-finding Commission for 4 years and give it added function of serving as a nat'l clearing house on civil rights information.	It made the Commission a permanent Agency.	It would make the Commission permanent with additional power to investigate alleged vote frauds.
VOTING CENSUS	This was not included	It provided for a census of voters by race which could be used under the 14th Amendment to cut House representation of states that discriminate.	Such a census would be made only in states where the Civil Rights Commission says a problem exists.
COURT REMOVAL	This was not included.	It provides for an appeal when a Fed. court has refused to accept transfer to it from a state court of a civil rights case.	The sub-committee language was included.

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE ARE LISTED ON FOLLOWING PAGE

Members of the House Rules Committee are:

Democrats

Rep. Howard W. Smith (Va.)
Chairman, (District 8)

Rep. William M. Colmer (Miss.)
(District 5)

Rep. Ray J. Madden (Ind.)
(District 1)

Rep. James J. Delaney (N. Y.)
(Dist. 9)

Rep. James W. Trimble (Ark.)
(Dist. 3)

Rep. Homer Thornberry (Texas)
(Dist. 10)

Rep. Richard Bolling (Missouri)
(Dist. 5)

Rep. Thomas P. O'Neill (Mass.)

Rep. Carl Elliott (Alabama)
(At Large)

Rep. B. F. Sisk (Calif.)
(Dist. 16)

Republicans

Rep. Clarence J. Brown (Ohio)
(Dist. 7)

Rep. Katharine St. George (N.Y.)
(Dist. 5)

Rep. H. Allen Smith (Calif.)
(Dist. 20)

Rep. Elmer J. Hoffman (Illinois)
(Dist. 14)

Rep. William H. Avery (Kansas)
(Dist. 2)

(Write to them c/o the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. 20515)

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS OFFERS HELP - Located at 704 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D.C. 20006, this consolidated office of information created by approximately 70 civil rights, labor and religious organizations, publishes reliable periodic memoranda. These may be had free on request. The Leadership Conference will send free on request a quantity of a brief pamphlet entitled "A Call to Action" - (sample attached).

Second Methodist Conference on Human Relations - The Message from this Conference heldAugust 26-30 may be had at 5¢ per copy from The Service Department of the Conference Office, 100 Maryland Ave., N. E., Washington, D. C. 20002.

On the final morning those present were given an opportunity to sign a "Commitment Card". Ten areas for the exercise of their commitment "to work for inclusive Methodist churches and inclusive Methodist related institutions in an inclusive society" were listed as follows -

Help establish interracial conversations - 394 signers
Participate in an interracial prayer fellowship - 293
Seek to enlist others in support of basic human rights - 410
Work for equal voting opportunities for all - 325
Work for fair employment practices - 352
Work for desegregated schools - 322
Work for open housing - 350
Support meaningful civil rights legislation - 395
Write letters - 331
Participate in direct action projects, when prompted by conscience - 321

* * * * * *

On Jackson, Mississippi - At a consultation called by National Conference on Religion and Race in New York on October 31, eleven persons participated. Several hopeful items were reported indicating at least some little progress in race relations. Thus, six Negro policemen have been employed and are doing an excellent job. Nine Negro women are on duty as crossing guards at school intersections. Two Negroes have been employed as sanitation workers. The city parks have been desegregated. (However, recently the police bagan arresting Negroes who used the parks, after the latter had left them.) Several local firms that depend heavily upon Negro trade have hired Negro cashiers. The libraries are open to both races.

Major emphasis is now being placed by the Movement upon selective buying and voter registration rather than street demonstrations. At the recent election for Governor, Dr. Aaron Henry's name was written in. He estimated that 10,000 to 15,000 registered Negroes wrote in his name and that of the Rev. Edwin King (who is white) for Lieutenant Governor. It is reported that a total of some 83,000 Negroes voted, but this is unverified as yet. Eighteen Yale students and some fifty other college students helped in the campaign in spite of police harassment.

The churches have been tested week after week by bi-racial groups or pairs of worshippers. The Roman Catholic, Episcopal Churches, and United Presbyterian and a Missouri Synod Church are reported to have received and seated the worshippers. However, none of the Methodist churches was willing to do so. The Trinity Lutheran Church likewise turned Negroes away after a faction in the church called a corporate meeting and voted to exclude colored people. Methodist and E. U. B. ministers from Chicago and elsewhere are continuing to travel to Jackson in order to challenge this behavior. A good many have been arrested. White Citizens Council members are apparently determined to go to any length to infiltrate these congregations and organize white exclusiveness.

On November 13, the second meeting of four members of the Intercitizens Committee (see brief report of ICC in the previous Newsletter) with three members of the City Council Committee on Public Safety and Welfare was held. Also present were Police Chief Jamie Moore and Inspector Haley. One striking fact was registered in that encounter, namely, that a complainant against mistreatment by the police must come himself or herself alone, without the benefit of legal counsel, while the Police Chief is entitled to have counsel present. At the very least these two meetings have brought the attention of three white citizens of Jackson to the 50 documented cases of rights violations within the past few years. The last one also provided the opportunity for Mr. Seibes (the chairman?) to make a strong statement to the effect that the Council will not tolerate mistreatment of anyone, black or white.

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National Conference on Religion and Race Items - Consideration is being given by the Local Communities' Follow-up Committee to a National Seminar for delegates from the forty or fifty state and local conferences (or committees) on religion and race so that they can share experience with one another. The implementation of this proposal will depend upon two things (1) the interest shown by these local groups as they respond to an inquiry from the Executive Director and (2) upon whether an extra-budget grant can be obtained to carry the overhead expenses. So far the responses from the local groups have been affirmative and even enthusiastic.

The Continuation Committee is scheduled to meet in New York in January 1964. At that time it is assumed that a recommendation will be made as to whether to continue or to terminate the NCRR, at least so far as the National Secretariat is concerned. The ultimate decision will depend upon official action by the three Conveners - the National Council of Churches, the Synagogue Council of America, and the National Catholic Welfare Conference. The opinions of readers of the Newsletters and others on the usefulness of a continuing national structure and Secretariat could be useful if written in, giving reasons pro and con.

The intent of NCRR's Executive Committee to find and employ a successor to Mathew Ahmann as field secretary could not be carried out because of inadequate funds in hand or pledged. The Executive Director by correspondence, the issuance of this Newsletter and other memoranda, as well as by a limited amount of travel, will endeavor to assist local conferences or committees on religion and race. If the time should come that finances are available this important portfolio will be filled, provided a person with the qualifications can be found. (At one point recently we had such a person willing to serve but had to countermand our invitation. GRW).

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In response to the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama and the death of four Negro Sunday School children, National Conference on Religion and Race sent out an appeal for contributions to rebuilding the church and to the relief of the families. At this date the total of gifts received and forwarded is as follows:

To the church for rebuilding $2,191.31
To the Reverend John H. Cross, the pastor, for the families - $980.48

Mr. Cross has written letters of appreciation on behalf of the church and the parents and we pass this word of gratefulness on to you who contributed.

* * * * * *

Friendship House (4233 So. Indiana Ave., Chicago, 60653) notes that numerous cities throughout the nation have sponsored home-visiting programs, frequently on an inter-religious as well as an inter-racial basis. Between October 27 and November 3 at least ten major cities held city-wide home visit days. Next Spring there is to be a National Home Visit Day which Friendship House is inviting as many as will to observe. Informational materials may be had from Friendship House at small cost. These are based on many experiences since 1955 when the plan was inaugurated in Chicago. Usually from 2 to 7 visitors call in the home of the host - guests and host being of the opposite race. The host is encouraged to bring in several neighbors for free conversation. These contacts across the race line have often resulted in remarkable improvements in attitudes. Any group anywhere can attempt this on a small scale at least. In some cities a continuous program is carried on week after week. Washington, D. C. is following this continuous plan with great success.

Notables in the News

The Rev. Dr. Elder G. Hawkins, pastor of St. Augustine United Presbyterian Church of New York City has been nominated to be Moderator of that denomination's General Assembly. This is the highest elective office in the gift of the 3,276,000-member body.

Jackie Robinson, business executive, was recently named President of United Church Men, a nation-wide organization of Protestant and Orthodox Christian laymen. In July, Mr. Robinson was honored by the United Church of Christ's Council for Christian Social Action by being given its annual Churchmanship Award. He also was a featured speaker before the Assembly. He is a member of a local United Church of Christ in North Stamford, Connecticut.

Local Conferences Act

The St. Louis Conference on Religion and Race sponsored a public Procession and Assembly on cival rights on Sunday, November 24, at 2 p.m. 30,000 persons came to the public square to listen to addresses by three prominent visiting speakers-a Negro, a Rabbi and a Catholic priest. Originally planned as a public testimony that the churches and synagogues are concerned about the problems facing the Negro today, because of the assassination of President Kennedy the gathering was largely turned into a memorial to our late leader in the struggle for human rights for all. CBS-TV carried the program live for one hour. Paul Hanlon, who was the principal organizer, reports that the demonstration made a deep impression on the city as a whole.

Interesting historical footnote: the assembly gathered before the courthouse where the Dred Scott decision was promulgated over one hundred years ago.

In a joint public statement from Cardinal Ritter, Rabbi Grollman and W. Sherman Skinner (the latter being President of the Metropolitan Church Federation), it was declared that the Board of the Conference on Religion and Race has committed itself through its congregations to secure jobs and job training for members of the Negro community in the weeks immediately ahead.

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The Lexington (Ky.) Committee on Human Rights, among other achievements, drafted a proposal for an ordinance establishing an official city Commission on Human Rights and presented it to the City Manager and the City Commissioners. Subsequently a resolution was adopted establishing such a Commission very largely along the lines proposed.

The Employment Sub-Committee has contacted retail merchants and been instrumental in persuading a number of them to employ Negroes on the basis of their personal capacity. A study is being made of the employment practices of 68 firms with a view to encouraging greater use of available Negroes as employees.

The Public Accommodations Sub-Committee has been "testing" restaurants as to their willingness to serve Negroes. It is intended to publish lists every two months as a means to encourage patronage of those that are open to all. Only 15 remain on the doubtful list. Recreational facilities are being emphasized during December. A public accommodations ordinance proposal is being considered. A Sub-Committee on Housing and another on Education are also at work. The former recently reported two new subdivisions are soon to be opened on a non-discriminatory basis. The Education Sub-Committee is trying to find a qualified Negro to run for the School Board.

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The Pittsburgh Area Religion and Race Council reports that, since being organized last Spring, it has: (1) called on all churches and synagogues in the area to insert non-discriminatory clauses in their building contracts and to purchase supplies only from them with fair employment practices' (2) recognized the effectiveness of the United Negro Protest Committee's demonstrations and assigned two members as liaison

members to the Protest Committee; (3) through letters and a booklet entitled, "Religion's Role in Racial Crisis" (published by NCRR), has sought to inform every clergymen in the area as to its position and concern over erasing racial tensions; (4) endorsed the historic March on Washington (in which several of its members participated).

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The Black Hawk County Conference on Religion and Race (Cedar Falls, Iowa) took up the proposal "Write for Rights" letter day. It contacted all clergy and civic organizations asking them to cooperate. Also efforts were directed at enlisting the news media of the area to support the program. Space was purchased in the newspaper to print a sample letter to Congressmen with the names and addresses of local Congressmen furnished.

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Des Moines, Iowa: The Iowa Conference on Religion and Race was held in mid-September. Congregations were asked to pledge (among other things) that they will require a clause of non-discriminatory employment in any contract to build or improve..physical facilities, will boycott supply or equipment companies who are known to have discriminatory hiring policies, and will not patronize or sponsor any activity at a place of public accommodation which discriminates against anyone because of race or religion or nationality. Individual church members were urged to adopt an open occupancy, non-discriminatory policy in real estate transactions, to boycott places of business open to the public which discriminate against Negro or other minority groups, either as patrons or employees; also private clubs which refuse membership or service on racial grounds; and to invest in financial institutions which make funds available on a non-discriminatory basis. (reported in the Christian Century, October 30)

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In the September - October Newsletter we mentioned that (at least) four Roman Catholic bishops are pursuing policies of non-discrimination in their building contracts. These are the bishops: Most Reverend William G. Connare, Bishop of Greensburg, Pa., Most Reverend Patrick A. O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington, D.C., Most Reverend Robert E. Lucey, Archbishop of San Antonio, Texas, Most Reverend Victor J. Reed, Bishop of Oklahoma City and Tulsa.

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The Nebraska Conference on Religion and Race is planning a state-wide conference on March 2 and 3, 1964. "Everything is being planned so there will be an organized program," which is understood to mean not merely consultation and education but also action.

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On September 30, 1963 a Quad-City area Interreligious Conference on Race was held in Davenport, Iowa under the sponsorship of the Interreligious Committee on Race. Those present signed a commitment with the following specifics:

....we will adopt or renew a non-discriminatory policy

in all relations with our employees.... include a non-discriminatory clause in all contracts to build or improve our physical facilities.

....will oppose any restrictive covenant or "gentlemen's agreement" in the purchase, sale, rental or use of property.... will support all sincere efforts to establish a legal basis for open occupancy in housing ... we will seek out financial institutions which have non-discriminatory lending and/or borrowing and/or employment practices in connection with investments and loans.

....will purchase equipment and supplies only from purveyors who are known to have non-discriminatory hiring and marketing practices.

....will refrain from holding membership in, or using the facilities of, organizations known to discriminate against anyone because of race, creed or ethnic origin. ... will invite all persons for fellowship and will welcome as members in our own congregations and organizations those who share our faith regardless of racial derivation.

....these being our resolves, we pledge ourselves to cooperate fully with all other men of good-will to remove racism from the Quad-City community.

....we pledge ourselves strongly to urge the members of our congregations so to commit themselves and so to act.

* * * * * *

The Metropolitan Detroit Conference on Religion and Race sent out to the 1200 participants in last January's notable Open Occupancy Conference, a letter urging that letters be sent in support of the Patrick-Ravitz Open Occupancy Ordinance. A public statement favoring passage was released shortly after Labor Day. "A Home Owner's Petition" was being circulated for the purpose of forestalling governmental interference with the right of the owner to sell or rent to whomever he might wish. The Conference issued a public statement making it clear that, in plain language, what was being asked for was the right to discriminate against Negroes or others and warning citizens not to sign it. The four religious leaders, in a joint statement, called such discrimination "immoral".

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Evidence continues to come to the Secretariat that local interreligious groups are taking seriously the National Conference's request to bring their influence to bear upon members of Congress, urging them to vote for a strong civil rights law in this session. We cannot too often repeat that this is a specific, high priority obligation upon all of us.

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Quite a number of local conferences on religion and race have adapted the Appeal to the Conscience issue from the Chicago Conference of last January and issued their own version. Such restatements gain in pertinency to the state or city circumstances.

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Chicago Conference on Religion and Race has succinctly outlined

"Highlights of First Eight Months"

1. LOCAL CONFERENCES -- The Chicago Conference on Religion and Race (CCRR) sponsored several local level conferences on religion and race in Chicago suburbs and city neighborhoods. Each were pioneering ventures in interreligious cooperation in their areas.

2. HOME VISIT PROGRAM -- CCRR recruited 100 suburban families who were hosts to visiting Negro families in the citywide Home Visit Day, March 24th.

3. 57TH AND MORGAN INCIDENT -- CCRR played a major role in solving Chicago's most serious racial disturbance this summer. This incident occurred in the week of July 28 -- August 5 in the Englewood -- Garfield Boulevard area, and gained national notoreity. An interreligious and interracial clergy committee was organized in the area and as many as fifty clergymen patrolled the streets to witness for human rights and to work for reconciliation.

4. COMMUNICATION IN INTERRACIAL TENSION AREAS -- A 4-man clergy team has been organized under the leadership of Rabbi Robert Marx to convene interreligious and interracial clergy meetings in areas of high tension. Members of the team are: Rev. Samuel Gandy; Rabbi Hayim Goren Perelmuter; Father Francis Phelan; and Rev. Kris Ronnow.

5. NEWSPAPER APPEAL -- CCRR printed a strong appeal on June 28th entitled "Stand Up for Racial Justice." The statement urged substantial reforms in housing, education and employment as the only meaningful response to the racial crisis in our city and nation.

6. CLERGY-LEGISLATORS BREAKFAST FOR FAIR HOUSING -- CCRR organized 26 Chicago area interfaith clergy teams to breakfast with their state representatives and senators on May 8th in behalf of a state fair housing law.

7. CHICAGO FAIR HOUSING ORDINANCE -- CCRR vigorously supported the Chicago Housing Ordinance as a first step toward justice in Chicago's housing.

8. FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS BILL -- CCRR is working to build support for this legislation in Chicago and throughout Illinois.

9. DELEGATION TO DIRKSEN -- An interreligious delegation from CCRR called on Senator Dirksen on August 28th to urge his support for the federal civil rights bill, particularly the public accommodations section.

10. MARCH ON WASHINGTON -- CCRR endorsed the March and aided members to participate in the 3000 man Chicago delegation.

11. CONFERENCES WITH TV LEADERS -- CCRR has met with all of Chicago's top TV industry leaders to urge special programs on race relations and integration in TV personnel and programming.

12. ACTION WITHIN RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS -- CCRR has organized a top flight committee of religious leaders to develop strong programs to guarantee that religious institutions, themselves, operate in accordance with stated denominational policies on integration and non-discrimination. Under the leadership of Dr. Donald Zimmerman , Right Reverend Robert Hagarty and Rabbi Jacob Weinstein, the committee is working on plans to promote non-discriminatory clauses in church and synagogue building contracts, intra-denominational plans to assure open admissions and fair employment practices.

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Atlanta, Georgia: In the Spring of 1963 an Atlanta Council on Religion and Race was formed. The Executive Committee was composed of Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan, Rabbi Jacob M. Rothchild, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays and Dr. Herman L. Turner (director of the Atlanta Council of Churches). Attempts have since been made to enlist a representative of the very important Southern Baptist Churches of the city but without success at the last report. The first step taken was a survey of the 580 churches in the metropolitan area. It was found that far more claimed to be "open" than had been anticipated. However, the more conservative or fundamentalist congregations were for the most part closed to Negroes. At a luncheon meeting where 33 pastors came (50 "leading" ones were invited), the idea of a continuing inter-religious program was approved. At a subsequent pastors' meeting only a minimum program seemed possible. The decision was to work through the denominational ministers' groups. These efforts have been somewhat successful with the Presbyterians, the Disciples and the Methodists. Two local congregations - one Episcopal, one Disciples, undertook to carry on a pilot self-study project, six weeks in length. The following were to be covered:

1. General discussion of the denomination's pronouncements on racial justice;

2. Discussion centered on Will Campbell's pamphlet "We are a Third Race".

3. Discussion of the segregationists' point of view, using material from the Citizens' Councils by way of contrast.

4. Discussion of Dr. King's "Letter from Birmingham City Jail".

5. Discussion of "An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People" issued by the Chicago Conference.

6. Formulation of specific recommendations for personal and congregational action.

The intention has been to assess the work of these two study groups and to prepare kits of materials for the use of other local churches willing to undertake a similar process.

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On October 19, some 600 delegates of the three major religious groups joined in an all-day conference with outstanding speakers and forty-workshop groups. Dover, Delaware, was chosen by the state-wide planning group as being located near the center of the more difficult racial problems in the commonwealth. The timing was excellent in one particular respect, vis., the public accommodations bill was bottled up in the Delaware House of Representatives. Several speakers called for its prompt passage, including a former state Supreme Court Justice and Episcopal Bishop Mosley.

The Chairman of the Conference was a Christian Science layman, Mr. W. Spencer Thompson, Vice President and Director of Industrial Relations of Atlas Chemical Industries of Wilmington.

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The Toledo Interfaith Conference on Religion and Race was instrumental in having Mayor John W. Potter proclaim a RACIAL JUSTICE NOW WEEK. Churches, civic groups and business firms were invited to cooperate in an extensive program. While there were some significant observances, neither the mass media nor the merchants paid it much attention. Two thousand posters were put out to various places of business but only a few were displayed. The conference leaders are evaluating their experience and trying to locate the elements of non-cooperation.

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Since our last listing an Interreligious Commission on Religion and Race of Greater Utica has been organized. Rev. H. Robert Gomer is President (11 Devereaux St.) and Rev. Francis J. Willenburg is Secretary.

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"I Wonder Why..."

Shirley Burden, a photographic essayist of uncommon sensitiveness, has authored an appealing little book of remarkably evocative pictures and captions. Each page portrays some lovely thing that a child likes. The final caption facing a portrait of a wistful teen-age Negro girl, is "WONDER WHY SOME PEOPLE DON'T LIKE ME." Doubleday & Company published this delightful yet thought-stirring 32 page volume. (price $1.95)

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Other Recommended Reading

Have you seen and read STRENGTH TO LOVE a volume of sermons or addresses by Martin Luther King, Jr. These chapters, perhaps more than any of his books, give the readers insight into how this modern apostle of justice and love "got that way" and how he maintains the glow of his deep commitment to non-violent action and attitude. See in particular the chapter on "Pilgrimage to Non-Violence". (Published by Harper and Row at $3.50).

Recommended also: The South and the Southerners by Ralph McGill and The Desegregated Heart by Sarah Patton Boyle, (William Morrow, Atlantic, Little and Brown)

Report of the United States Commission on Human Rights '63: - the culmination of two years of fact-finding and investigation by the Commission. "While the Commission has found hope in the civil rights progress that has been

made, there remain serious matters of concern that can be corrected only by executive and legislative action. " (letter of transmittal) $1.00 from Supt. of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, or probably can be had free on request from your Congressman or Senator.

H.R. 7152 - The "Compromise Bill" now before the Rules Committee of the House. This is quite long but should be in the hands of all leaders at least. Ask your Congressman for copies.

Race Relations and Religious Education - a symposium by more than 30 authors is the January-February 1964 issue of the magazine RELIGIOUS EDUCATION, 120 double column pages. Single copy $2.00. Discounts of 10 or more to one address. Among the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish authors: Arthur Gilbert, Gordon Allport, Ethel Alpenfels, Solomon Bernards, Thomas Pettigrew, Galen Weaver, Balfour Brickner... (order from the Religious Education Association, 545 W. 111th Street, New York 25, New York.)

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Regarding Director of Local Religion and Race Groups:
Up to November 29 the Secretariat has had 20 replies to the questionnaire mailed out a month or so before. Hopefully others will be received so that a more complete directory can be prepared by or soon after January 1, 1963. In mimeographed form it will be made available at 50¢ per copy. Names and addresses of the contact person and other pertinent information will be included in each case where the information has been furnished to us.

* * * * * *

SPECIAL PRICE OFFER

CATALOGUE OF RESOURCES -CONFERENCE RECOMMENDATIONS -JAMES RESTON'S COLUMN

Instead of $1.00 for a single copy postpaid, the 50 page compilation of readings in Religion and Race (books, periodicals, pamphlets on various aspects of race relations) plus a listing of resource agencies and audio-visual aids entitled CATALOGUE OF RESOURCES will be offered at 65¢ for a single copy (5-49 copies at 50¢ each, 50 or more at 45¢ each) - postpaid.

The folder that lists all of the recommendations of the Chicago Conference and also carries the Appeal to the Conscience of the American People may be ordered at the following reduced prices-single copy 15¢, 20-99 copies at 8¢ each, 100 or more 6¢ each.

Also James Reston's challenging column from the August 30, 1963 New York Times placing the responsibility for civil rights legislation on the churches and synagogues, may be ordered at half price - 100 or more at ½¢ each.

(tear here)----------order blank----------(tear here)

Please mail me postpaid for the check or money order enclosed

		Total
_____	copies of the Catalogue of Resources	_____
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Your name_____
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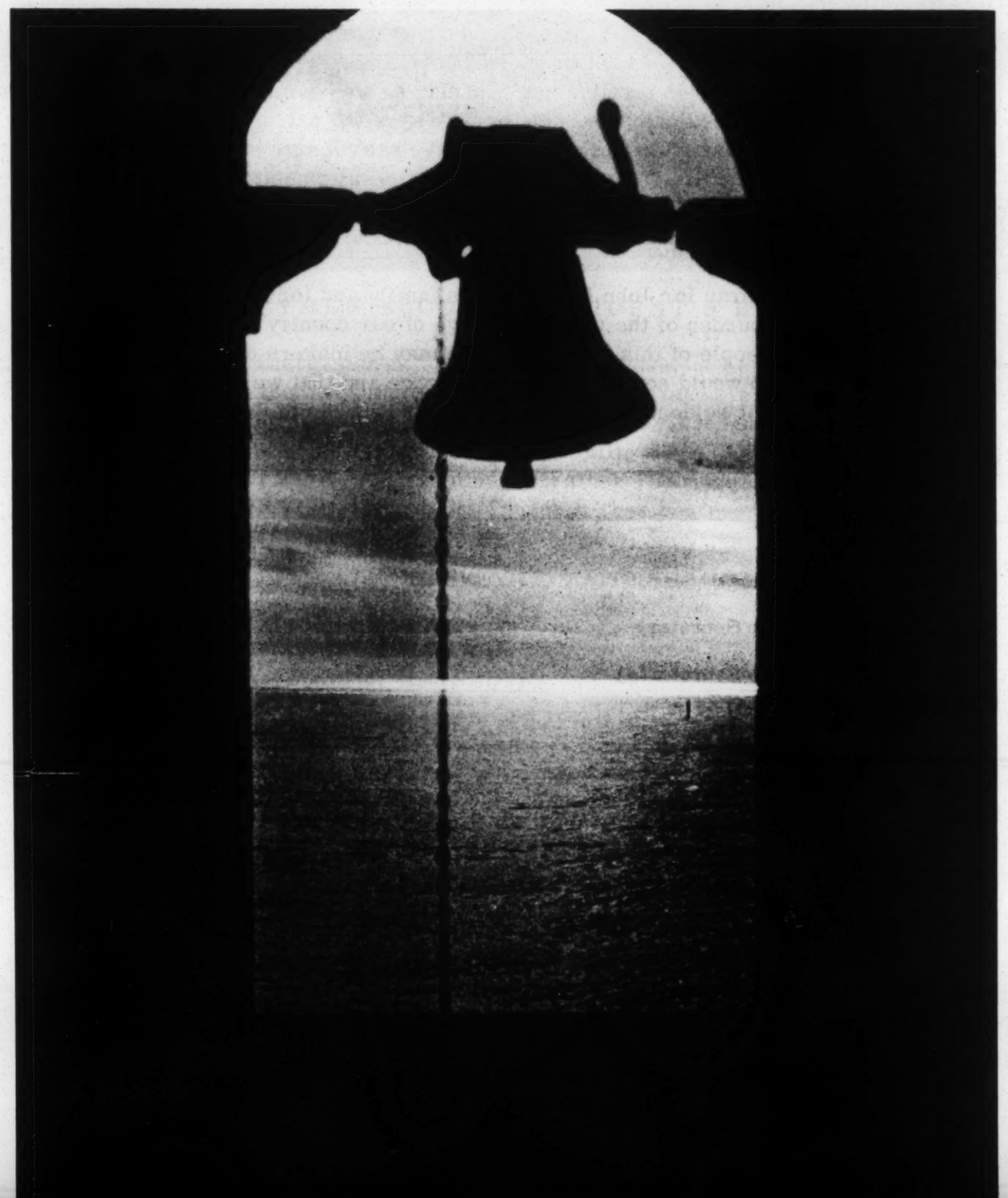
Date of this order _____ mail order to National Conference on Religion and Race
150 5th Avenue, N.Y. 10011

Rel - Gen
1963

A periodic news bulletin issued by the Department of Christian Social Relations, Division of Christian Citizenship, Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017.

CHURCH AND RACE

Vol. 1, No. 6 Advent, 1963



THE RT. REV. ARTHUR LICHTENBERGER, PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT AFTER THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY:

"Within a very short time after the news of the assassination of President Kennedy, I released a statement on this shocking and incredible event. I said what everyone was saying--that I was shocked and saddened, that we expressed our sympathy to the family of President Kennedy and assured them of our prayers, and that we thanked God for the life of this courageous man.

"Now, a day later, I believe I can express what was yesterday only a vague and fleeting thought. It is this:

"Whoever fired the shot that killed John Kennedy, we as citizens of this country are involved in this terrible act. Insofar as we have shrugged off the frequent expressions of bitterness and hate made by people on the extreme left or the extreme right as of no threat to our country; when we have said of acts of violence perpetrated as protests against the decisions and acts of our federal or state governments--they do not express the real feelings of the people of our land--we by our indifference and our apathy have weakened the power of love and justice.

"So as we pray for John Kennedy, his family and for the man who has now taken up the heavy burden of the chief executive of our country, let us pray for ourselves and all the people of this land. That we may be makers of peace, standing firm against all who would sow discord and violence and that we may by God's grace be enabled to make it evident in our time that love which is of God can overcome hatred and evil."

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

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Associate Secretaries	**The Rev. Herschel Halbert** **Carroll Greene, Jr.** **The Rev. Cornelius Tarplee**
Consultants for Publications	**Douglas A. Bushy** **The Rev. Robert A. MacGill**

CHURCH AND RACE is published by the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 815 Second Avenue, New York 17, New York. Published monthly, September to June. Application to mail at second-class rates is pending at Lebanon, Pa.

CLERGYMEN ESCORT PRESIDENT'S BODY

Washington, D. C. -- Clergymen-friends of the late President Kennedy fall into step behind the color guard as the body, borne upon a caisson, is taken in procession from the White House to the Rotunda of the U.S. Capitol. Left to right, they are: Dean Francis B. Sayre of the Washington Cathedral (Episcopal); Msgr. John S. Spence, pastor of the Shrine of the Sacred Heart, Washington; and Father Theodore Danusiar, pastor of the Capital's Holy Family Ukrainian Catholic Church. They represented the nation's clergy in the procession.

Religious News Service Photo

PRESIDING BISHOP INVITED BY ROBERT F. KENNEDY TO PARTICIPATE IN FUNERAL SERVICES FOR THE LATE JOHN F. KENNEDY:

The invitation was sent by telegram and received by the Presiding Bishop on Saturday, November 23, at his home in Greenwich, Conn. The full text of the telegram follows:

"You are invited to participate in the funeral services for President John F. Kennedy on November 25 at St. Matthew's Cathedral. When you reach Washington, call the Chief of Protocol, State Department." The telegram was signed Robert F. Kennedy.

Bishop Lichtenberger asked the Bishop of Washington the Rt. Rev. William F. Creighton to represent him at the President's funeral. Bishop Creighton marched with a Roman Catholic priest in front of the caisson bearing the President's body in the funeral procession from the Capitol to St. Matthew's (Roman Catholic) Cathedral.

BELLS THAT TOLL, RATHER THAN RING

FROM THE DEAN'S DESK

The bells of Christ Church Cathedral are being rung differently because our life in this community is different these days. Differences among persons in a large community like St. Louis are always great, but lately a new and more serious division has come among us. The Negro and white communities are tragically divided and all of us share to some degree the responsibility for this unhappy division.

One of the tasks of the Church in a community is to speak realistically of the life about us and to point hopefully to the possibility of a better community. The Cathedral bells will be used in this way. They have been rung at the hours of worship on Sundays and at noon each weekday—calling men to worship on Sundays; proclaiming God's reign in the daily lives of His people on weekdays. They will continue to be used for these same reasons, but they will now *toll* rather than *ring*. This has been our custom at the time of a death.

Recall the words of John Donne (1573-1631), a priest of the Church in England: "No man is an Iland, intire of it selfe; every man is a peece of the Continent, part of the maine: if a Clod bee washed away by the sea, Europe is the lesse, as well as if a Promontorie were, as well as if a Mannor of thy friends or of thine owne were; any mans death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankinde; And therefore never send to know for whom the bells tolls; It tolls for thee."

At the times the Cathedral bells are used, they will toll eleven times: The number of the first broken fellowship of the Christian Community at the beginning of the Apostolic Age. When our community is again redeemed from its brokenness, we shall end the tolling of these bells and begin ringing them again. I pray God those days may come soon.

From THE NEWS, CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL,
November 1963, St. Louis, Missouri

ADVENT 1963

Later this month, the bells will ring out twice for joy: once for the coming of Christ into the world of men, and again for the coming of a new year in the world he came to save.

But before the bells can peal, they must toll. All during Advent, 1963, they must toll.

-- for the failure of men to open their hearts and wills to Christ and to each other, "now in the time of this mortal life."

-- for the needless deaths of righteous men like John F. Kennedy, Medgar Evers, and five little girls in Birmingham whose names almost nobody remembers.

-- for the uncounted acts of prejudice, hatred and oppression which all men have committed or consented to out of apathy, indifference or malice.

-- for the grief of a world and a nation that stands convicted of black, mortal sin.

Advent traditionally is a time for sober reflection and repentance as we Christians await the two "comings" of Christ -- in the great humility of his Incarnation, and again in glorious majesty as ultimate Judge. Well may the bells toll during Advent, any year! But this year is a time of especially harsh and terrible self-revelation as well. Never before have our "works of darkness" been more plainly disclosed. The stunning, successive double-murder of John Kennedy and Lee Oswald has bared in our souls nerves of conscience long disused, and brought them to screaming life. What the agony of black men, lynched and abused for centuries, has failed to arouse, the death of two whites -- the president and his assassin -- has brought to the surface at last. We have seen a man's life wrenched out of his body by sheer, craven whim -- right in our own living rooms. And we know that in this usurping of life, this rebellion against the Life-giver, we all have a share. We know our own guilt, and we know none is spared. In Advent, 1963, we hear the Apostle afresh and aright when he says that NOW it is high time to awake ... that "the night is far spent, the day is at hand."

This year, the comfortable, somewhat precious observances of Advent simply will not suffice. It is not enough to make and light an Advent wreath -- hoping piously that three purple and one rose candles will dispel the murk of intolerance, suspicion and hate that clouds our lives. No number of violet hangings and vestments can assuage or even stand for the depth and breadth of the sorrow we bear. Shortly we shall deck our churches with boughs and wreaths to welcome Christ; but how can he come in when -- in so many places -- his own flesh and blood is barred at the door?

"There is nothing covered that shall not be revealed; neither hid that shall not be known."

This is the Advent message that must din on our ears. There is urgency to it and, frankly, ground for holy fear. Christ is coming. He is coming as Savior; and he is also coming as Judge. "Now is our salvation nearer than when we (first) believed." And it is fatuous, in our time, to believe that salvation -- coming now -- can possibly happen apart from judgment. Advent is that time when we must face up to this fact. He who cometh dispenses both as inevitably as the blaze of noon follows the blush of dawn. The Light of the world is coming, and "whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness shall be heard in the light."

Therefore, Saint Paul says, "owe no man anything, but to love one another."

Let the sober reflections of this Advent be turned to the ways we do and do not love one another. Can a Negro, or the member of another minority group, hear and receive God's Word in your parish? Can he buy a home in your neighborhood? Can he get a job in your community on equal footing with whites? Can he attend the same calibre schools? Can he be greeted and treated without embarrassment (not to mention hostility) in public gatherings, or in your home?

The President of the United States lies dead in Arlington Cemetery. His assassin lies in an unmarked grave. Public human rights activity is virtually suspended while the nation mourns its sin. But the works of darkness are, indeed, upon us. And so the bells toll.

Let every stroke of the tolling bells remind each Christian of what is at stake, that the Lord is at hand. Let us pray daily:

"Almighty God, give us grace that we may cast away the works of darkness, and put upon us the armour of light, now in the time of this mortal life, in which thy Son Jesus Christ came to visit us in great humility; that in the last day, when he shall come again in his glorious majesty to judge both the quick and the dead, we may rise to the life immortal, through him who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, now and ever. Amen."

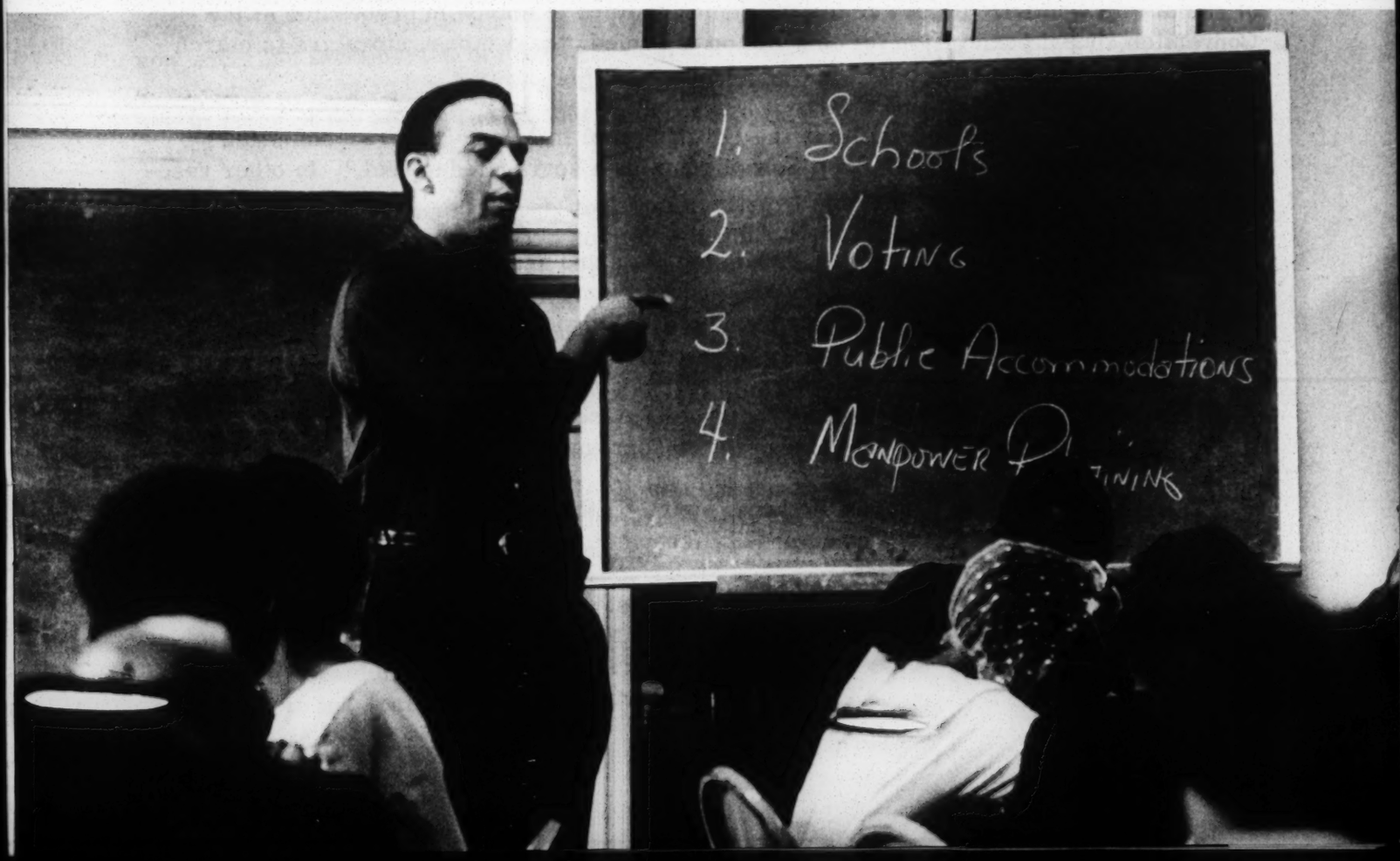
PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON ASKS AMERICANS TO END 'HATE, EVIL, VIOLENCE'

Addressing the nation on November 27, President Lyndon B. Johnson in a 1,500 word address prepared for a joint session of the Senate and House, appealed for "an end to the teaching and preaching of hate and evil and violence." The new President calling for early Congressional action to set up new civil rights safeguards said, "No memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought."

President Johnson, the first Southern President since Andrew Johnson succeeded the slained Abraham Lincoln, left no doubt about his commitment to the cause of equal rights for all Americans. "We have talked long enough in this country about equal rights. We have talked 100 years or more. Yes, it is time now to write the next chapter - and to write in books of law." The President called upon the Congress to enact a civil rights bill that will help "eliminate from this nation every trace of discrimination and oppression based upon race or color."

On December 4th, President Johnson "urged Administration leaders in Congress to give maximum support to efforts to pry the civil rights bill out of the House Rules Committee."

The President needs <u>your</u> support if adequate civil rights legislation to protect the rights of all American citizens is to be passed. Have you written your Congressman? Your letters are needed now more than ever.



ESCRU ANNUAL
MEETING HELD
~IN CAPITAL~

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity and the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice held joint meetings at the International Inn in Washington, D. C., November 14th to 16th.

Among the speakers heard at the annual conference were Burke Marshall, assistant United States Attorney General; William Stringfellow, a New York City attorney; Louis Lomax, the Negro author; the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, executive director of the Southern Leadership Conference, and the Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley, executive secretary, Division of Christian Citizenship, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Father Walmsley and attorney Stringfellow warned churchmen that further delay in granting Negro citizens their full rights may lead to dire consequences. Attorney Stringfellow predicted that the civil rights movement will turn from "revolution to insurrection" and from "peaceful protest to holocaust" unless Negro Americans see "immediate, tangible, and substantive" results from nonviolent tactics. Mr. Stringfellow pointed out that peaceful demonstrations by Negroes have been going on for nearly five years.

Father Walmsley chastising churchmen for their inaction said, "Through silence, we have collaborated with racist elements in society who would perpetuate second-class citizenship for Negro citizens."

ESCRU members decided to recommend to their general board that plans be made for a demonstration at the 1964 General Convention in St. Louis. ESCRU demonstrators are to carry signs naming church-related institutions which still maintain policies of racial segregation. Plans are for the demonstrators to march in procession at the Convention, but if permission for this action is denied, the demonstrators are to march outside the convention hall.

Continuation of picketing at the Lovett School in Atlanta was recommended by the members, "so long as the Lovett School remains a segregated school." In other resolutions, the ESCRU members:

Commended the Presiding Bishop for his stand against segregation as set forth in his Whitsunday pastoral letter, and recommended that the society take such action as will "strengthen the hand" of the Presiding Bishop and the Department of Christian Social Relations in this area.

Complained to the American Automobile Association that some of the facilities recommended by the AAA practice segregation.

Recognized the House of Bishops' action on the pending civil rights bill (L. C., August 25th), and recommended passage of the bill.

Encouraged direct action in protest against discrimination practiced at any Church school.

Called upon dioceses to disassociate themselves from Church-related institutions that segregate.

Called for termination of contracts and agreements with firms doing business with the Church which fail to demonstrate that they practice no discrimination in their employment practices.

Condemned anti-semitism in American business.

Asked the President of the U.S. to issue an executive order forbidding the practice of discrimination by "certain banks and institutions relative to the approval of mortgages for private housing."

Asked the Church Pension Fund, as well as dioceses and Church institutions that derive income from investments in large corporations, to inquire as to the employment policies of the corporations in which they invest.

From: DIOCESE OF CHICAGO CSR NEWSLETTER, November, 1963
The Rev. Paul S. Kyger, Jr., Editor

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY WRITES:

The current racial crises continue to occupy a large amount of my time. I am still continuing to attend the meetings of the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations as a delegate from ESCRU. This keeps me close to the progress of the current civil rights struggle in the Chicago area.

I should like to be able to hold out to you some hope for a more peaceful racial scene. However, I regret that this is not the way things look at this time. Chances are now excellent for a series of prolonged demonstrations to take place as events are now developing. More and more, you will be hearing from your parishioners that while they are in favor of the principles that the Negroes are fighting for, they are opposed to the means.

Other persons sincerely feel that the Negro's urgent stand, today, is forcing some people to take an anti-Negro position. I think the truth of this statement depends, in large measure, upon the confrontation that people receive with the facts that are involved in these areas. Although we are dealing with emotions, we are also dealing with areas where some facts are obvious.

Recently, I had the privilege of speaking to over 150 persons in a number of area churches around Ottawa, Illinois. I took part in a panel discussion on the racial issue titled, "The Church and Race." The key to how the non-Negro is going to feel today, rests largely in the hands of the parish clergy and the lay leadership of our congregations. If efforts aren't made to develop a dialogue between the two races, to lay the cards on the table, and above all, to challenge segregationist views, then this task cannot successfully be accomplished.

I have every confidence that our clerical and lay leadership in this diocese will rise to the occasion, and will see that all of our people have an opportunity to know the facts, and to take part in a continuing dialogue.

CLERGY AND LAYMEN DEMONSTRATORS IN WILLIAMSTON AND CHESTER GIVEN SUPPORT OF EPISCOPAL AND ROMAN CATHOLIC GROUPS MEETING IN WASHINGTON

November 15 - Mathew Ahmann, executive director of the National Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice, speaking at a joint banquet sponsored by ESCRU and the National Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice, meeting in Washington said that: "In Williamston, North Carolina, 15 white Christians, clergy and seminarians, affirming their belief that all men are members of the same human family, were arrested on November 14th with fifty-four Negroes while marching into the downtown area in a demonstration for interracial justice and unity in that community. These were the first white persons to join the Negro demonstrators there since they began their protests over four months ago. During this time more than 230 demonstrators have been arrested. The marchers are being held under $500 bail in Williamston, N. C."

Commenting on the situation in Chester, Pennsylvania, Mr. Ahmann said, "In Chester our brothers have been publicly demonstrating their concern for reasonable improvement of overcrowded, unsanitary, and unsafe school conditions in depressed areas of that city. Two hundred and forty-one men, women, and children have been arrested. Their bail has been set at $200 a piece and fines may range as high as $300. Mr. Ahmann went on to say that clergy and lay leaders in Chester had to that date neither shared in nor supported this witness for justice, nor had they contributed to an alleviation of the suffering.

The members of ESCRU and the NCCIJ adopted the following resolution:

> Therefore, be it resolved that we, the NCCIJ and ESCRU urge the Roman Catholic and Episcopal clergy and laity to stand and support their brethren. We offer our prayers and alms and other resources for the relief of those who have suffered or have been imprisoned.

It is reported that "the demonstrations and mass arrests in Chester, Pa., have led local authorities to agree to relieve the overcrowding, eliminate unsanitary and unsafe conditions in the schools."

As we go to press, all of the demonstrators in Williamston have been released on bond and the trials have been postponed. Following their release from the jail, the group remained in Williamston in an attempt to get the white community to negotiate with the responsible leaders of the Negro community. These persons have since returned to their homes in several states.

> The Rev. John LaFarge, S. J., who inspired the Catholic Interracial Council, and was widely known for his many contributions to the struggle for social justice, died on November 24th. Father LaFarge was one of the first voices to speak out against segregation, calling on the Church to take an active part. When the current revolution in civil rights occurred, Father LaFarge, said, "It is not a question for Negro citizens alone (to demonstrate). It's a question of justice for American citizens, and I think as American citizens, whether they are white or Negro it makes little difference... Where wrong is committed, the white man suffers morally just as much as the Negro, and the interest is equality for all."

....AND THE STRUGGLE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE IN OUR LAND CONTINUES

IN MEMORIAM: A DEMONSTRATION FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

ST. LOUIS -- Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish agencies joined in St. Louis in a demonstration for civil rights which was dedicated as a memorial to the late President Kennedy. Quiet, prayerful, the demonstration saw 35,000 people take part in a walk through the city's main streets.

Religious News Service Photo

DIOCESE OF MICHIGAN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL EXPRESSES GRATITUDE TO BISHOP LICHTENBERGER FOR LEADERSHIP IN RACE RELATIONS

I. WHEREAS, the Right Reverend Arthur Lichtenberger, Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, has manifested forthright and decisive leadership in the current civil rights struggle as Chairman of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., and,

WHEREAS, he in his 1963 Whitsuntide Message clearly delineated the active role that Christians must assume in resolving the current civil rights struggle in a manner befitting those who profess a belief in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man,

BE IT RESOLVED, that we, the Executive Council of the Diocese of Michigan, make known our gratitude to Bishop Lichtenberger, and pledge our continued support to his call to action.

II. WHEREAS, the Right Reverend Richard S. Emrich, Bishop of the Diocese of Michigan has demonstrated courageous and long-standing leadership in the civil rights struggle in our own community.

BE IT RESOLVED, that we, the Executive Council of the Diocese of Michigan, hereby acknowledge our gratitude to Bishop Emrich, and pledge our support to him in his witness to the all-inclusive nature of the fellowship of Christians in this diocese, and,

WE RECOMMEND, that such support be made known by (1) involving ourselves actively in our own communities in such matters as housing, public accommodations, and schools; (2) assisting financially the Race Relations program of the National Council of the Episcopal Church; and (3) taking action to end discrimination in our own parishes and within the body of the Church itself.

THIS LETTER WAS SENT TO ALL CLERGY AND EPISCOPAL CHURCHWOMEN OF THE DIOCESE OF MICHIGAN THE WEEK FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY. HAVE YOU WRITTEN YOUR SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES ?

THE DIOCESE OF MICHIGAN
4800 WOODWARD AVENUE
DETROIT 1, MICHIGAN

THE REV. WILLIAM S. LOGAN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF PROGRAM

TELEPHONE
TEMPLE 2-4400

"We will truly honor John F. Kennedy and know the meaning of our sorrow, if we see and accept our social responsibilities in the struggle for justice and peace. As a memorial, let us work for a Civil Rights Bill that is just and good."

-Richard S. Emrich

TO ALL CLERGY AND ECW CHAIRMEN:

The above quotation comes from Bishop Emrich's sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral yesterday, November 24. This is Bishop Emrich's way of saying that the most fitting memorial to any great man is to redouble our efforts in the service of the causes to which he advanced.

The death of our President should not make us feel the cause of Civil Rights Legislation is dead. And yet it might be if the Christian citizens of Michigan do not write their legislators in the Nation's Capitol. Many of us have been depending upon President Kennedy personally to drag the cause of Civil Rights through the legislative process. Now, in a new way, it is up to us.

The Church must act in the spirit of Bishop Lichtenberger's Whitsunday message, Bishop Emrich's statement at the Anglican Congress, and the recent resolution of our Executive Council commending the cause of racial justice to all Episcopalians.

This is an assignment to act. This is a day of testing for our churches. The Rev. Dr. David W. Barr, in an address to the convention of the Diocese of New York said this: "The real test of our ability to survive and function effectively.. lie not in our capacity to analyze and predict, but in our capacity to act."

The action we suggest is quite simple. "WRITE FOR RIGHTS." There is no greater single influence upon Congress than letters from their constituents. Enclosed is a fact sheet, basic ingredients of a successful letter to a Congressman or a Senator. Also enclosed is a list of the Senators and Representatives from the Diocese of Michigan and some members of the House Committees involved.

Will you make use of this material in such a way that not only is your personal response registered with your Congressman, but that also your parishioners and neighbors have an opportunity to participate. An extra copy of the fact sheet is enclosed so that you may share this project with someone else.

Sincerely,

William S. Logan — Frederick B. Jansen — Becky Dolan

William S. Logan
Exec. Dir. of Program

Frederick B. Jansen
Assoc. Dir. for CSR

Mrs. W. Dolan
CSR Chairman, ECW

CREDO ON THE ISSUE OF SEGREGATION IN EVANSTON

(Adopted at a meeting of the Vestry of St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, Evanston, Illinois, on October 6, 1963.)

We, the clergy and lay representatives of St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, Lincoln and Hartrey Streets, Evanston, freely and gladly make this statement of belief and pledge ourselves — wholeheartedly and without reservation — to reaffirm and adopt this credo in our daily lives and to urge its adoption throughout our parish and the community. As Christians, we cannot remain silent about, nor view from the sidelines, the crisis of this day and hour — the struggle of the Negro to escape the bondage of segregation throughout our nation. Because we live and worship here, our primary concern is for Evanston and neighboring communities.

We hold sacred the teachings of Jesus Christ that all men are equal in the sight of God and that we should honor and respect one another. We affirm the precepts from which the Constitution of our country was drawn including the rights of every citizen to full equality under the law. We further affirm that with such rights there must be a recognition of the responsibilities of the privileges of citizenship and of good conduct.

We desire for Evanston an enlightened and responsible citizenry to whom prejudice and bigotry are repugnant.

Marshall E. Seifert, Rector
M. Raymond Harrison, Curate
J. William Didriksen, Senior Warden
David H. Hilton, Junior Warden
Richard C. Valentine, Clerk

Ralph G. Orcutt
Richard Procter
Robert L. Smith
Millen S. Whittington
John Wyandt

Donald A. Anderson
William H. Gilmore
Redmond P. Hogan
Robert Loomis
Bruce C. Ogilvie

As Episcopalians, we invite all persons, regardless of race, color or creed, to worship with us at St. Matthew's Church at any of our services, to participate with us in all Parish sponsored activities, and to work with us for the greater glory of God and the salvation of mankind.

While acknowledging the legal rights of every citizen to individual freedom in the conduct of his business, social and religious affairs, so long as he shall not infringe on the rights of others, we call to account and condemn as un-Christian those who would rely on what is law and ignore compassion and charity in their human relationships.

And, finally, we recognize how indispensable to the achievement of these goals is the education of our children and adults and shall undertake to provide under the sponsorship of St. Matthew's Parish a place and forum for free and open discussion of the issues and conditions underlying this present crisis so that those who will may learn.

To these ends, we ask the blessing and divine guidance of Almighty God.

From THE EVANSTON REVIEW, October 17, 1963

MARYLAND BISHOP
SUPPORTS HUMAN RIGHTS

Statement delivered by the Rt. Rev. Henry Lee Doll, Bishop of the Diocese of Maryland, as he appeared before the Baltimore City Council's Judiciary Committee on November 6th in support of the Mayor's civil rights program in that city.

Mr. Schaefer, and members of the Committee: My name is Harry Lee Doll, I am Bishop of the Diocese of Maryland.

My purpose in coming before you this evening can be stated very simply: I am a man under orders. I have been given two clear commands by God: that I shall love God and that I shall love my neighbors.

Presented this simply, however, our obedient purpose as a Church sounds like vague idealism to which any man could give general assent. We have been accused too often, and with some justice, of high-sounding principles unrelated to specific practices. So I am here to bear witness of our specific concern for the immorality of certain practices in group relationships in our city. For be it clearly understood that when we speak of love we apeak also of matters of justice under law.

The fact is that a large part of the population of our city has been forced for a very long time to live in conditions whihc, at best, make it almost impossible for them to develop their full potentials as human beings and children of God. These conditions are the result of many different causes. The complex interrelationship of these causes is such that these limiting conditions cannot be changed by any one approach alone. The effort to remove these limitations which tend to distort and destroy human potentials must be as broad as the many factors that have created the situation. For this reason the legislation you have before you covers a number of different approaches to the problem.

A MAN'S SELF IMAGE. Nothing so limits a man as his own image of himself. Put him in an environment that unconsciously creates in him the feeling that he is of little worth, and he will act out that self-image. Exclusion from places of public business does that to a man. Limitation of employment opportunity does it. Discrimination in public services and housing does it. Trapped in his black skin and unable to escape, the helpless victim of prejudice will live the part of an outsider, and the rest of a society which forces him into that role will have to pay the cost of his inability to think of himself as a responsible citizen in a land of opportunity where the rewards of effort are justly distributed to all men.

SYMPATHY NOT ENOUGH. It is not enough to sympathize with the plight of the Negro and then counsel him to wait until racial prejudice disappears from the minds and hearts of the citizens of Maryland. The laws of our City, State and Nation are devised specifically to make it possible for sinful men to live together in equality and peace. If we were all saints we could get along with a minimum of law. But we are not. We have laws about crime because we know there are, and will be criminals. We did not delay the passage of criminal laws until there were no more criminals. Neither can we delay laws about prejudice until there are no more prejudiced men. It is your solemn obligation as legislators to make the law an effective instrument for justice.

Your task is not an easy one. In addition to the prejudiced people you will hear much from those who claim to want justice so long as their special interest is not involved.

PROPERTY RIGHTS VS HUMAN RIGHTS. In talk about the rights of property it will be easy to lose sight of the more sacred rights of human personality. Where conflict of interests is involved nothing can be done without someone feeling that he is being hurt. I ask you to remember, however, that the minority group in our city has suffered for a great many years. If justice in this issue involves pain for some of us it is time that the white man felt a little of it.

A MORAL ISSUE REQUIRING AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. I do not wish to comment on particular sections of the bill. It is the general intent of the bill which concerns me. As you undertake the heavy burden of judging this legislation you will have my prayers that you will not lose sight of that purpose of social justice which makes such legislation necessary. The final product of your efforts will definte your stature, not only as legislators, but also as men who date to face a moral issue and do the right thing in the firm determination that this land shall become what our forefathers intended it to be-one nation under God, indivisable with liberty and justice for all.

From: LETTER TO NORTH CAROLINA EPISCOPAL CHURCHWOMEN
IN RE CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

However you may feel about supporting the civil rights legislation, or taking some positive action to promote desegregation in your community, I believe that we as Christian women have a particular calling to find means of creating a climate of opinion in our communities which will make it possible for this social revolution to take place in an atmosphere of creative change rather than destructive violence. (This is, in fact, now a social revolution, so far non-violent, but a revolution nevertheless in somewhat the same intensity of the French, Russian, English, etc., and it is not, as some choose to think, going to go away if we just "close our eyes and don't peep".) It seems to me that women in their "peculiar" role in society must dedicate themselves especially to holding on to the natural warmth and personal affection which has existed between many persons, across racial lines, that we may become instruments for the healing of society when relationships between people - even people of goodwill - are so tired by misunderstandings and our natural reluctance to change old patterns.

A climate of opinion in any community is often the result of the casual comments over the bridge table, the tea cup, or the back fence. In this let us engage prayerfully and from a reservoir of careful thought and informed minds. I wish to commend to you, also, the formation of goodwill groups which make a concerted and special effort to bring about justice and peace.

Signed: Betsey F. Price, Secretary
Christian Social Relations
Episcopal Churchwomen
Diocese of North Carolina

THE RT. REV. GIRAULT M. JONES, D.D., BISHOP OF THE DIOCESE OF LOUISIANA ADDRESSES CHURCHMEN

Bishop Jones in replying to some of the letters he has received that have been critical of the National Council of Churches goes on to discuss the Episcopal National Council, race relations and the Church's teaching on this subject.

The following are excerpts from a letter by Bishop Jones which appeared in the October issue of CHURCHWORK, the diocesan newspaper.

Our National Council

More recently, some of this discontent has been transferred from the NCCCA to the National Council of the Episcopal Church. (I find an amazing number of people who think they are one and the same). Again, the criticisms stem from pronouncements made on vital issues of the day. Some people object on the ground that the Church is mixing in politics. Others feel that the Church must not "take sides" on any subject on which her members may be divided.

While these grievances are admittedly complicated, it is quite apparent that the race issue lies at the heart of most of them. My desk is filled with letters protesting the resolutions of Lambeth, of General Convention, of the House of Bishops, and of our National Council. They blast our Presiding Bishop, the March on Washington, and Churchmen who participate in demonstrations. It is quite evident that in most of these the root issue is race. The reaction is: "By what authority do these people speak for me?" So the tides of discontent begin to swell.

Let me repeat what I have said elsewhere: I myself do not always agree with all such pronouncements, and I have said so to the proper parties. Nor do I believe the pressure tactics of mass demonstrations is Christ's way of winning men. I have said this, too, to those groups responsible.

But however much I may disagree with some **methods**, I must hold fast to what I believe my Lord Christ wills for all His children. As an Episcopalian, I must declare that **my Church has spoken what it understands the will of Christ to be.** As a follower of Christ and a member of His Church, I must profess my loyal allegiance to my Church's stand.

What has my Church said on this matter? It has said **from the very beginning** that God is "no respecter of persons." Nowhere in the Prayer Book or in Canon Law is any distinction drawn between races. There is not now, nor has there ever been, any grounds for barring people from our altars because of race. If an American Indian or a native of Tokyo or a brown man from Pakistan were to come to our parish, he would be welcomed as a fellow Christian. There is nothing in our rules which says that a Negro may not receive the same welcome.

In times past, most of our older Churches had Negro members. It is true that they usually sat in a special place; but this was chiefly because they were servants, not because they were Negroes. There was once a "servant class" in England which was white but where certain social distinctions were expected. Even in the days of slavery, "free men of color" escaped this stigma. But in the bitterness of the Reconstruction years, all Negroes were classed together in the South and the "servant image" was established. The South's great problem today stems from this identifying Negroes with "the servant class." It is not easy to eradicate a pride and superiority nurtured for centuries. But as a Christian, I hear St. Paul saying to Philemon, "Receive Onesimus (his runaway slave) **not now as a servant, but more than a servant, a brother beloved in the Lord**"—and I tremble to think how we have failed to do just this in the household of the Church!

The point I am making is very simple: God has spoken through Christ; Christ has spoken through His Church, both in Scripture and in history. You and I may be reluctant to listen. But let us get one thing straight: If we are Christian Churchmen, we are already committed! Our Church, through our own chosen representatives, has spoken for us.

What, Then, Can We Do?

First, you and I can make it our business to understand the nature of this Divine Body to which we belong. It is **not** an association of people sharing common opinions. It is God-made. It is the Body of Christ, of which He is the Head, **all** baptised persons are the members, and the Holy Spirit is the life. By our baptism we were born into this Body; all other baptised persons share this membership with us. It is only through my membership in this Mystical Body that I am (or can be) a Christian, for it is here only that His grace is available to me.

This Divine Body is set in history and its members are on both sides of the grave. In the Church Militant here on earth, this Visible Church must have form and structure in order to live. Our Branch of this Holy Catholic Church makes use of all three forms of Church government suggested or implied by the New Testament:

(a) We are **episcopal** in that we recognize the Bishop as the head of the household, see in him the symbol of our unity, and lean on him as a shepherd of apostolic rank.

(b) We are **presbyterial** in that clergy sit in our Church Councils by virtue of their ordination, and their voice and vote is required in every official action of the Church.

(c) We are congregational in that the local parish is the cornerstone of our **representative form of government.** Congregations elect delegates to Diocesan Convention. Diocesan Conventions elect deputies (both clerical and lay) to the General Convention. Bishops are not appointed but elected by the people of their Dioceses and have to be approved by the rest of the Church. By this democratic process, General Convention is made up of **representatives of the people** and it does have the **delegated authority to speak for this Church.** It is an authority which rests ultimately on the local congregations. It is on behalf of all members that General Convention speaks.

Secondly, if we understand this structure, we ought to ask the question, "Organized for what? What is this well-constructed Body supposed to do?" I have a strong feeling that many people have never answered this question. They belong to the Church without really knowing why,—or for reasons which fall short of a total answer. I would say that the Church must concern itself in these three ways, and **what is most important,** in this order of priority:

(a) To maintain the integrity of that Body instituted of Christ. The Church which Our Lord founded is still the same Church, and the maintenance of this unbroken continuity is supremely important. It was to this Holy Fellowship that Christ's promises were made; it is in this same company that His promises will be fulfilled. I cannot conceive of being a Christian except as a participating member of this Body. It is therefore supremely important to me that the WHOLENESS of this Body be not broken. To reject the Church may well be a rejection of the Holy Spirit, and this I am not prepared to risk. If the gifts of the Spirit are available to me through this Body, then I count nothing more important than the ONENESS of all baptized persons in Christ.

(b) If this Church is WHOLE and is Spirit-filled, then its second concern must be the **unbroken continuity of its Mission.** I cannot conceive of the Holy Spirit as idle or inactive. The Old Testament word for Spirit means wind, a hurricane, if you please. Our Lord speaks of the Holy Ghost as "The Strengthener." Where He is, there is power, **power in action.** And if His Spirit fills the Church, the Church must of necessity be actively at work. **The moment the Church's mission stops, at that moment the Spirit leaves the Body, and the Church is no longer His Body.**

There have always been persons who have ceased supporting the Church's Mission for one reason or another. But the Church's mission went on. It will be the same if congregations withhold their support. Budgets will have to be cut and certain people will suffer the consequences; but the Mission will go on because the **Church is mission.** In such situations, the real harm will come, not to the Church or to Her work, but to those people who use stewardship as a **weapon.** It is as though they were saying, "Let's show the Holy Spirit who is boss." This comes awfully close to blasphemy!

(c) Since the Church is made up of sinners, it is obviously far from perfect. And the third major concern must therefore be to correct its errors, to reform its life, to grow in holiness. By the grace of God, the Church has the power to do this; and this has been the record over the centuries. How often has the Church sinned grievously and fallen short of the mark! But every generation has looked on Christ, has repented certain errors, and has amended its life. These internal reforms shift from one weakness to another as the years pass. Human nature being what it is, we do well to take one thing at a time! But the point to remember is that these reforms take place **in the Church as the Church moves along.** It is only when we **retain** our ONENESS and **maintain** our MISSION that any reform is possible. Let me use an illustration:

Think of the Church as a ship sailing unchartered seas, driven by the wind and tossed. Something goes wrong. The officers give commands which displease the crew. The helmsman sets a course in a contrary direction. Some mechanical trouble develops. What to do? There are these alternatives: (1) Abandon ship, or (2) Correct the trouble while the ship continues its journey.

There are a lot of people today who cry, "Abandon ship! Let's get off and let it sink." But to me it is not so simple as that. I think it is a good ship and its troubles can be corrected. I see nothing to be gained by going overboard. Personally, I want to stay aboard because I trust the Pilot. In the words of St. Peter, "To whom else can we go?"

This is a long letter, but I had to share these thoughts with you. May I ask you to remember these three things:

(1) It is God's Church, not ours. Let us have enough faith to believe that because the Holy Spirit indwells it, the Church can prevail.

(2) We cannot "keep the Church for ourselves" and shut off Her mission. If we deny the Church her reason for being, nothing remains.

(3) There is no healing a **dead body.** If we want the Church to correct her mistakes and to grow in holiness, then this growth can only come in a Body which is alive and active.

Only as baptised Christians stand together can the Church redeem the world. Remember the Prayer Book says that we must "continue in that Holy Fellowship" before we can "do all such good works as God has prepared for us to walk in." First **unity,** then **mission,** and then **reform,** in that order!

With all my heart I ask you to man the pumps and set sail, not to abandon ship!

Faithfully,

Lionel Jones

PRESIDING BISHOP'S
CHRISTMAS MESSAGE
~~~~1963~~~~

It is a warm and somewhat humid day in the middle of September. My telephone rings. It is the man who must see that I have a Christmas message written and ready so that it will be distributed in time. He apologizes for such an early asking; I tell him I understand. So I begin.

But my first thoughts about the Good News of Christmas are all mixed up with the day's news: the bombing of a church and the murder of several Negro children; the opening of the General Assembly of the United Nations; the mustering of the necessary majority of affirmative votes in the Senate to ratify the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. What will the headlines be in December, and what does this sort of news have to do with the News we sing about at Christmas?

First this. The joy of Christmas and the assurance and strength it brings does not arise out of the circumstances of our lives or the events of our time. It is rooted in this mighty fact: "And the Word became flesh and lived among us." The joy of Christmas is found in God's love poured out for us in Jesus Christ.

But we who celebrate this coming with great joy are in the present world, here, now. We cannot keep the fact of Christmas and the events of our lives in separate compartments; they are all of one piece. For God came into the life of the world in Jesus Christ, that He might take us into His own life. When we worship Christ, the new-born King, we are not taking refuge from the troubles and sorrows of the world, rather we bring ourselves and the world as we know it to God in Christ.

To celebrate Christmas then, is to greet Jesus Christ in our worship and in our work as the Lord of life.

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III. THE CHURCH'S VOICE AND VIEWS TODAY

What the church is saying in 1962-1963 about racism indicates a great change in attitude, a coming to grips with the racial problem. The growing spirit of brotherhood in all religious bodies, though uneven and even fragile, leads to a hope that the full weight of religious cooperation and influence may yet prove to be a decisive factor in changing the hearts and minds of people and accomplishing goals of interracial cooperation.

Alabama: Law-and-Order, and Brotherhood.

Although the 1962-1963 statements by Alabama ministerial groups seem to echo the 1958 refrain of "law and order," they do include slightly stronger pronouncements on freedom of speech, the responsibility of elected public officials, and the fatherhood of God. In Alabama the official state attitude is defiance of federal desegregation decrees. There has been little evidence of widespread public opposition to state policy. There is more and stronger organized opposition to change in Alabama than in any other state except Mississippi

On October 9, 1962, the Huntsville Ministers' Association adopted a statement stating that "every human being is created in the image of God and is entitled to respect as a fellow human being with all basic rights, privileges and responsibilities; warning that "defiance is neither the answer nor the solution, nor are inflammatory and rebellious statements of the type...that will save us from violence, discord, and confusion; and urging all citizens to "abide in the meantime with a peaceful acceptance of the decisions of the same courts with regard to desegregation cases which we know inevitably will be made in Alabama." A similar statement was adopted on November 1, 1962, by 30 members of the Montgomery Baptist Pastors' Conference. They called on state officials to "maintain order" and urged Alabama leaders to "refrain from inflammatory statements and activities...designed to incite riots and mob action..."

Two month later, on January 17, 1963, eleven Alabama religious leaders jointly offered for public and, obviously, gubernatorial consideration, an opinion on the race situation. It clearly proclaimed opposition to earlier denunciatory statements in Alabama about courts, federal orders, and the defiant inaugural address by Governor George Wallace pledging that he would maintain segregation.

The conservative Birmingham News commented favorably on the statement in an editorial on January 20, 1963:

> Whether the individual citizen agrees with the clerics' state ment or not, it is the News' opinion that they say rightly that freedom of speech must be "preserved and exercised."
>
> There is a vast near-silence as to opinion not that reflected in the inaugural address.
>
> Is there no such opinion--other than that of a handfull?
>
> The ministers have added to the above the phrase, "...without fear of recrimination or harassment." Clergymen place a condition which should not be expected.
>
> There is ample freedom to speak. But he who speaks must anticipate, if he is saying the unpopular, recrimination, even harassment, That is the root cause of near-silence--few dare risk expressing a contrary point of view.
>
> Men of the cloth have spoken. Will anyone else? Silence indicates even to our own people that so vast is support for projected official policy that opposition is not to be expected.
>
> Some may plan to speak out--later. But as to this there is only uncertainty as deep as silence itself.

During the week-end of May 18-19, 1963, the Woman's Society of Christian Service and the Wesleyan Service Guild of the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church, representing some 24,000 churchwomen in North Alabama, issued a plea to keep Alabama schools open in the face of possible desegregation. They called for observance of law and order and urged the churchwomen to strive to create a climate of understanding and good will in the communities in which they live.

Bishop Nolan B. Harmon, the presiding bishop of the North Alabama Methodist Conference, on June 12, 1963, called attempts by Governor George Wallace to block entry of two Negro students at the University of Alabama "a moral mistake and in the long run a political blunder." Ministerial and lay delegates to the annual conference gave Bishop Harmon a standing ovation after he read a statement he said he felt "compelled to make." The biship added that it is not the business of the church to direct the state, "but it is the business of the church to speak when state forces are so directed as to injure the God-given rights of any man." Governor Wallace is a Methodist layman.

Some statements were issued by the clergy which reflect the segregationist point of view. ~~An analysis of these, and of segregationist action in the church, will be found in Section VI, THE BLACK MUSLIMS AND THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT WING.~~ Some examples of such statements follow:

May 13, 1963. The Birmingham Baptist Association's Executive Committee and the Birmingham Baptist Pastor's Conference called for "self-examination and prayer" by Birmingham area residents toward resolving the crisis facing the city. They "deplored illegal demonstrations and the use of children in them"; abhorred "acts of violence, bombings, and acts coolly calculated to provoke violence"; requested non-residents of Birmingham to leave to local men of good will the working out of differences"; and commended "the law enforcement officers of city, county and state, for their forebearance and self-control in carrying out their official duties."

June 2, 1963. Episcopal Bishop (George Miseley) Murray, Coajutor of Alabama, stated to The Living Church that the cause of the Birmingham demonstrations was a power struggle for leadership among the city's Negro community. He added that the "police and sheriff's forces have been exemplary in their conduct during these demonstrations and have been gentle but firm in the enforcement of the law. Only in the very last few days, under extreme provocation, in the face of wild demonstrations by thousands of marchers who refuse to turn back when lawfully ordered to do so, have the police needed to use fire hoses... and police dogs--on leashes--for their own protection."

June 6, 1963, Montgomery. Although it adopted a resolution asserting there is "no Scriptural warrant" for segregation, the Alabama-West Florida Methodist Conference elected three lay segregationists to represent them at the 1964 quadrennial Methodist General Conference. Among the delegates was Governor George Wallace of Alabama, an ardent segregationist.

Mississippi: Freedom of the Pulpit. In Mississippi the attitudes and policies of public officials and the expressed opinions of the general public regarding desegregation have been even more adamant and defiant than in Alabama, and the frequency and degree of violence have been greater.

Considering the situation there, Mississippi clergymen have been commendably courageous in issuing forthright statements, singly and in groups, ever since the Oxford riots last fall. For nearly 2,000 years the wisdom of the Scripture has expounded this fundamental insight; that faith is the intangible by which man can surmount the adversity of this world by the power of his spirit. Perhaps it was because of the

turbulent political and social atmosphere that the Mississippi clergy realized, as did Sir Winston Churchill, "It is only in adversity that discover we are nothing but spirits."

Each of the statements issued stresses "freedom of the pulpit," the acknowledged Protestant ethic that the minister when speaking from the pulpit is charged by God to speak the truth as he sees it, and as one through whom God may speak to his people. There is a danger that "freedom of the pulpit"--like "law and order" in 1958--may be for some ministers a substitute issue for the deeper issue of race. But for those who issued the above-mentioned statements it seems to be a parallel concern and a defense of their right to speak as they believe.

One of the few moderate newspapers in Mississippi, the Delta Democrat-Times in Greenville, stated in an editorial on January 6,1963:

> Throughout the dark days which have plagued Mississippi for so long, a group of men to whom many have turned for guidance have been --as a group -- sadly silent. The reasons for this silence by ministers of God have been legion, but the effect has been devastatingly specific. The field has been left to the professional haters and the mis-guided who would distort the brotherhood of man into the brotherhood of some men.
>
> The bloodshed and rioting which erupted at Oxford made many ministers painfully aware of their failure. Here and there individual clergymen, ever mindful of what has happened to other ministers who raised their lone voices of protest in the past, acknowledged their failures and the failure of the church to take the lead in solving our overwhelming race relations problem and called for new directions and new vigor from the pulpit.
>
> Perhaps it was because of their example, but they are no longer so lonely. Last week a group of 28 young Methodist ministers, Mississippi-born all, collectively called for an end to race hatred and closer attention to the gospel of Christ. They also took a firm stand against closing of the public schools for any reason.
>
> At the end of the week they had been joined by others in their church. Dr. J. P. Stafford, lay leader of the Methodist Mississippi Conference, called their statement "very worthwhile." In a meeting in Okalano, 23 more Methodist ministers "enthusiastically" supported the stand. Their position was all the more significant since they represented the North Mississippi Methodist Conference....
>
> The church did not survive because its early members feared being labelled non-conformists or suffering mental and physical harm. It is time for the church--and its members--to cast back to the strength which was the early Christians. There is a task to be done in Mississippi, and the young Methodist clergymen have shown the way.

A ~~The~~ "Born of Conviction" statement, issued the first week in January, 1963, by a group of 28 young Methodist ministers, made the following points:

1. The church is the instrument of God's purpose. This is His church, and ours only as stewards under His Lordship. Effective practice of the stewardship for the ministry clearly requires freedom of the pulpit....

2. We affirm our faith in the official position of the Methodist Church on race: "Our Lord Jesus Christ teaches that all men are brothers. He permits no discrimination because of race, color, or creed. ...We believe that God is Father of all peoples and races, that Jesus Christ is His Son, that all men are brothers, and that man is of infinite worth as a child of God."

3. We affirm our belief that our public school system is the most effective means of providing common education for all our children...essential to the preservation and development of our true democracy. ...

The following Sunday, January 6, Dr. W. B. Selah, pastor of the largest Methodist church in Jackson, endorsed the statement and added one of his own:

> ...For 17 years I have preached the law of Christian love from the pulpit of Galloway Methodist Church. This law means that we must seek for all men, black and white, the same justice, the same rights, and the same opportunities that we seek for ourselves. Nothing less than this is Christian love. To discriminate against a man because of his color or his creed is contrary to the will of God. Forced segregation is wrong. We should voluntarily desegregate all public facilities. We should treat all men not on the basis of color but on the basis of conduct.
>
> In the light of Christian principle there can be no color bar in a Christian church. ...As Christians we cannot say to anyone, "you cannot come into the House of God." No conference, no preacher, no official board can put up a color bar in the church. That matter is determined by the nature of Christianity which is an inclusive fellowship of those who seek the Lord. ...When a person seeks membership in the church he is not asked about the color of his skin. He is asked about his faith in God as revealed in Christ. Salvation is not by color but by faith. There can be no color bar in a Christian institution.

August 18, 1963, Oxford, Miss. The Rev. Duncan Gray, Jr. rector of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, said today that the burden of guilt for racial injustice is "particularly heavy" upon his state. He continued, in his sermon at the Washington Cathedral:

> Racial injustice is not an easy thing for the average white Southerner to face. But he can never face it unless he hears both God's words from the Cross and His words of judgment. On the Cross, God would take His place beside the Southerner, share his predicament, take his sins and consequently, give him strength to endure judgment. ...Let me alone! is often our most fervent prayer. We wish that love, duty,

righteousness and justice were simply our own to do with as we pleased without responsibility to man or to God. ...But the words of God stand over us and our society...they point out what we are and what we were intended to be.

January 4, 1963. Twenty-three of 29 ministers representing the North Mississippi Methodist Conference "enthusiastically voted" to back the "born of conviction" statement; the resolution was presented by District Superintendent W. L. Robinson. Dr. J. P. Stafford, lay leader of the Methodist Mississippi Conference, said, "Let's face it, brotherhood is as much a part of the teachings of Jesus Christ as salvation and faith."

June 15, 1963. The Most Reverend Richard O. Gerrow, Roman Catholic bishop of Mississippi, broke a 39-year silence on current issues to call the assination of Medgar Evers "a shocking and saddening ("than the death of one man" and called for positive steps toward recognizing occurrence more meaningful/the legitimate grievances of the Negro population."

Georgia: Segregation Is Sinful, But....

The Presbyterian Church's Synod of Georgia on May 15-17, 1963, urged all its institutions to abandon racial segregation in a resolution amended (after heated discussion) so as to make it non-compulsory. Institutions include Agnes Scott College and Columbia Theological Seminary in Decatur, Ga.; Presbyterian College and Thornwell Orphanage in Clinton, S. C.; the Rabun Gap-Cacoochee Vocational School, Ga.; and two Presbyterian homes for the aged. Columbia Theological Seminary has been integrated for some years. A recommendation was approved to urge all presbyteries to send senior high fellowship councils to the Georgia-Florida leadership school in St. Petersburg; a Negro presbytery has not previously attended. The Synod asked that the Rock Eagle 4-H Camp at Eatonton be requested to make its facilities available for men's conferences on a non-discriminatory basis.

June 5, 1963. Who? Passed almost unanimously a report on Christian social concern which urged Methodist to endorse the United Nations and requested approval of an earlier statement of principals on racial matters, condemning violence and discord, which it said "emphasized the need for both Negro and white to plan together for the future of our state," and noting that "desegregation [of public facilities] is not the dire calamity that some ... citizens have thought" nor a guarantee of friendship and neighborliness. Dr. Harry V. Richardson, president

of Interdenominational Theological Center and a vice president of the Georgia Council of Churches, was the first Negro to address the South Georgia Methodist Conference in recent times.

April 29, 1963. The Evangelical Ministerial Association of Augusta, Georgia, comprising clergymen from about 60 of 100 Augusta. Protestant churches, adopted a resolution supporting voluntary desegregation of the county schools, after five Negroes had petitioned, on March 14, the Richmond County Board of Education for voluntary desegregation. The resolution stated: "We believe that voluntary desegregation done in a Christian spirit is the most effective solution to this particular problem ...we commend both these groups, the Negroes and the board, for the manner in which they are approaching this matter and we urge that they continue in this spirit of understanding and cooperation in future negotiations.

June 15, 1963. A number of Atlanta (Ga.) religious leaders were asked to comment on the current racial crisis. According to Miss Jo Ann Crasford, Religious Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, the majority of churchmen and ministers interviewed felt the action of churches in any "moral crisis" lies not in the resolutions adopted by its hierarchy, but in the actions performed by its members.

June 20, 1963. The Rev. Louis F. Huckaby, chaplain at Crawford Long Hospital and chairman of the conference's Board of Christian Social Concerns, spoke after the what? report had been read to the conference:

> "I challenge you to be Christian. Our past stands haven't changed many minds, many lives, or many churches... Desegregation deserved the backing of the church in its pronouncements and leadership...The church should have led the way...We were more interested in maintaining the status quo than magnifying the universality of the gospel of Jesus Christ. We've placed a guard of stewards at the church door lest colored visitors come in." He defined integration as "something spiritual" that begins only when people learn to trust and love each other. The report and Dr. Huckaby's speech were adopted; he received a standing ovation.

July 1, 1963. In a joint statement issued by the Baptist Convention's Public Affairs Committee, the Christian Life Commission, and the administration committee of the Executive Committee, Georgia Baptist pastors and their congregations were urged "to continue to exercise their moral and spiritual influence for understanding and good will between the races." The committees issued the statement after

hearing a report from Dr. Searcy S. Garrison, Convention executive secretary-treasurer, on a recent White House Conference, called by President Kennedy to discuss some aspects of the current race problem.

July 11, 1963, Columbus. Three Negro church organizations -- Mt. Calvary District Sunday School and Baptist Training Congress, a 10,000-member group; the Columbus Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance; and the Adult Liaison Committee--expressed opposition to further demonstrations.

July 28, 1963. The Rev. Don McEvoy, director of the Atlanta chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, preaching at the First Christian Church in Decatur, declared:

> The time has come for churches in Atlanta to declare themselves "unequivocably" open to all. ...[the church] must rid itself of its involvement in this sinful separation of brethren. The time has come for every congregation in the Atlanta area to declare unequivocably that the church belongs to God and not to men, and thus must be open to all of God's children without restriction. ...Ministers have been silent on this issue, for the most part, because social customs have been more binding on us than the commands of Christ. We have been more concerned with avoiding controversy than we have with being Christian. The result has been that we have usually given our pastors a choice between an emasculation of their ministry or martyrdom. ...The white churches have been overly concerned with the possible loss of members and financial support if they gook a forthright stand. Better we should be concerned over the loss of the church's soul. Make no mistake about it. The whole future of the church is at stake in our response to this present crisis. Segregation is sin. To block human fellowship is to block fellowship with the Divine.... Either we face up to the Christian implications of human brotherhood or our whole church parroting of other New Testament doctrines is idle and meaningless chit-chat.

July 3, 1963. The bi-racial Greater Atlanta Methodist Ministers Alliance adopted a resolution praising city officials, the Chamber of Commerce, newspapers, and restaurant owners for "their stand in encouraging the desegregation of parks, swimming pools...and public facilities. The association is composed of about 300 pastors.

Arkansas.--April 18, 1963, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish representatives united in a Greater Little Rock (Ark.) Conference on Religion and Human Relations. More than 100 representatives of 40 churches and church organizations heard leaders of their denominations

call for an end to discrimination in education, economic opportunity, churches and housing. The leaders jointly referred to segregation as a "moral problem" and as "sin." In conclusion, the Rev. David A. Boileau, professor at St. John's (Catholic) Home Missions Seminary, suggested three areas for conference work:

> We must clean up our own house. We all run segregated facilities. We must ask ourselves if segregation or token integration is right and we must destroy segregation in our churches, schools, and societies. Each must examine his own conscience. And we must establish in our community the role of religion as a force in society. If we bring the force of religion to bear on segregation this will wipe it out.

Florida.--June 12, 1963, the Florida Synod of the United Presbyterian Church departed from its announced program to name a committee on race relations. The synod also considered a working pact with the Presbyterian Synod of Jamaica, island nation south of Cuba. Jamaica, with a preponderance of Negro population, sent several members of the Jamaica Synod to the conference for consultation.

Kentucky.--June 16-20, 1963, The Fourth Interracial Consultation on the Southern Church and Race Relations was held at the College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky. The group issued a "statement of concern" which concluded: "We...dedicate ourselves to work with all others to continue progress in eliminating racial discrimination in voting, public accommodations, education, employment, and housing."

May 17, 1963. The Rt. Rev. C. Gresham Marmion, Episcopal bishop of Kentucky, admonished the diocesan convention, "We dare not be a religious club, which is the way some of our churches operate. ...In our churches we should not just tolerate, but we should welcome people of all races..."

June 13, 1963. The Kentucky Methodist Conference called on its churches to "explore avenues leading to the invitation of all races to worship together." The following day it adopted a statement that said:

> We deplore the practice of racial segregation as unfair, illegal, and un-Christian. Regarding present social upheaval between the two races, we applaud all non-violent attempts to breakdown segregation barriers which now exist.

August 11, 1963. The Record, official weekly newspaper for the Roman Catholic archdiocese of Louisville, commented in an editorial

that the "overall Knights of Columbus record in the racial area is unbelievably bad." It said that knights and other Catholic organizations in the archdiocese should eliminate any segregation that exists in theory or practice, and should recruit Negro members. It quoted local Knights of Columbus officials as saying there were no Negro members in the Louisville archdiocese; no Negroes had asked for membership.

Louisiana.--February 1, 1963, at an Institute of Religion sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and held in Baton Rouge, La., Rabbi Charles Maminband, then of Hattiesburg, Miss., (now located in Longview, Texas), said that patience and determination were necessary virtues needed to overcome racial bigotry. "People are more inclined to lose their identity in a group on matters of controversy," he continued, "We are inclined to slough off both the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. ...In no area has democracy failed as it has in race relations."

March 5, 1963. Catholic Bishop Robert E. Tracy of Baton Rouge, La., speaking in Donaldsonville to white and Negro Catholics of the civil parishes of Iberville, Ascension, and St. James, declared, "There is no reason some Christians should discriminate against other Christians and segregate them. Talk is cheap, but what is not cheap is to live Christianity." The Bishop was reporting on the Ecumenical Council which he attended in Rome, and replying to a question from the floor.

August 5, 1963. Roman Catholics of north and central Louisiana were called upon by their Bishop, Charles P. Greco, Diocese of Alexandria, "to accept desegregation with understanding and restraint" and to help end "discrimination based merely on race, color, creed or national background." His pastoral letter was read in all churches and chapels of the diocese. (More than 85,000 Catholics, and which includes all civil parishes north of Rapides, Avoyelles and Vernon. There are 83 church parishes and more than 100 missions.)

North Carolina.--January 8, 1963, the Federated Ministerial Association of Almance County adopted the report of its Race Relations Committee which urged the association to: encourage equal job and educational opportunities, make the church itself an example to business and education by eliminating barriers based on race, and suggested joint meetings with Negro community leadership.

May 12 & 26, 1963. At all Episcopal churches in Raleigh (May 12) and in Greensboro (May 26) a letter from Bishop Richard H. Baker and

Coadjustor Thomas Fraser, Jr., expressing alarm and grief over racial unrest in North Carolina cities. The letter was read during morning services and urged church members to exercise the discipline of love and forgiveness and implored all those in authority:

> ...to act quickly in achieving a resolution of this tension which will grant to all men the equality and dignity given to them by God. We ask all people to support the merchants and institutions serving the people of this city when they strive to provide all men this equality and dignity. We ask all people to work, to pray, and to act courageously to end the strife with which we are beset and to help achieve in this city a harmony and brotherhood that God wills for all people.

Raleigh.--June 1963, the following excerpt of a statement issued by the Raleigh Ministerial Association's Human Relations Committee some two to three weeks after the more Christian and forthright statement issued May 13 by the Raleigh Merchants' Bureau and followed two days later by a full page ad with 1,000 signatures of white people supporting integration of public facilities:

> We urge that the City Council of Raleigh, the Mayor's Committee and the responsible leadership of the city continue to seek means of bringing about the immediate desegregation of restaurants, theatres, and hotels in the city. We personally pledge our support of any establishment that desegregates and will encourage other people to do the same.

June 1963. The North Carolina Methodist Conference, after spirited debate, adopted a resolution urging that racial barriers be lowered in community institutions and places of public accommodation. The resolution urged members of local churches to "voluntarily open the doors of their stores, motion picture houses, restaurants, churches, schools, and other facilities to all people of every race."

June 19, 1963. Two hundred and fifty ministers, priests, rabbis and laymen, "appealed to the conscience of North Carolinians" on the "whole issue of race relations" at a meeting of newly formed North Carolina Council on Religion and Race. The five-point statement of policy declared:

1) We believe that to discriminate against any individual because of race or religion is immoral...
2) Above any directive of man-made laws, or the economic expediency of the moment is the eternal moral law of God: each of us is his brother's keeper...
3) Peace between men is a vain dream until there is peace within the conscience of each individual...

4) It is not enough for the victories in human rights to be gained solely through legal and economic maneuvers; the voice of religion and churchmen must be heard...
5) Bigotry, hatred, violence and doctrines of racial superiority have no place in our religions traditions...

South Carolina.--January 19, 1963, 122 Columbia (S. C.) ministers representing 12 denominational groups, issued a statement giving their views on racial problems then facing South Carolina citizens. They confessed their failure to apply more fully the Christian principle of brotherhood in their personal lives and in the churches they served, and declared their conviction that racial problems and their solutions are basically moral and spiritual. They pledged support to public officials and other citizens supporting law and order.

June 13, 1963. Excerpts from a statement made by Bishop Paul Hardin, Jr., of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church:

> ...It is a source of personal concern and grief to me to see my beloved Southland and the Methodist Church torn by the race issue. My anguish is all the more acute when I realize that basically the main issue is not race but simple justice and personal dignity. It is as natural for a colored person to seek his place under the sun as it is for a white man to do so. In Christian calmness and diginity, let us work together in an effort to grant justice and opportunity to all people--not because of economic and political pressure, but because we believe that justice is the common property of all free men.

Tennessee.--Spring, 1963, the Cumberland Presbyterian Synod of West Tennessee adopted a report at its annual synod meeting urging ministers to "preach their true convictions concerning these social problems of our day, especially the recognition and acceptance of all races as children of God."

May 22, 1963. The Nashville (Tenn) Association of Churches unanimously adopted a resolution praising Mayor Beverly Briley's recent handling of racial disturbances in Nashville, and commending him for naming a Human Relations Committee to work on racial, cultural and religious problems in the community. The group "pledged its prayers and support in helping the committee resolve racial problems."

August 25, 1963. Bishop William L. Adrian of the Tennessee Diocese had his pastoral letter read in all Catholic masses. The letter urges Catholics make the effort to provide equal opportunity in areas of "employment, education, and public accommodations..."

August 26, 1963. Nashville, Tennessee, the head of the Roman

Catholic church in Tennessee urged church members to do away with racial discrimination by meeting with Negroes and talking "openly and calmly about our mutual hopes and problems."

Texas.--June 5, 1963, the Episcopal bishop of the Dallas, (Texas) Diocese Bishop C. Avery Mason, called for support of Bishop Lichtenberger's statement, saying, "It speaks for itself, and we will act accordingly. This, of course, has been our policy." The Dallas diocese has been quietly implementing the church's stand on integration for a number of years. The diocesan convention has long been integrated, also the diocese's Camp Crucis--which is used for summer retreats. In some Dallas neighborhoods, members of both races regularly attend churches. In 1962, the Department of Christian Social Relations conducted a number of inter-racial conversations among clergy and laymen in the area.

June 29, 1963. Editorial in The Baptist Standard, editor, Dr. E. S. James. Mr. James said that the Southern Baptists "were ashamed to acknowledge the truth to ourselves that we, the second largest religious group in the nation, have done so little to secure justice and equality for all men." He added that he was ashamed because President Kennedy had to remind ministers of their moral duties.

Virginia.--June 5, 1963, the Presbyterian Synod of Virginia advocated that church and secular leaders lead in ending racial segregation. The statement said further,

> We believe...the time has come for the state, the South, and the nation to move quickly to settle the racial question...

The Synod set plans to call on its various institutions to report at next year's meeting on the progress they have made on the stand "that enforced segregation of the races...is out of harmony" with the church.

June 13, 1963. The Virginia Methodist Conference issued a recommendation for racial integration of all prep schools and colleges it supports in the state, to be put into effect not later than the 1964-65 academic year. Approved by a majority of three-to-one, a conference spokesman said the new policy was not mandatory but merely a strong recommendation.

Week of July 13, 1963. The Norfolk (Va.) Presbytery announced "a deep and urgent concern over the relation of the races and especially

as this affects and challenges the Christian church." The adopted statement continued:

> Enforced segregation of the races is discrimination which is out of harmony with Christian theology and ethics; and the church, in its relationship to cultural patterns, should lead and not follow.
>
> We call upon the sessions and congregations of Norfolk Presbytery to engage in serious and prayerful study of racial relations and social justice, especially as it bears upon the seating of worshippers and admission of believers as to the membership of our church regardless of race.

August 24, 1963. The Virginia Conference of the Evangelical United Brethren Church condemned the State of Virginia for its "subterfuge in establishing the tuition grant as a device for closing the schools in Prince Edward County." The adopted report continued:

> ...we recommend careful consideration of the educational problems in said county and if possible the giving of financial and moral support to establishing and maintaining of schools to educate the children of both Negro and white. ...we deplore the denial of any citizen of equal access to tax-supported public institutions or facilities; the denial of any citizen the right to equal participation in voting; we commend those who have hired Negroes and individuals and groups who take steps to eliminate racial discrimination in housing, education, employment, and the use of public facilities. We believe human rights must always take priority over property rights.

Statements of National Church Organizations.--May, 1962, the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church called on its members to study the principles and goals stated in "A Charter of Racial Policies," and for the speedy ratification and commitment to work for implementation within jurisdiction, conference, district and local woman's society. The Charter included the following: to eliminate in the church all forms of segregation based on race, to create opportunities for inclusive fellowship and membership in local churches, and to work toward changing community patterns of racial segregation in education, housing, voting, employment and public facilities.

October 1962. At the annual assembly of the International Convention of Christian Churches, a total of $6,353 was presented to the United Nations. Among the numerous resolutions passed were several dealing with race. The delegates expressed "concern to the officials

of the state of Mississippi" and appealed to their "sense of decency and respect for law, order and principles of Christianity and fair play." The resolution deplored the "defiance of the federal court orders by the officials of the state of Mississippi regarding the entrance of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi" and encouraged the Justice Department in its efforts to secure compliance. Other resolutions urged church agencies to work for more speedy integration, and asked the denomination's schools to hasten integration of student bodies, faculties, and staffs.

May 9, 1963. The strongly worded resolution that urged the Southern Baptist Convention, the previous day, to express concern for Negro demonstrators jailed in Birmingham, Alabama turned up for vote so toned down it was almost unrecognizable as the same resolution. In its new form it made no mention of either Negroes or Birmingham, but simply "the problems involved in our social adjustments today." These must be solved in a Christian context, it said, and it pledged to help all "who do not enjoy freedom." The resolution passed without debate despite the loud applause accorded the original motion when it was presented by the Rev. Robert E. Seymour of Chapel Hill, N. C. He had asked that Baptist be petitioned to "pray for us who are in prison out here" and urged to end discrimination in their communities.

May 22, 1963. The United Presbyterian General Assembly approved a church constitution revision requiring local congregation to make "certain membership is not refused because of color, origin or wordly condition." This action is subject to ratification by local Presbyteries in the 3,500,00 membership. The assembly also petitioned President Kennedy to call a White House Conference on civil rights as soon as feasible to hasten the day when "color or national origin" will be irrelevant to rights of citizenship, and suggested that church boards, agencies and local units examine their contracts for goods and services to make sure funds are not used to support racially discriminatory or segregated institutions.

May 26, 1963. The presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A., Arthur Lichtenberger, issued a statement calling attention to the recent action of the Diocese of Washington which directed all diocesan-related institutions to eliminate any discriminatory practices within six months. The diocese further requested the Bishop and Executive Council to take steps necessary to disassociate

such diocesan and parish-related institutions from moral of financial support if these practices were not eliminated in the specified time. The bishop's statement included the following points: to demonstrate by specific actions by identification of the church with those who are victims of oppression; to support and strengthen racial protests, financially and personally; to eliminate all discrimination in church and church-related institutions.

June 6, 1963. The 270-member general board of the National Council of Churches adopted a statement calling upon the church "to confess her sin of omission and delay and to move forward to witness to her essential belief that every child of God is a brother to every other." The Council pledged that its leaders would "engage personally in negotiations, demonstrations, and other direct action." It urged all affiliated communions and invited members of all faiths to join in support of civil rights legislation and to witness that the racial crisis is a "national moral issue and not a regional problem." The Council announced the formation of a Commission on Religion and Race to coordinate the action program. (See Action Section)

June 17, 1963. Dr. Fredrik A. Schiotz, president of the American Lutheran Church, sent a memorandum to the pastors making the following suggestions: 1) let your people know where you stand, 2) be sure that your own congregation does not withhold the hand of welcome from a Negro guest or applicant for membership, 3) Encourage your people to write to their senators and congressmen, 4) Encourage lay leaders to participate in community consultations, bringing together white and Negro leaders for conversation and peaceful action. The pastors were reminded of the resolution adopted by the Church Council in February, 1963, which included: "Should a congregation not practice the proclamation of the Gospel of our Lord without limitation to nationality or race and not admit to membership in the Congregation Lutherans who may wish to transfer into the congregation or not admit people to membership classes who may wish to be instructed, the district president shall report this violation of church practice to the Executive Committee of the District and to the Church Council."

June 18, 1963. The Central Conference of American Rabbis pledged "unequivocal support" to Negroes today in their battle for equal rights and opportunities. The 400 members of the Reform group called for an "all-out effort" by the 1,000,000 members of Reform Judaism's 650

congregations to press for strong civil rights legislation by Congress. Warning that "a filibuster to prevent passage" of such legislation would "pose a threat to our survival as a democracy," the Rabbis voiced dismay at the "senseless and often brutal delays" in extending "full civil rights for Negro citizens."

June 22, 1963. A resolution asking the General Conference of The Methodist Church for swift integration of the church at all levels was passed by 375 missionaries, about half on furlough after foreign assignment. Most pledged to work actively for desegregation while here, giving lectures and joining picket lines.

June 24, 1963. At a youth forum of about 150 delegates from 37 states, sponsored by the United Church of Christ, the Rev. Archie Hargraves, field secretary of the division of church extension, urged white people to join the fight against segregation in what he described as a worldwide revolution by "people of color." He warned that unless people face integration as a fundamental moral issue "the Negro people are prepared to say 'the hell with it' and smash the whole rotten fabric to pieces, taking upon themselves, before God, the reconstruction of a better world from the rules of the old one that is a lie and a mockery to God's purposes. ...The acid test is whether we in America can accept the proposition that a Negro may marry whomever he loves and loves him. The Christian church will either prove itself or destroy itself on the basis of its response to this proposition."

July 6, 1963. During this week the Lutheran Church in America appealed to its 6,200 congregations to eradicate all vestiges of racial segregation from their own church activities, and to join the fight for "justice in race relations" in American society by initiating and supporting race reconciliation efforts and backing legislation to assure equal opportunity for all in housing, education, employment, voting, and access to public facilities. The statement emphasized that Christians can no longer temporize with racial barriers because any form of segregation or discrimination "is in violation of God's will."

July 9, 1963. The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, at its annual institute, issued a statement which calls for alerting pastors to utilize their pulpits to give active support to

the President's civil rights legislative program; and for Christians to demonstrate their protest against unjust discrimination and degrading practices which would limit Negroes from reaching their maximum potential before God.

July 14, 1963. Cardinal Spellman's denunciation of racial discrimination was reiterated today in all the 402 parishes of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York. The Cardinal had made the attack on July 11 at the dedication of Drew Houses in Harlem. Excerpts of his address were read as the sermon in all churches. This is a very rare occurrence.

July 14, 1963. The president of the Lutheran Church in America, the Rev. Dr. Franklin Clark Fry (who is also president of the Lutheran World Federation and chairman of the central committee of the World Council of Churches) called on the 3,200,000 members to help end racial discrimination. He made the request in a pastoral letter to the 6,812 pastors, calling attention to the decision of the church's executive committee last month to take "action leading to justice in race relations." His letter continued, "The time has come to act. The doors must be open to all. Everyone who is eligible, by faith or scholastic attainments or need should be welcomed to full membership or enrollment as a student or admission as a patient or guest on equal basis with the people of the majority race." The church, he said, "is bound to seek souls [and] the obligation of Lutherna Christians [includes] civic affairs as well as purely church matters. ...Under God the time has come to act and to lead others by precept and example."

July 17, 1963. At a called meeting of the executive meeting of the House of Bishops, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. endorsed the Washington march and passed a resolution urging both laymen and ministers to join it. There were some quiet dissents from Southern Episcopalians, which received scattered applause and hisses.

July 25, 1963. A committee of the fourth World Conference on Faith and Order condemned racial discrimination and urged Christians to fight it "whatever the cost." The conference is sponsored by the World Council of Churches.

July 27, 1963. At an emergency meeting the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice adopted the following

recommendations:

1. Called for all Roman Catholics to support, as a moral imperative, the President's civil rights program, and to build grass roots support of it.
2. Urged Catholics to take part in other demonstrations and picket activities in cases where "sincere negotiations" fail to achieve equal opportunities for Negroes.

There are 57 local Catholic Interracial Councils, coordinated by the NCCIJ.

August 15, 1963. Two major institutions of American Reform Judaism called on lay and rabbinic leaders of the 650 Reform congregations not to deal with construction companies, banks, and other businesses that discriminate against Negroes. The appeal, also directed to more than 1,000,000 Reform worshippers, was made by the Commission on Social Action, joint body of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis (comprising 850 spiritual leaders). Stressing the need for concrete action at the grassroots level, the "Call to Racial Justice" included these recommendations:

1. Businessmen should institute and enforce nondiscriminatory employment and promotion policies, make efforts to introduce Negro employees into work forces, and provide training to upgrade jobs for Negro employees.
2. Members of labor, business and professional groups should take positive steps to encourage the introduction of Negroes into skilled trades and professions.
3. All members are to support and participate in efforts for racial integration in their own communities, neighborhoods and public schools.
4. Members should not patronize public places or businesses that discriminate against Negroes as either patrons or employees.
5. Members should not frequent private clubs that refuse membership on racial grounds.
6. Members should invest in financial institutions that make funds and services available on a non-discriminatory basis.
7. Members should give active support to the enactment of local, state, and Federal legislation and to forceful executive action on all levels of government.
8. Congregations should use integrated crews in construction of new houses of worship.

August 23, 1963. Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States in a pastoral letter said "The conscience of the nation is on trial" over racial discrimination, and urged, "we must act to remove obstacles that impede the rights and opportunities of our Negro brethren... We

should do our part to see that voting, jobs, housing, education, and public facilities are freely available to every American." The letter was read at all masses in many Catholic churches and chapels on Sunday, August 25. A National Conference Welfare spokesman said that Bishops were not required to have it read and that some, for various reasons, might ignore it.

August 30, 1963. The 1,100 delegates of the Methodist Conference on Human Relations, representing 10,000,000 Methodists, approved the following points in a statement to be submitted in a petition to the Methodist General Council:

1. Called for federal and state laws "that will open all facilities serving the general public to all persons without regard to race."
2. Urged church units to employ their economic power to aid integration,
3. Advocated that the 135 church-related colleges, including many in the South, and all Methodist hospitals and other institutions be opened to all races and proposed "that the name of the church and funds from its budget shall be withdrawn from any institution pursuing a policy contrary to this recommendation."

The 1963 statements of religious bodies speak for themselves. It now seems evident that the church is ready to attack discriminatory practices and racial injustice both within its own institutions and without. Paraphrasing the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,* the church, which has been "merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion" may indeed become, like the early Christian church, "a thermostat that transformed society."

The question is: how influential will these statements be on the individual church member?

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*Letter from a Birmingham Jail.

1963

APPENDIX

Recent Examples of Southern Church Action: Positive and Negative

ALABAMA, 1963 :

Birmingham, April 28--Groups of three or four Negroes visited 39 white churches. They were accepted at nine, where they were escorted inside and directed to pews. (This was after 26 days of demonstrations with more than 400 arrests.)

Gadsden, June 16-- Several downtown white churches accepted Negroes for services without incident.

Linden, June 13-- The Rev. Joe H. Patterson resigned, effective June 29, as pastor of the Linden Baptist Church when deacons in his congregation objected to his recommendation of an "open door" membership policy in the church. That night his home was stoned and a cross was burned on his lawn; his wife and three young children were there alone. Sentiment in the congregation changed in his favor, and he was asked to reconsider his resignation, but refused.

ARKANSAS, 1963:

August 2, 1963--In the past few months one Southern Baptist church has opened its doors to Negroes, the first in the state to do so.

Gillett, week of June 24--Rural Negro church bombed with dynamite.

FLORIDA, 1963:

Dade County, April 15--At the invitation of Bishop Coleman F. Carroll, 17 Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant religious leaders of Dade County met to lay the groundwork for a program of mutual cooperation in racial and other moral community problems.

Pensacola, Aug. 28, 1963--The Southern District of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod admitted a number of Negro churches to district membership along with new white congregations: total admitted, 27. There was no separate listing of the number of Negro churches.

GEORGIA, 1963:

Albany, June 19--A manifesto asking peaceful negotiation of differences was issued by 47 Negro ministers. They have had at least one meeting with white business leaders.

Seven youths who had led anti-desegregation demonstrations sought sanctuary in the Shiloh Baptist Church.

Albany, July--St. Mark's Episcopal Church has announced it is a "house of prayer for all people," and Negroes have attended services there. The rector, the Rev. H. W. Shipps, requested that "anyone who does not understand...please call so we can have a quiet discussion."

Albany, July 20--The B'nai Israel Temple turned away two (white) Jewish members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee who were accompanied by a small Negro boy. A temple member who observed the Friday night incident said an usher met the group and refused to let them in; they left quietly.

Athens, August 25--Two white churches admitted Negroes for the first time today; six Negroes attended the First Methodist Church and the First Baptist Church. There were no incidents.

Atlanta, January 22--A new organization, the Greater Atlanta Methodist Ministers Alliance, was formed at the annual joint meeting of the Greater Atlanta Methodist Ministers Association (white) and the Atlanta Methodist Ministers Alliance (Negro). The combined group will meet monthly. Formerly the Negro and white groups met jointly only at the annual meeting. About 200 white and 100 Negro ministers joined in forming the GAMMA.

Atlanta, Jan. 24--A resolution deploring racial barracades on two southwest Atlanta streets was adopted by the North Georgia Diocese of the Episcopal Church. Another resolution, urging all church-related institutions be required to make clear they "do not use race as a basis for admission...," was ruled out of order and not acted upon. The Bishop stated that the church's policy was quite clear and the resolution unneccessary.

Early in March it was announced that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s five year old son was rejected for admission to Lovett Episcopal Day School. The enrollment at Lovett includes about 40% non-Episcopalians. ~~and about 30% are Jewish.~~ On March 26, Cecil A. Alexander, Atlanta architect, submitted his resignation as trustee of Lovett in protest. On June 14 the board of trustees by unanimous vote denied applications of Negroes and instructed the headmaster not to accept any applications from Negroes. On July 3, Episcopal Bishop Claiborne of Atlanta withdrew any "implied or official" Episcopal Church support of Lovett School, and announced that the Episcopal priest serving as headmaster at Lovett had submitted his resignation. The headmaster, the Rev. James R. McDowell, has accepted the position of headmaster of (Episcopal) Sewanee Military Academy in Tennessee. The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity has announced plans to picket the school; the Bishop has given permission for religious services to be continued: chapel, weekly Communion Service, and religious instruction.

Atlanta, May 25--The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Atlanta received its first Negro priest; the Rev. William E. Calhoun was ordained at the Cathedral of Christ the King.

Atlanta, May 28--Two Negro student chaplain internes were accepted at Grady Hospital, to begin in June. Both are Baptist and will serve the spiritual needs of hospital patients.

Atlanta, June 30--The board of directors of the Presbyterian Survey, official publication of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., adopted a policy of supporting Atlanta restaurants which have desegregated. The Board of Women's Work had already done so.

Atlanta, July 7--St. Mark Methodist Church admitted a Negro visitor. All Episcopal, Lutheran, most Presbyterian, and some Methodist and Baptist churches have admitted Negro visitors for some time without incident. (See "Example of Church Ambivalance"at end of appendix for account of Atlanta First Baptist.)

Augusta, April 29--The Augusta Evangelical Ministers' Association recommended voluntary desegregation of local schools. In a statement to the Augusta Herald the ministers said, "we believe that voluntary desegregation done in the Christian spirit is the most effective solution..." The resolution asked that ministers "be invited to join the asssociation, regardless of color or race, in compliance with the provisions of our constitution."

Carrollton, June 27--The Rev. Donald H. Harrison asked members of St. Margaret's Episcopal Church to lend their support to his opposition to organization of a white citizens council. Mr. Harrison is also chaplain to Episcopal students at West Georgia College, desegregated Fall, 1963.

Decatur, July 28--A Christian Church minister preached "the time has come for every congregation in the Atlanta area to declare unequivocably that the church ...must be open to all God's children without restriction."

Macon, July 1--Mercer University (Baptist) and Wesleyan College (Methodist) were among the ten establishments signing contracts with the federal government to operate the businesses where their post office stations are situated on a non-discriminatory basis.

Macon, Sept. 6--At least three Negro students have been registered for classes at Mercer University. One student is from Ghana; the other two are local.

Savannah, June 24--Bishop Thomas J. McDonough announced that Catholic schools in the Diocese of Savannah will be integrated effective September 1, 1963. This policy applies to all grades of both elementary and high schools.

Savannah, July 13--Clergymen issued a statement calling for a "real and just solution" of the racial crisis and the "immediate resumption of negotiations." The ministers included the Episcopal, Catholic and Methodist bishops of the city; they also offered their services in reaching a settlement.

Savannah, July 14--Negroes sought to worship at several white Savannah churches; all were turned away without incident.

Savannah, July 17--The Protestant Ministerial Association issued a request that July 28 be a day of prayer (during efforts to negotiate racial problems).

Terrell and Lee Counties, July 3--Work of rebuilding three southwest Georgia Negro churches began on this date, nearly a year after the buildings were destroyed by incendiary fires.

KENTUCKY, 1963:

Evarts, June--Last summer the Evarts Congregational Christian Church (United Church of Christ) invited children and teachers from the Negro churches of the community to participate in the Daily Vacation Church School. The minister, the Rev. Carolyn Welch, reported that the program was successful and was, she thought, enriching not only to the church but to the community. The same program was followed this year, with even larger attendance and community participation.

October 1963--The Kentucky-Tennessee Conference of Congregational Christian Churches (white) and the Tennessee-Kentucky Conference of Congregational Christian Churches (Negro) will hold a joint annual meeting for the second time, looking toward eventually combining the two conferences. Committee work of the two groups has already been unified wherever possible.

LOUISIANA, 1963:

Baton Rouge, July 29--Desegregation of the 11th and 12th grades in four Roman Catholic high schools in East Baton Rouge Parish will begin in 1964.

Buras, July 6-16--Window panes were broken in the rectory of Our Lady of Good

LOUISIANA, continued:

Harbor Church. It was the second time the rectory had been fired on since nearby Our Lady of Good Harbor School was integrated last September. Last November 13, 26 window panes were shattered by birdshot. On August 27 Our Lady of Good Harbor School, operated by the Catholic Sisters of St. Francis, was closed after being damaged by a midnight explosion. The school had been scheduled to reopen, still desegregated, on September 3.

New Orleans, March 24--An article by John Carporon in the Washington Post stated that the color bar had been removed in all Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of New Orleans, with an estimated 200 Negro Catholic youngsters attending formerly all-white parochial schools. Catholic schools in the archdiocese were desegregated in policy in the fall of 1962, but few had Negro students.

Ponte A La Hache, June 27--A Roman Catholic priest, who charged a Belle Chasse man punched him in a disagreement over the cleric's conducting a biracial religious instruction class, asked and got a court dismissal of simple battery against the man.

Plaquemine, Aug. 25--Negroes attended services at two white Protestant churches today: 7 were admitted to the Northside Baptist Church (seated in a separate section) and 8 attended the Episcopal church. At the First Methodist and First Baptist churches groups of Negroes were turned away.

MISSISSIPPI, 1963:

At the height of the 1962 riots on the University of Mississippi campus, Episcopal priests went out into the face of death as a sort of two-man truth squad, talking to students, relieving them of knives, shovels, bottles, bricks and other more lethal weapons.

June 2--The clerical delegates of the Mississippi Methodist Conference voted 89-85 in a closed session to sever relations with the Rev. Ralph Edwin King, a white Methodist minister who was arrested as a racial demonstrator. He was refused permission, by the bishop, to question the decision or to speak to the assembly.

Clarksdale, Aug. 8--An interdenominational group of ministers from other parts of the country tried without success to call upon the city government, to urge a reconciliation of differences.

Jackson, May 24--Negro and white clergymen held, for the first time, a joint session to discuss the city's racial problem and"to seek peaceable amelioration of the Negro's just complaints." They agreed to devote their sermons the following Sunday, May 26, to this issue.

Jackson, May 29--A group of 12 leading white ministers, including five bishops and representing eight denominations, released a statement urging "communications" between the races. The statement continued, "we have met with responsible civic leaders and with representatives of two ministerial associations... our progress has been exceedingly limited."

Jackson, June 16--Four young Negro women attended St. Andrews Episcopal Church without incident. (This was the day following the funeral of Medgar Evers.) Negroes were refused admission at Central Presbyterian and First Christian churches. The previous Sunday (June 9) Negro visitors were turned away at two Methodist and two Baptist Churches. One of the Methodist churches was Galloway Memorial, and on June 10 the pastor, the Rev. W. B. Selah, resigned. The assistant pastor, the Rev. Jerry Furr (signer of the "Born of Conviction"

MISSIPPI, continued:

statement in January) said he would also resign. Others were the Capital Methodist and Calvary Baptist churches and the First Baptist Church (which said Negroes had attended in the past but were unwelcome now because of racial tension). Five Negroes attended Mass at St. Peters Roman Catholic Church, where Negroes have gone regularly for years. On June 30 three white churches refused to admit Negroes.

June 28--Of the 28 young white Methodist ministers who signed the January 1963 "Born of Conviction" statement proclaiming their belief in "freedom of the pulpit" and opposing racial discrimination in Mississippi, 12 have left the state and seven have moved to other churches within Mississippi under varying degrees of pressure and frustration. Nine still remain in their original churches. Those who left the state did so voluntarily; none was expelled from the Methodist Conference. All were targets for segregationist reaction within their churches and communities; a few suffered violence or threats of violence. Tires were slashed, rocks thrown at parsonages, a cross was burned by the Ku Klux Klan at at least two parsonages. Harassment by telephone was general. One minister's wife was dismissed from her teaching job; another minister lost his part-time teaching position. All, however, have had some loyal support from their congregations.

Tupelo, July--The ruling board of the First Methodist Church voted 40-4 to seat Negroes.

NORTH CAROLINA, 1963:

January 30-- The North Carolina Council of Churches, embracing 15 denominations, elected a Negro, Dr. Samuel E. Duncan, as vice president. The council also voted to hire a full-time worker in the area of social concerns and pledged funds to pay his salary. A resolution was adopted commending the governor for his Good Neighbor Council and encouraging "the employment of qualified people without regard to race."

June 17-23, 1962--The annual national conference of the Methodist Student Movement advocated the desegregation of swimming facilities at Lake Junaluska, the Methodist Southeastern jurisdiction summer assembly grounds in North Carolina. The students also voted to set up an interracial seminar in Mississippi or Alabama, at which Negro and white students will have the opportunity to confront the racial issue in the light of Christian ethics, and adopted a statement supporting Methodist participation in union discussions with other churches.

Ahoskie, July 22-28--Negro and white preachers jointly conducted week-long, nightly series of integrated services and meetings.

Charlotte, Summer 1963--An interfaith North Carolina Council on Religion and Race was formed.

Lexington, June--During this month the First Methodist Church admitted Negro worshippers.

Raleigh, May 12--As Negroes demonstrated here for the fifth straight day, the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church declined to deliver a sermon because of his "keen disappointment" in his congregation's apathy over Raleigh's racial troubles. Only two or three members of the congregation had heeded Dr. Albert Edwards' request to express themselves to local businessmen on the racial controversy. "If Christian people do not express themselves at a time like this," he said, "then who will?" The church has admitted Negro visitors in the past and ten were present on this Sunday.

NORTH CAROLINA, continued:

The Raleigh Ministerial Association voted 42-1 in favor of desegregating business facilities.

Only one church, Calvary Baptist, barred and locked the church door as ushers turned away 12 Negro college students during the mass attendance by Negroes of local churches. Later, the church voted (80% affirmative) in favor of admitting Negroes and 12 Shaw University students were seated on May 19. The same week, Longview Methodist Church joined the list of churches indicating all persons are welcome. The Rev. Worth B. Cotton, pastor, told the congregation "as Christian Church we cannot turn these people away."

Raleigh, May 15--The First Baptist Church rejected (367-147) the application for membership of Charles Earle, a Shaw University student from Jamaica. The Southern Baptist Convention has loaned Earle $375 to help finance his education. Earle is president of the Student Council and has been a leader of student demonstrations.

Raleigh, May 20--The West Raleigh Presbyterian Church endorsed, and offered "encouragement and cooperation," the resolution of the Raleigh Merchants Bureau calling for lowering of racial barriers in government and business.

Raleigh, June 13--Six Episcopal clergy (4 Negro and 2 white) were turned away when they attempted to eat at downtown S. & W. Cafeteria. The ministers were attending a church conference at St. Augustine's College in Raleigh. The group prayed, read the Bible, and left quietly. The cafeteria desegregated the following week.

Thomasville, July 18--A shot was fired into a Negro church during a rally.

OKLAHOMA, 1963:

Jan. 24--The Oklahoma Diocese of the Episcopal Church approved a resolution requesting all Episcopal schools in the state to announce in all bulletins or promotional material that no students shall be "barred because of race, creed, or color."

Oklahoma City, Aug. 24--The N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council staged the first kneel-in here when 20 pairs of Negro youths attended 20 churches; they were turned away from three.

Summer, 1963--Catholic Bishop Reed of Oklahoma City has inserted a non-discriminatory clause in church construction contracts.

Tulsa, August 2--The National Council of Churches local chapter joined with the N.A.A.C.P. recently to help collect 10,000 signatures to a petition asking city officials to wipe out segregation in all public places with a city ordinance backed by stiff fines. Speedy approval was predicted for the measure, which is also supported strongly by Catholic and Jewish leaders.

SOUTH CAROLINA, 1963:

Charleston, June 27--Catholic hospitals in Charleston and Columbia will accept Negro patients this fall; all services will be available to them, hospital officials said. But Negro doctors will not be permitted to practice in these hospitals.

SOUTH CAROLINA, continued:

Columbia, Oct. 28, 1962--The first break in hotel segregation was accomplished by the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The body rented an entire downtown motor hotel so that its two Liberian missionary bishops, who are African, would be housed with white bishops during the annual meeting. Since restaurants (except for chain-store lunch counters) were still segregated, the two bishops took their meals with other bishops at Trinity Church or at private homes.

March 28--the Rev. Charles Webster, director of Baptist student work at Clemson College, charged that he had been forced out of his church post because of his contacts with Clemston's only Negro student--Harvey B. Gantt.

Farmington, Jan. 13--The Trinity Episcopal Church at Farmington, whose congregation of about 140 families is white, chose as pastor a Negro, the Rev. Joseph A. Pelham, of Detroit and a member of the Michigan Episcopal Diocese staff. The Senior Warden said the Rev. Mr. Pelham was "head and shoulders" above more than a dozen other candidates and the parishioners have accepted him with "widespread enthusiasm."

Florence, Aug. 27--The Rev. L. B. Burgess, pastor of the Mt. Zion AME Church, said some 12 Negro ministers probably will accept the invitation of the all-white Florence Pastors' Conference to join them. A joint meeting is anticipated soon.

Sumter, July 19--This city, which has been without racial demonstrations for two years, witnessed prayer groups at city hall and the courthouse.

TENNESSEE, 1963:

Knoxville, Aug. 4--Three hospitals (Baptist, Presbyterian, and Catholic) announced their simultaneous desegregation during previous week.

Knoxville, May 5--A group of Catholic and Presbyterian ministers sponsored an "Operation Friendship" in Blount and Knox Counties. Participating were 650 persons from 24 churches and synagogues. At the National Conference on Religion a and Race last January, the Interracial Home Visit program was one of the official recommendations. Chicago's Friendship House provides a service of consultation in person or by mail, "how to do it" literature, summer study weekends featuring actual participation in a Visit, and analyses of various aspects of the technique. It has assisted religious and secular groups, interfaith committees, private and civic human relations agencies, and ordinary citizens wanting to help eliminate racial discrimination at the grass roots level.

Southern cities other than Washington, D. C. and Knoxville, Tenn. where Interracial Home Visits have been held in cooperation with Friendship House are: College Park, Md.; Covington and Louisville, Ky.; and several other cities where those conducting the visits are not making them public at present.

TEXAS, 1963:

The Texas Council of Churches completed a Race Relations Progress Study in the Spring of 1962. The church report of the study consisted of 15 mimeographed pages and was one of eight commission reports studied by the conference. It was based on questionnaires completed by 873 churches (out of 4,178 mailed) and replies from 76 interdenominational agencies. The findings were presented to the Study Conference on Race Relations Progress in Texas held at Perkins School of Theology April 24-26.

TEXAS, continued:

The report revealed that chances of belonging to a racially integrated church in Texas are best when the church is: 1) a large church, 2) with a middle-class constituency, 3) composed of those with professional or graduate level training, 4) in a downtown urban location, and 5) is a Presbyterian or an Episcopal church.

One third (two-thirds of those having over 1,200 members) of the churches replying to the questionnaire claimed some degree of desegregation, token in the large majority. The conference workgroup warned that token desegregation, like a successful vaccination, often seems to retard significant integration.

Other areas studied were schools, colleges, public facilities, recreation, employment, hotels-motels-restaurants, and housing. The conference program was of high quality, but small attendance seemed to reinforce the findings of the work groups that the churches are quite willing to let government take the lead in fighting discrimination.

June 5, 1963--The Texas Annual Conference of the Methodist Church heard a report from the board of Christian Social Concerns calling upon all church-related institutions to make their service and facilities available to people of all races, and urged that the Conferences of the Central Jurisdiction (Negro) be included in the organization. The conference approved the report, but a resolution calling for the conference to go on record as favoring desegregation in all Texas Methodist schools did not get a second.

Waco, week of June 17-- At least two churches publicly announced they are open to all.

Amarillo, June 23--Approximately 40 Negroes worshipped in five white churches.

Beaumont, July 15--The Rev. Wm. B. Oliver III, of Dallas, has been appointed pastor of the Graham Congregational Church, effective September 8. He is the first white pastor to take an all-Negro church in the history of the United Church of Christ.

Dallas, July 17--The white congregation of the Cedar Crest Baptist Church has voted to admit Negroes if they appear at services. In the past several months, four Southern Baptist churches in Texas have opened their doors to Negroes, the first in the state to do so. Names of others are so far unknown.

Dallas, Aug. 4-- The city's racially-mixed South Oak Cliff area launched (under sponsorship of five white churches) a neighborhood program to promote community development and interracial cooperation.

Houston, July 2-- A third Negro, Terrance Boone, sought membership in the First Baptist Church Saturday and was referred to a conference of members. The church, of which Dr. Kenneth White, president of the Southern Baptist Association, is pastor, previously rejected membership applications of two Negroes. White said from the pulpit Sunday that the church has adopted a new policy of questioning applicants for membership.

Sherman--Biracial ministerial alliance has helped open communications on employment opportunities this year.

VIRGINIA, 1963:-

Sept. 27, 1962--The five-year-old Hemlock Haven segregation controversy ended as Southwest Virginia Episcopal laymen and clergy voted for a "separation by sex" plan at the youth camp near Marion, Va. The resolution to conduct a

VIRGINIA, continued:

diocese camp passed by voice vote within ten minutes after it was introduced. The special council was called last June by the Right Rev. William H. Marmion, diocesan bishop, to decide the camp question and to take a second look at the proposed 1963 budget of $275,112 (which was not passed at the regular Council meeting last May).

Spring, 1963--The Virginia annual conference of the Methodist Church set the academic year 1964-65 as the "absolute deadline" for integration of its church-related colleges.

Charlottesville, June 3--Thirty-one ministers of the Charlottesville-Albemarle Ministerial Association met Saturday to discuss current racial problems, and 30 agreed to request city council to appoint a biracial committee.

During his Sunday sermon, the Rev. Donald A. Givens, pastor of Jefferson Park Baptist Church, said "the church's sole purpose is to win souls to Christ...each member should remember this regardless of his feelings."

Danville, July 16--Thirteen white ministers again urged Mayor Stinson to enlarge his all-white racial advisory committee "to include citizens of both races." Ministers represented Baptist, Methodist, Disciples of Christ, Lutheran, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Catholic, Jewish and Greek Orthodox churches.

Danville, Aug. 7--The First Christian Church voted to oust its pastor, the Rev. Cecil Robert Taylor (38 and father of three sons) chiefly because he was one of 13 white ministers to urge city council to appoint a biracial committee to solve racial problems during massive demonstrations in May. Shortly before the first demonstrations began, the Rev. Robert L. McCan was voted out of the First Baptist Church because of a sermon in which he encouraged an end to discrimination. This is the second time the Rev. Taylor has lost a church; he was asked to leave Sandersville, Ga., in early 1962. A native of Lynchburg, Mr. Taylor said he hoped he could stay in the South.

Fredericksburg, April--The Methodist Church admitted its first Negro member. There was some criticism of the minister, the Rev. J. William Hough, and a petition was circulated for his removal. Both the governing body of the church and the local ministerial association asked that he be reappointed. On May 26 a second Negro was admitted to membership and "occasioned no comment." Mr. Hough was reappointed June 15.

Martinsville, June 7--Henry County Christian Civic League called on local business leaders to voluntarily desegregate public facilities and employment, and requested City Council appoint an official biracial committee.

Richmond, July 7--The Rev. Robert W. Hare (white), of Raleigh, N.C., became pastor of the (Negro) First Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

May 29--Three Episcopal bishops publicly supported the statement issued by the presiding bishop, the Rt. Rev. Arthur Lichenberger, urging members to support racial equality.

The Rt. Rev. Robt. F. Gibson, bishop of Diocese of Virginia (Richmond) reported there are integrated parishes, the youth conference at Roslyn has been integrated for several years, and the youth conference at Shrinemont in Rockingham County is integrated.

The Rt. Rev. William H. Marmion bishop of Southwestern Virginia (Roanoke) said

VIRGINIA, continued:

the diocese has integrated parishes and the youth conference is integrated by race but segregated by sex, beginning this summer (Hemlock Haven near Marion).

The Rt. Rev. George P. Gunn, bishop of Southern Virginia, supported the statement but did not report any integration.

The bishops also noted that St. Stephen's School in Alexandria has accepted a Negro student and a Negro girl is on the waiting list of St. Catherine's School in Richmond. Her application has been approved by the board.

WASHINGTON, D. C., 1963:

October, 1962--Interracial home visits, patterned on those begun in 1955 by Friendship House, a Catholic interracial organization with headquarters in Chicago, began in the Washington, D. C. area. In January the Chicago consultation committee was co-sponsor with Protestant and Jewish groups for a metropolitan-wide mass Interracial Home Visit Day that brought 2,500 white visitors to the homes of 500 middle-class Negro hosts. In March the same interfaith committee arranged a second mass visit day, with a similar number of hosts--this time white--inviting in white neighbors and leading a discussion with Negro guests on equal housing opportunities.

June, 1963--Trustees of the House of Mercy, a home for unwed mothers, operated by the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Washington, D. C., voted to disregard race in future admissions. In its 70 years the home has never admitted a Negro woman, but the diocese had threatened to cut off financial aid if it failed to integrate.

June 14--Clergymen participated in the protest against racial discrimination in a silent march from the White House to the Justice Department.

Aug. 28-- More than 40,000 clergy and church members participated in the national demonstration before the Lincoln Memorial to dramatize the Negro demand for jobs and freedom from discrimination. The demonstration also supported the President's legislative program now before Congress.

* * *

Example of Church Ambivalence: The First Baptist Church of Atlanta, Ga.

(This account of attempts by Negroes to attend an Atlanta church is given in detail because of its extreme example of what can happen in a Southern church.)

April 21--Several Negro ministerial students have attempted to attend services at the First Baptist Church in the past few weeks, both on Sunday morning and at Wednesday night prayer meeting. Prior to this date Negroes had been admitted but were seated in the basement where the overflow crowd from the sanctuary listened to services over a public address system. On April 21 three Negro students were forcibly ejected, while one remained and another voluntarily left. Amos Brown, Morehouse ministerial student who was "dragged" out of the church by an usher, he said, commented that he had listened to the services on television "It would be terrific if he [Dr. McClain, pastor] tried to put into action some of the things he preaches about on Sunday morning." On May 2, 14 Negro and white theological students were turned away from prayer meeting.

May 17--In Detroit, Michigan to deliver chapel messages to the American Baptist Convention, Dr. Roy O. McClain agreed to meet with 30 ministers, most of them

Negroes, who were disturbed by reports that Negroes had not been allowed to worship in his church. Dr. McClain told his critics the First Baptist Church has no policy on integration or segregation. He said he'd had meetings with groups in the church trying to develop a better climate where integration could take place. "As far as I personally am concerned," Dr. McClain said, "I'm for integration." The ministers had asked the program committee to remove McClain from the program, but the committee declined.

June 24--An integrated group of eight students attended evening services despite being asked to leave by one usher. The area was roped off by ushers. On June 30 and July 7, a group of Negro and white students were turned away while Dr. McClain, on televisinn, preached "ignorance is the mother of prejudice," and called prejudice "a cancer" which "will kill you, literally; it will eat your innards out." The group began picketing the church on July 7. They returned for evening services and an elderly white minister from California (already under $500 bond for attempting to enter the church with the group on June 30) was arrested and charged with "disorderly conduct-demented" on complaint of the pastor. He charged in court that he was dragged down the church steps by his heels. During the morning demonstration, radio and television newsmen were asked to leave their cameras outside the church or not come in. One usher came down the steps and placed his hand over the lens of a TV newsman's camera photographing the pickets.

A crowd of white men, most dressed in sport shirts or tee shirts and slacks, gathered across Peachtree Street from the church during most of the morning service. Their comments on the situation rose to catcalling and jeers. They were not arrested or removed.

Nathan J. Porter, a young Brazilian-born Baptist minister who is a member of First Baptist, led a brief impromptu worship service with the whites and Negroes who were picketing the church after being refused entrance. Mr. Porter is a member of the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board here. He spoke briefly with the group on the power of love and the need for forgiveness. The quiet demonstration seemed to bring more extreme reactions from onlookers and church members than on previous Sundays. A girl of college age walked down the church steps and away in tears after the service. Other members came down the steps, between the rows of pickets, with grim, drawn faces. After almost everyone had left the church grounds, except a few ushers clustered close to the building and the pickets who stood stolidly on either side of the front steps, a beautiful, blonde little girl came to stand at the center of the scene and leaned on a handrail on the steps. The little girl stood and looked quietly for a long time, neither smiling nor frowning, until the pickets dispersed.

Aug. 25--The white minister who was arrested received the maximum misdemenor sentence: 12 months in prison and six months in public work camp plus $1,000 fine. His case has been appealed. On Sept. 17 he was removed to Grady Hospital because of a hunger strike, for intravenous feeding if necessary.

Officials testified against Jones and passed charges; we should mention.

Rel-Soc

1963

THE MESSAGE

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE FATHER; JESUS CHRIST, OUR LORD; AND THE INDWELLING SPIRIT.

Greetings --

Methodists from all parts of the United States and overseas have gathered in Chicago, Illinois at the call of eleven general agencies of our Church, to search for God's Will for Ourselves, our Church and our Society --

I. THE BASIS OF OUR INVOLVEMENT

God made us one in his act of creation, one in his act of redemption of all mankind through Jesus Christ, and one in the fellowship of the Church, through the presence of His Holy Spirit among us. This oneness demands that the Church involve itself in today's racial crisis.

Though race problems are rooted in tradition and social practices, basically these involve the nature of God, the purpose of life, the way of salvation, and the essentials of the Christian faith. To violate the oneness of mankind is to violate our faith.

For the Christian every moment is a call to live <u>with</u> God <u>for</u> our neighbor. The urgency of God's call and the magnitude of evils which destroy our oneness compel us to daily obedience to Him.

The Church is that body which covenants to obey gladly the demands of God's urgent call. Taking "the form of a servant" in the world for the sake of the world, the Church must not hesitate to pronounce God's judgment upon itself and

the world. Therefore, we, as members individually and corporately of Christ's body, should repeatedly inquire:

1) Where is The Methodist Church currently in its structure and program in regard to race relations?
2) What are the immediate goals toward which The Methodist Church should move in race relations?
3) How can The Methodist Church make the greatest progress toward these goals?

II. THE CALL TO INVOLVEMENT

The Church

We are deeply troubled in our proclamation of the Gospel to the world by the conflict between our confession and our practice of race relations in the life and structure of our Church. We must have the courage to sense God's judgment, and to examine our complacent indifference. We must become so definitely identified and involved in the struggle for justice and human righteousness that we bear within ourselves the suffering of those who are victims of injustice.

Before the Church can proclaim the Kingdom's coming to the world, we must repent of our loss of true oneness in the inner life of the Christian community. As a Church we will earn the right to call our communities to repentance only when we have corrected the un-Christlike practices we have allowed in His body.

The Methodist Church is now called to an inner suffering which will allow for its own change. It is called to a losing of what it has been and for a risking of what it is.

Thus we will be freed from our preoccupation with our own structure and from an absorption in our own life.

The Methodist Church is called to change now -- to remove the symbol and fact of racial segregation in order that it may give itself as a living sacrifice in an age when the Holy Spirit might use its body.

The call to suffer is to all Methodists, regardless of race or color.

We must all of us desire a oneness so much that we do not hold back for the lack of a blueprint for its immediate effectiveness.

The hour is upon us to stride forward in faith. Problems inherent in inclusiveness must be solved; such as acceptance of the principle of inclusiveness in all aspects of local church life, pulpits open to all ministers, salary and pension adjustments, adequate and continued representation.

We, therefore, urgently recommend:

1) That the 1964 General Conference be requested to call upon all Jurisdictional Conferences to take immediate steps to effect the transfer of the Annual Conferences of the Central Jurisdiction into regional jurisdictions,

2) To call upon the regional jurisdictions to merge the Central Jurisdiction Annual Conferences so transferred with existing or newly created Annual Conferences of the regional jurisdictions. These transfers and mergers shall be completed not later than 1968.

3) It is recommended, further, that the Commission on Inter-Jurisdictional Relations and the Committee of Five be requested to work out an over-all plan to facilitate the transfers and mergers incident to the abolition of the Central Jurisdiction.

4) That the Council on World Service and Finance provide the funds, equitably apportioned to all conferences, needed to equalize salaries and pensions.

5) That in every conference bishops and cabinets carefully prepare the ground for the assignment of pastors, and district superintendents without regard to race.

6) That in every local church membership, service and office be clearly available to anyone who is willing and able, without regard to race.

7) That we make it perfectly clear on all levels of the church's life

   a) that in our schools and colleges there is no racial line for teachers or students,

   b) that our hospitals and homes are available to physicians, interns, residents, nurses, administrators and patients without regard to race,

   c) that in our homes for young and old those who minister and those who are ministered to, are selected without regard to race,

   d) that all agencies, boards, and commissions, are to be constituted and are to secure and promote staff members and employees without regard to race.

We acknowledge that the Church belongs to God. For too long we have behaved as if it belongs to man. We cannot prevent another person from approaching the altar of God because of his race without being guilty of grievous sin. It is no part of a white Christian's obligation to test the motives of Negroes who enter a house of worship, since God himself tests all our motives alike. If the Christian fellowship is to be the true body of Christ, it must include all who come, without regard to race. Leaders in an effort to bring about these conditions shall be supported by Bishops, District Superintendents and all fellow Methodists.

Youth are called the hope of the future, the church of tomorrow. However, youth are in the church today. They are, they desire to be, and they need to be a part of the church in this time, not in some vague future time. By destiny youth today are bound in the citizenship of a changing era. This era calls upon the liberality, the idealism and the dedication of youth so to condition themselves that their children may be raised in the enlightenment of non-prejudice and an atmosphere of freedom. It is the obligation of the church to challenge youth to break with the traditions and customs of the past that are offensive to God. It is for youth to accept the imperatives of the Christian gospel in their own society and the society of the adult world, remembering how Paul challenged the young man Timothy to be an example to his elders.

The Methodist Church has been given by God the privilege of witnessing to Him in 44 nations of the earth. There we have members and churches made up of the people of these nations. Many are involved in the world-wide revolution which seeks to throw off all hindrances to development into full manhood as we see it in Jesus Christ. We rejoice whenever missionaries and national Christian leaders in such places as Angola, Rhodesia, Mozambique and many other nations make their clear witness for full human rights. It is a part of the world mission of the Church for us who live in the United States to work openly and devotedly for the removing from our national and church life of all un-Christian conditions in human affairs.

The World

A. Public Schools

The Methodist Church has long declared its belief in and support of the public school system of our nation. Now it must demand that the benefits of public education be provided to all without any reservation because of race. It must work toward the full integration of schools.

We recognize that segregated housing makes more difficult the integration of schools. Past discrimination has created inequalities in the readiness of white and Negro pupils. Also the lack of job opportunities for persons of color destroys many incentives for pursuing an education. Therefore, we commit ourselves to the immediate goal of helping to create and sustain for every child the opportunity to learn in a setting which gives respect to him as a person, and encourages him to develop every possible gift which God has given him.

Furthermore, integrated educational facilities are imperative in order that the children of those who are white may not be isolated from an actual society and be unprepared to live in a real world. A child, Negro or white, educated in a segregated school is deprived of meaningful friendships and adequate social understanding.

B. Right to Vote

Every citizen of a democracy has the right to vote. To deny this right to any citizen is to weaken the nation. To refuse to exercise this responsibility is to encourage democracy's demise.

It is the duty of a Christian to exercise his franchise and to seek to remove all barriers that deprive any person of his right to vote.

C. Civil Justice

Although we are a nation founded on respect for law, it is incredible that police handling, jail conditions and court procedures in many communities still grieviously violate human dignity and American democractic principles. The correction of these abuses ought to come from the local communities, or failing this, from other levels of government in defense of civil rights. It is the function of the Church and the Christian man to call such violations to the attention of the community conscience and to work for their correction.

D. Housing

In all parts of the nation segregated housing contributes to other types of discrimination.

Christians must insist that all people have the

freedom to reside wherever their economic means and their personal wishes permit.

We further believe that the local church should prepare its members to live in integrated neighborhoods and challenge them to help in creating fully inclusive communities. The practice of Christian principles in this matter will eliminate the panic and economic problems which might otherwise result. In addition, Christians must work for local, state and federal legislation directed to insure freedom of residence. The barriers erected in this area are subtle and difficult to remove. However, we call upon all persons particularly those engaged in real estate and financing to seek to correct abuses in housing and put into practice Jesus' injunction to regard all men as neighbors.

E. Employment

Another area where discrimination prevails is in employment and the upgrading of employees. A nation-wide effort in training is called for to offset the devastating effects of long-term segregated school systems. As members of minority races are trained, jobs for which they are capable should be made available on all levels. In no case should there be different levels of compensation for the different races when persons with the same qualifications are engaged in the same work.

F. Public Accommodations

The issue of discrimination in public accommodations has been dramatized by the "sit-in movements" of recent years. Any business or institution open to the public is obligated to serve all the public.

Let no person refuse services to customers or applicants because of race.

Where community patterns of rejection are encountered in such public facilities as restaurants, hotels, motels, hospitals and recreational areas, Christians should use all their influence to change those patterns.

G. Social Change

Christians are committed to the principle of positive outgoing Christian love as the method of effecting social change. We, therefore, urge the use of persuasion, negotiation, concilation and reasonable patience as the preferred method.

Extensive gains have recently been made in community transformation from the direct action of religiously motivated Negroes with minimum participation of white Christians. The desirable goal is for communities to take corrective action voluntarily. When community officials fail, however, to take steps voluntarily it becomes necessary for citizens to call attention to the grievances. In communities where the political, business or religious leadership has shown a willingness to engage in bi-racial talks looking toward the correction of grievances, public demonstrations have proved unnecessary. White Christians have not participated in direct action demonstrations in any large number during the present summer, however, many have become involved.

Each Christian must carefully examine his commitment to see if he does not now feel called to become personally involved in such witness.

While it is widely stated that "outsiders" inflame local situations, let the Church be the first to attest that in the fellowship of Jesus Christ and in the unity of the human family there is no "outside." Any man's deprivation is every man's concern. If the body of Christ is wounded at any point, all members of that body feel the hurt. The rights of American citizens are the proper concern of every American citizen.

III. COMMITMENT TO INVOLVEMENT

We call on every Methodist to rediscover a unique sense of joy in living in these days. The tensions of our times are the result of the stirrings of the Kingdom of God for which we pray in Our Lord's Prayer. As self-confessed followers of the Christ whose most redemptive act came out of the tensions in the streets of his city and from his death on a cross, let us now search our lives for the markings of that cross on our hearts.

We are called by Our Lord, who in His coming to earth identified himself with our agony and need, to identify ourselves with the agony and need of all men. We rejoice to bear the name of the One who bore in his body the sufferings of others. Let us now take into our own bodies the experiences and feel the rejections of our brothers.

Thus we shall come to a new kinship with Christ which will release us into joy.

-25 ff.: Need a topical summary of significant actions (+ statements) by denominational bodies....
-x: all the strong action re on housing, employment, investment, etc.

pp. 38 ff.: Spike 35 comments

THE CHURCH AND RACE: A REPORT ON THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN RACE RELATIONS

-38f.: Put stuff on NCC Commission on Rel. & Race ahead of chronological stuff.

I. NEW SOCIAL CONCERN OF AMERICAN RELIGION

-Need a ¶ at end of Part I explaining organization of the essay

Rel-Soc 1963

During 1963 the church, through its national leaders, has moved in the area of race relations with a swiftness and decisiveness it has not displayed for more than a century. In joining Negro Americans in their struggle for equal rights, the church is not attempting to assume leadership of the movement; it only wishes to serve and to aid. This service and aid has included taking part in the now famous "March on Washington" of August 28, 1963 as well as participation in other nonviolent demonstrations (e.g., 36 clergymen, including the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, chief executive officer of the United Presbyterian Church, were among the 283 persons arrested during an attempt to integrate an all-white amusement park just outside Baltimore on July 4, 1963.). In addition, interfaith committees have been formed in at least 40 cities, and small groups of leading clergymen are prepared to go to areas of racial unrest and disturbance.

are at work in

A number of religious bodies have formed activist groups both within and without the organizational structure of the church for a concerted attack on racial discrimination. Much of the groundwork for the current activism was laid last January at the National Conference on Religion and Race held in Chicago. Representatives of the major religious faiths agreed that the church had played a too timid role in resolving racial problems and set up a committee to assist organized religion in transforming into action the ideas and plans discussed during the conference. The new program of active participation of the clergy in demonstrations protesting racial segregation heralds a new and impressive determination by church leaders to "do something." How much effect this active intervention is going to have cannot yet be predicted ~~measured~~. If it spreads to the average church and church member throughout the nation so that there is both community and national support of civil rights programs and legislation, it is bound to have great impact. If it means only participation ~~and support~~ by national offices and support by denominational boards of the announced objectives by most denominations in eliminating barriers in employment, housing, education, voting, and public facilities, the influence

Mention some of the speakers

⊙ from p. 2

★ p. 43: crucial recommendation

will not be very so effective. This summer and fall ~~may~~ be a decisive period in American history, religious and secular.

So far, enthusiasm for personal involvement in the direct action movement is mainly (though not entirely) confined to national religious bodies and northern churches and clergy. It is recognized that this commitment of the church may cause some internal agony and strife, but many religious leaders believe it may inspire a spiritual rebirth within the church. It may, also, be an aid in reducing violence and bringing about reconciliation in strife-torn communities.

OMIT

This new awareness of the church's responsibility in race relations was very evident in the Chicago Conference on Race and Religion. There seemed to be a realization that education in the faith of the church must include not only the instruction of members in the beliefs of the church, but what the church expects man to do. Education in principles of religious belief must also teach the application of these principles by the individual.

The "kneel-ins" by the Negro students (often accompanied by white ministerial students), which were the outgrowth and continuation of the Student Protest Movement begun in February 1960, have spotlighted the failure of many local churches to combat racial injustice. The applications of Negro students to church-related colleges have forced a reexamination of conscience by the religious groups which continue to maintain segregated facilities.

insert on p. 1

Especially in southern communities, religious groups can be helpful in reducing the racial friction which accompanies and follows demonstrations, demands for equal opportunities, and desegregation. A common religion is a bond which acts as a powerful reconciling force however few the numbers are, and cultural change through the influence of persons on persons is a process which does not lend itself to precise measurement, one which cannot be accurately described or analyzed.

An increased awareness of the role of religion in race relations--that of bringing to bear the moral and social strength of the church against racism--has been evident since the late fall of 1962. The Rev. Dr. George D. Kelsey, professor of Christian ethics at Drew University, declared that racism, which is a much more serious internal threat to the United States than communism, is also a religion and a natural foe of Christianity. He emphasized this point with a convinc-

ing theological insight:*

> Racism must be understood for what it is--a religion competing with the Christian faith. The racist affirmation of superiority is not, as is commonly supposed, merely a social theory. Rather, it is an affirmation of faith, a declaration concerning the nature of human being. The racist consciousness affirms the condemnation of one race and the creative destiny of another by Nature. This is a conviction concerning the nature of human being, concerning the givenness of human nature. ...
>
> According to Christian faith man is made in the image of God. Herein lies his dignity. The gift of the image is an act of pure grace. The dignity of man is accordingly bestowed. It is not an acquisition, nor is it a quality which he possesses. The glory of the image of God is only reflectively in man. Man finds his life as man only in so far as he lives by love, the Divine Word. The idea that man is created in the image of God means that he is created in, by, and for love. Man is being-in-relation. He is truly man and is truly free when he responds to God in obedient love.

Commenting editorially on Dr. Kelsey's definition of racism (Racism: The Nation's False Religion, February 6, 1963) the Christian Century warned:

> The tragedy for American Christianity is that whereas communism is recognized as a foe of Christian faith, racism is not. On the contrary, racism has its most virulent forms within the Christian church and among Christian people. In some quarters racism even receives blessings derived from distorted biblical study and twisted theology. This enemy, unrecognized or else dignified by corrupt codes of genteel morality, destroys the Christian faith from within. There is no way to escape, no way to conquer this enemy unless we see that racism is, as Kelsey puts it, "diametrically opposed to the insights of Christian faith."

Since 1954 every major religious body has issued statements on race. The statements have been direct, explicit, and unequivocal on one point: that enforced segregation is morally and spiritually wrong. These resolutions of the national boards and at national conferences (which most local churches have disregarded and many have publicly repudiated) served to affirm the opinions and beliefs of the majority of ministers--and also to salve their consciences. This is not to say that the resolutions had no influence. They have been useful as

* In a message issued for Race Relations Sunday, February 10, 1963, by the National Council of Churches. The Council includes 33 Protestant and orthodox denominations with about 40,000,000 members.

standards around which moderates could rally and as weapons with which the more social conscious could defend themselves.

In communities wrestling with the problems of social change, the statements or manifestos prepared and signed by white ministers have been more cautious and have dealt mainly with appeals to "law and order" and for "communication."

Same ¶

More recent statements by both local ministerial groups and ministers have stressed "freedom of the pulpit"; increasing numbers of courageous clergymen have dared to say publicly that the acknowledgment of the fatherhood of God must include the brotherhood of man.

Even in 1958 a few local ministerial groups issued statements which included the basic Judeo-Christian ethic*. Two examples are the statements of the Gainesville-Hall County (Ga.) Ministerial Association: "As Christians we must reflect the mind of Christ, not the attitudes and practices of the community...we are brothers by creation, by need and by redemption"; and that of the 300 Dallas ministers: "racial problems are moral and spiritual as well as political matters ...the only solution to this or any other problem of human relations lies in the application of the concept of Christian love in which we seek for others that which we desire for ourselves." But only in Mississippi, beginning soon after the Oxford riots last Fall, have statements by local groups of ministers said anything about the wrongfulness, sinfulness, or immorality of segregation while both public sentiment and the legal and political structure of the state have been aligned against desegregation.

What are the reasons for the church's past failure in race relations? Will D. Campbell, who served for seven years as director of the Southern office of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, in his book, Race and the Renewal of the Church, cited the following: the preoccupation with law and order, the emphasis on humanistic arguments for desegregation, the often uncritical reliance on sociological approaches, and the organizational

* "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." Matthew 22:37-40.

structure of American Protestantism. But he believes there is still (time for the church, if indeed it is still the church*, to find its life and be renewed. This is how Campbell answers arguments for a slower and more careful pace:

> The early church did not exist in utopia. Neither did it have the notion we seem to have today that if it could somehow change the society in which it existed into a sea of tolerance and brotherly love then it could truly be the church. It is dishonest and cowardly to assume that if we can make culture into what the church wishes it to be but isn't, the church can then be what it ought to be. The church will not regain its health when it is able to influence society to desegregate the many aspects of its life. Originally it was <u>because</u> of the brokenness, the misery of society, that the church could have any identification, any existence at all. We may be living in such a time.

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* For the purpose of this report we are defining the church visible as a group of people who have made a covenant with God and have, therefore, accepted certain dogmas, precepts, and ethics according to their denominational polity and practice; and the church spiritual(transcendent: that which is the essence) as the body of Christ, the mystical force which unites all true believers to make them one.

II. THE CHURCH'S VOICE AND VIEWS YESTERDAY

Good

> It is asking too much of the church as an institution to take any forthright stand on any issue, especially if it is controversial. The very nature of an ecclesiastical organization is such that it will never rise to the occasion when decisions are called for. ...The church follows, it does not lead. It can come along after a decision has been made by the community and hallow that decision and make it holy, but it cannot or will not make the decision and lead others to it.*

The majority of the manifestos issued in previous years by local Southern groups of ministers, usually on the eve of desegregation of the public schools after a court order, tend to support this evaluation of the role of the church: it has tended to reflect society rather than mold it.

On November 3, 1957, a statement dealing with the "keep the schools open" crisis in Atlanta and signed by 80 ministers, was released for publication. At this time statements by public officials and states' rights groups were solidly opposed to any desegregation. The six principles set forth in this statement as essential to a solution are summarized below:

1. Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved.
2. As Americans and as religious leaders, we have an obligation to obey the law.
3. The Public School System must not be destroyed.
4. Hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified.
5. Communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained.
6. Our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom but only through prayer and in obedience to the will of God.

On November 22, 1958 a second statement, signed by 312 ministers and rabbis representing 16 denominations, reaffirmed the six principles set forth in the first manifesto and added a proposal of three "practical steps."

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* From a report on "The Role of the Church in Desegregation Efforts in Atlanta," by the Rev. Samuel Williams, pastor of the Friendship Baptist Church and professor of philosophy and religion at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., to the Nashville Conference on The Ethical Demands of Integration, December 27-29, 1962. The conference was co-sponsored by the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and the Southern Regional Council.

1. We appeal to our churches and synagogues to encourage and promote within their fellowship a free and intelligent discussion of the issues we confront.
2. We appeal to our community and state leaders to give their most creative thought to maintaining a sound public school plan.
3. We request the appointment of a Citizens' Commission to preserve the harmony of our community.

The churches were only asked to promote discussion of the issues. Nowhere was it said that segregation was morally wrong and should, therefore, be ended. Instead, under Principle 2 the statement said:

> ...However, we believe that the Constitution of the United States in its provisions for human rights is in accord with Divine Law, and we must, therefore, learn to live with and under the law.
>
> We do not believe in the wisdom of massive integration and are sincerely opposed to the amalgamation of the races. We reaffirm our conviction that the integrity of each race should be maintained on a basis of mutual esteem and free choice, rather than of force. ...We believe it is possible, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, for States to take reasonable steps to comply with the law of the land and at the same time give due consideration to local situations and avoid an indiscriminate desegregation of the public schools.

by

There were two exceptions to the general attitude of the Atlanta churches: the Religious Society of Friends and the Unitarians, both interracial groups. The Friends, in particular, worked with groups of students, parents, and teachers before the Atlanta school desegregation.

Similar statements came from 60 members of the Richmond (Va.) Ministers Association; 31 Protestant ministers and two rabbis in Columbus (Ga.); 173 clergymen--Jewish, Protestant and Roman Catholic --in Houston (Texas); the Baptist Ministers Union of Chattanooga (Tenn.) 76 members of the Norfolk Ministers Association; and 300 clergymen in Dallas (Texas).

But even in 1958, with all the preoccupation about orderly school desegregation, there were some statements by local ministerial groups which did advocate Judeo-Christian principles. One, the Christian Guide to Race Relations, which was adopted April 28, 1958 by the Gainesville-Hall County (Ga.) Ministerial Association, declared that "as Christians we must reflect the mind of Christ, not the attitudes and practices of the community in which we live." Its principles are summarized below:

1. The Bible and science teach that God made of one blood all nations of men.

2. We are brothers by creation, by need, by redemption.
3. Men's rights, liberties, opportunities and privileges are guaranteed to them by their Creator and Redeemer as individial persons, rather than as members of a race or nation.
4. In His Kingdom there are no races, only two humanities: those of Adam, of the flesh, and those born of Christ, of the Spirit...we must live by the laws of His Kingdom.
5. The Christian's love causes him to identify himself with all men. For a tradition to block this self-identifying love is to violate God's compassion.

In Falls Church and Fairfax County (Va.) 48 ministers in the late summer of 1958 signed and circulated a statement which declared, in part: "Enforced segregation not only defies the basic law of the land but, more importantly, contradicts that very Gospel which we are called to preach. ...We state our conviction that enforced segregation in our schools on the basis of race is contrary to the will of God. We are opposed to all attempts to circumvent the law, including the use of church facilities as a substitute for the school system." This statement was issued during the most embarrassing period of church race relations in Virginia. A survey of clergymen (announced July 1958) in Charlottesville (Va.) disclosed that of 17 ministers polled, 11 said they would be opposed to the use of churches for private schools. Five ministers said they were sure their churches would be made available if needed. Various churches of the major denominations--Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal--had cooperated in the plan of using church buildings for private schools for white children only after the public school system had been closed by the segregationists. No provision for the education of Negro children was made.

Even the National Council of Churches did not speak very forcefully on race in 1958. On November 28 the Council urged churches to "express strong support for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision concerning school integration." It added: "The churches must begin with themselves. There is a great gulf between what they say on a national level and what they do or encourage or permit in many communities." The message for Race Relations Sunday, issued by the council's Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, was more emphatic and charged that Christians have too long accepted a "system riddled by prejudice and injustice." The message urged local churches to reexamine their attitudes and behavior in the light of the Christian gospel, opening membership in the church without regard to race.

Resolutions on Race: National

In 1958 most denominations passed resolutions dealing with race; a few brief examples are here given:

The first National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice:

> The desegregation of the nation's schools is not merely a legal question but it is also a deep moral issue.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.:

> All people have been created in the image of God and are to be treated as such...men are essentially one.

The Southern Baptist Convention:

> Urged Baptists to "help and not hinder the progress of justice for all peoples...strengthening fellowship with people of every race" and denounced social usages that "deny basic American freedoms" to any citizen.

The Episcopal Bishops:

> Called on Christian leadership to heal the nation's "urgent and frightening" racial divisions and to "obey the laws of this land and do all in their power to substitute reason for emotion in the solution of America's fierce racial tensions. They called on religious and civic leaders to reject "easy standards of local expediency" in matters of racial discrimination and urged them to provide a "creative and positive leadership so that all races may enjoy "without discrimination and without separation all opportunities" of church and civil life. Among these it included education, housing, employment, and public accommodations.
>
> A resolution passed by the House of Deputies shortly before the Bishop's resolution condemned "civil disobedience" and called upon all church members to "face seriously their obligation to conform to Federal and Supreme Court orders in regard to giving all students equal access to our public schools." It urged churchgoers to "cleanse themselves of all spirit of racial discrimination," and said that discrimination by reason of color or race between men had its root in "human sin."

The Roman Catholic Bishops:

> Appealed to "responsible and sober-minded Americans of all religious faiths, in all areas of our land," to "seize the mantle of leadership from the agitator and the racist." They took a firm moral stand against compulsory racial segregation and noted that "discrimination based on the accidental fact of race or color cannot be reconciled with the truth that God has created all men with equal rights and equal dignity."

The Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church:

> We earnestly urge all our people to accept the ruling of the courts in good faith...we commend our people who, while not

> always sharing the same attitude on integration, are determined to demonstrate in their own lives the qualities of understanding, tolerance and brotherhood."

Although the above statements stressed obedience to law, there was no recognition of the possibility of a compromise on moral grounds. All the eminent churchmen agreed that the stigma of inequality within the "family of the children of God" is morally intolerable. However, the statements carefully refrained from calling for an end to segregation in the church. As the religious leaders of the nation were issuing their pronouncements and resolutions for the enlightenment and guidance of their members, resistence to desegregation was increasing within the church all over the South. By 1959 many prosegregation groups had been formed to put pressure on the local minister and church. The Methodist Laymen's Union was organized in Birmingham, Ala. on March 19, 1959; the Association of Catholic Laymen of New Orleans had been organized in 1957; a Dallas Pastors' Segregation Committee was organized in May, 1958; "Concerned Churchmen," a prosegregation group of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina, was organized in August of 1958; and the Presbyterian Laymen for Sound Doctrine and Responsible Leadership was organized in Jackson, Miss., in October 1959 with chapters in Memphis, Tenn., and Sumter, S. C.

During this trying period, some individual ministers were taking courageous stands in their churches, and all over the South clergymen were taking leading roles in interracial groups working for integration. Many were officers or executives in councils on human relations. The main theme of the human relations groups during this period was also law and order, although many also urged members to live up to their religious convictions.

In his discussion of the preoccupation of the church with "law and order," Will Campbell* declared:

> Before 1954, most liberal churches and churchmen were not insistent upon a doctrinaire position of strict obedience to the law. Today the American churches argue that segregation must be abolished because it is illegal.
>
> ...Advising their people to desegregate because the law said to do so seemed less risky than taking a bold position based on the Christian doctrine of man, the Biblical imperative of justice, and the sovereignty of God.

Campbell noted that in 1960, after the sit-in movement, the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the

* Race and Renewal of the Church

National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and several other groups discarded the "let us obey the law" position and began advocating civil disobedience. He continued:

> ...we must say quite frankly that it appears that the churches have often used it [the appeal to law] to evade their deeper responsibility. It has been the easy way. But the church has not always appealed to law for the righteousness of its action.*

This slow awakening of church conscience contrasts sharply with the lethargy of most southern church-goers. There have been, of course, a few isolated instances of great courage, of forthright statements and actions by some adherents to all the faiths. But their very scarcity points up all the more forcefully how inneffective the faith of the church has been in its application to everyday living.

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* In South Carolina 180 years ago, Presbyterians had to build their little churches with an open fireplace. When the Angelican sheriff came along the worshippers could say that they were merely visiting a private dwelling.

Need a statement explaining why Ala. + Miss are the only ones covered in text rather than appendix. I also recommend inclusion of revised + shortened matl. in pp. 25-31 in main text. (Nat'l statement)

III. THE CHURCH'S VOICE AND VIEWS TODAY

What the church is saying in 1962-1963 about racism indicates a great change in attitude, a coming to grips with the racial problem. The growing spirit of brotherhood in all religious bodies, though uneven and even fragile, leads to a hope that the full weight of religious cooperation and influence may yet prove to be a decisive factor in changing the hearts and minds of people and accomplishing goals of interracial cooperation.

Alabama: Law-and-Order, and Brotherhood.

Although the 1962-1963 statements by Alabama ministerial groups seem to echo the 1958 refrain of "law and order," they do include slightly stronger pronouncements on freedom of speech, the responsibility of elected public officials, and the fatherhood of God. In Alabama the official state attitude is defiance of federal desegregation decrees. There has been little evidence of widespread public opposition to state policy. There is more and stronger organized opposition to change in Alabama than in any other state except Mississippi.

On October 9, 1962, the Huntsville Ministers' Association adopted a statement stating that "every human being is created in the image of God and is entitled to respect as a fellow human being with all basic rights, privileges and responsibilities; warning that "defiance is neither the answer nor the solution, nor are inflammatory and rebellious statements of the type...that will save us from violence, discord, and confusion; and urging all citizens to "abide in the meantime with a peaceful acceptance of the decisions of the same courts with regard to desegregation cases which we know inevitably will be made in Alabama." A similar statement was adopted on November 1, 1962, by 30 members of the Montgomery Baptist Pastors' Conference. They called on state officials to "maintain order" and urged Alabama leaders to "refrain from inflammatory statements and activities...designed to incite riots and mob action..."

Two month later, on January 17, 1963, eleven Alabama religious leaders jointly offered for public and, obviously, gubernatorial consideration, an opinion on the race situation. It clearly proclaimed opposition to earlier denunciatory statements in Alabama about courts, federal orders, and the defiant inaugural address by Governor George Wallace pledging that he would maintain segregation.

The conservative Birmingham News commented favorably on the statement in an editorial on January 20, 1963:

> Whether the individual citizen agrees with the clerics' state ment or not, it is the News' opinion that they say rightly that freedom of speech must be "preserved and exercised."
>
> There is a vast near-silence as to opinion not that reflected in the inaugural address.
>
> Is there no such opinion--other than that of a handfull?
>
> The ministers have added to the above the phrase, "...without fear of recrimination or harassment." Clergymen place a condition which should not be expected.
>
> There is ample freedom to speak. But he who speaks must anticipate, if he is saying the unpopular, recrimination, even harassment, That is the root cause of near-silence--few dare risk expressing a contrary point of view.
>
> Men of the cloth have spoken. Will anyone else? Silence indicates even to our own people that so vast is support for projected official policy that opposition is not to be expected.
>
> Some may plan to speak out--later. But as to this there is only uncertainty as deep as silence itself.

During the week-end of May 18-19, 1963, the Woman's Society of Christian Service and the Wesleyan Service Guild of the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church, representing some 24,000 churchwomen in North Alabama, issued a plea to keep Alabama schools open in the face of possible desegregation. They called for observance of law and order and urged the churchwomen to strive to create a climate of understanding and good will in the communities in which they live.

Bishop Nolan B. Harmon, the presiding bishop of the North Alabama Methodist Conference, on June 12, 1963, called attempts by Governor George Wallace to block entry of two Negro students at the University of Alabama "a moral mistake and in the long run a political blunder." Ministerial and lay delegates to the annual conference gave Bishop Harmon a standing ovation after he read a statement he said he felt "compelled to make." The bishop added that it is not the business of the church to direct the state, "but it is the business of the church to speak when state forces are so directed as to injure the God-given rights of any man." Governor Wallace is a Methodist layman.

Some statements were issued by the clergy which reflect the segregationist point of view. ~~An analysis of these, and of segregationist action in the church, will be found in Section VI, THE BLACK MUSLIMS AND THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT WING~~. ~~Some~~ Examples of such statements follow:

delete

May 13, 1963. The Birmingham Baptist Association's Executive Committee and the Birmingham Baptist Pastor's Conference called for "self-examination and prayer" by Birmingham area residents toward resolving the crisis facing the city. They "deplored illegal demonstrations and the use of children in them"; abhorred "acts of violence, bombings, and acts coolly calculated to provoke violence"; requested non-residents of Birmingham to leave to local men of good will the working out of differences"; and commended "the law enforcement officers of city, county and state, for their forebearance and self-control in carrying out their official duties."

June 2, 1963. Episcopal Bishop (George Miseley) Murray, Coajutor of Alabama, stated to The Living Church that the cause of the Birmingham demonstrations was a power struggle for leadership among the city's Negro community. He added that the "police and sheriff's forces have been exemplary in their conduct during these demonstrations and have been gentle but firm in the enforcement of the law. Only in the very last few days, under extreme provocation, in the face of wild demonstrations by thousands of marchers who refuse to turn back when lawfully ordered to do so, have the police needed to use fire hoses... and police dogs--on leashes--for their own protection."

June 6, 1963, Montgomery. Although it adopted a resolution asserting there is "no Scriptural warrant" for segregation, the Alabama-West Florida Methodist Conference elected three lay segregationists to represent them at the 1964 quadrennial Methodist General Conference. Among the delegates was Governor George Wallace of Alabama, an ardent segregationist.

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Mississippi: Freedom of the Pulpit. In Mississippi the attitudes and policies of public officials and the expressed opinions of the general public regarding desegregation have been even more adamant and defiant than in Alabama, and the frequency and degree of violence have been greater.

Considering the situation there, Mississippi clergymen have been commendably courageous in issuing forthright statements, singly and in groups, ever since the Oxford riots last fall. For nearly 2,000 years the wisdom of the Scripture has expounded this fundamental insight; that faith is the intangible by which man can surmount the adversity of this world by the power of his spirit. Perhaps it was because of the

turbulent political and social atmosphere that the Mississippi clergy realized, as did Sir Winston Churchill, "It is only in adversity that we discover we are nothing but spirits."

Each of the statements issued stresses "freedom of the pulpit," the acknowledged Protestant ethic that the minister when speaking from the pulpit is charged by God to speak the truth as he sees it, and as one through whom God may speak to his people. There is a danger that "freedom of the pulpit"--like "law and order" in 1958--may be for some ministers a substitute issue for the deeper issue of race. But for those who issued the above-mentioned statements it seems to be a parallel concern and a defense of their right to speak as they believe.

One of the few moderate newspapers in Mississippi, the Delta Democrat-Times in Greenville, stated in an editorial on January 6,1963:

> Throughout the dark days which have plagued Mississippi for so long, a group of men to whom many have turned for guidance have been --as a group -- sadly silent. The reasons for this silence by ministers of God have been legion, but the effect has been devastatingly specific. The field has been left to the professional haters and the mis-guided who would distort the brotherhood of man into the brotherhood of some men.
>
> The bloodshed and rioting which erupted at Oxford made many ministers painfully aware of their failure. Here and there individual clergymen, ever mindful of what has happened to other ministers who raised their lone voices of protest in the past, acknowledged their failures and the failure of the church to take the lead in solving our overwhelming race relations problem and called for new directions and new vigor from the pulpit.
>
> Perhaps it was because of their example, but they are no longer so lonely. Last week a group of 28 young Methodist ministers, Mississippi-born all, collectively called for an end to race hatred and closer attention to the gospel of Christ. They also took a firm stand against closing of the public schools for any reason.
>
> At the end of the week they had been joined by others in their church. Dr. J. P. Stafford, lay leader of the Methodist Mississippi Conference, called their statement "very worthwhile." In a meeting in Okalano, 23 more Methodist ministers "enthusiastically" supported the stand. Their position was all the more significant since they represented the North Mississippi Methodist Conference....
>
> The church did not survive because its early members feared being labelled non-conformists or suffering mental and physical harm. It is time for the church--and its members--to cast back to the strength which was the early Christians. There is a task to be done in Mississippi, and the young Methodist clergymen have shown the way.

The "Born of Conviction" statement, issued the first week in January, 1963, made the following points:

1. The church is the instrument of God's purpose. This is His church, and ours only as stewards under His Lordship. Effective practice of the stewardship for the ministry clearly requires freedom of the pulpit....

2. We affirm our faith in the official position of the Methodist Church on race: "Our Lord Jesus Christ teaches that all men are brothers. He permits no discrimination because of race, color, or creed. ...We believe that God is Father of all peoples and races, that Jesus Christ is His Son, that all men are brothers, and that man is of infinite worth as a child of God."

3. We affirm our belief that our public school system is the most effective means of providing common education for all our children...essential to the preservation and development of our true democracy. ...

The following Sunday, January 6, Dr. W. B. Selah, pastor of the largest Methodist church in Jackson, endorsed the statement and added one of his own:

> ...For 17 years I have preached the law of Christian love from the pulpit of Galloway Methodist Church. This law means that we must seek for all men, black and white, the same justice, the same rights, and the same opportunities that we seek for ourselves. Nothing less than this is Christian love. To discriminate against a man because of his color or his creed is contrary to the will of God. Forced segregation is wrong. We should voluntarily desegregate all public facilities. We should treat all men not on the basis of color but on the basis of conduct.
>
> In the light of Christian principle there can be no color bar in a Christian church. ...As Christians we cannot say to anyone, "you cannot come into the House of God." No conference, no preacher, no official board can put up a color bar in the church. That matter is determined by the nature of Christianity which is an inclusive fellowship of those who seek the Lord. ...When a person seeks membership in the church he is not asked about the color of his skin. He is asked about his faith in God as revealed in Christ. Salvation is not by color but by faith. There can be no color bar in a Christian institution.

August 18, 1963, Oxford, Miss. The Rev. Duncan Gray, Jr. rector of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, said ~~today~~ that the burden of guilt for racial injustice is "particularly heavy" upon his state. He continued, in his sermon at the Washington Cathedral:

> Racial injustice is not an easy thing for the average white Southerner to face. But he can never face it unless he hears both God's words from the Cross and His words of judgment. On the Cross, God would take His place beside the Southerner, share his predicament, take his sins and, consequently, give him strength to endure judgment. ...Let me alone! is often our most fervent prayer. We wish that love, duty,

righteousness and justice were simply our own to do with as we pleased without responsibility to man or to God. ...But the words of God stand over us and our society...they point out what we are and what we were intended to be.

January 4, 1963. Twenty-three of 29 ministers representing the North Mississippi Methodist Conference "enthusiastically voted" to back the "born of conviction" statement; the resolution was presented by District Superintendent W. L. Robinson. Dr. J. P. Stafford, lay leader of the Methodist Mississippi Conference, said, "Let's face it, brotherhood is as much a part of the teachings of Jesus Christ as salvation and faith."

June 15, 1963. The Most Reverend Richard O. Gerrow, Roman Catholic bishop of Mississippi, broke a 39-year silence on current issues to call the assination of Medgar Evers "a shocking and saddening ("than the death of one man" and called for positive steps toward recognizing occurrence more meaningful the legitimate grievances of the Negro population."

Georgia: Segregation Is Sinful, But....

Appendix A to end of section

The Presbyterian Church's Synod of Georgia on May 15-17, 1963, urged all its institutions to abandon racial segregation in a resolution amended (after heated discussion) so as to make it non-compulsory. Institutions include Agnes Scott College and Columbia Theological Seminary in Decatur, Ga.; Presbyterian College and Thornwell Orphanage in Clinton, S. C.; the Rabun Gap-Nacoochee Vocational School, Ga.; and two Presbyterian homes for the aged. Columbia Theological Seminary has been integrated for some years. A recommendation was approved to urge all presbyteries to send senior high fellowship councils to the Georgia-Florida leadership school in St. Petersburg; a Negro presbytery has not previously attended. The Synod asked that the Rock Eagle 4-H Camp at Eatonton be requested to make its facilities available for men's conferences on a non-discriminatory basis.

June 5, 1963. Passed almost unanimously a report on Christian social concern which urged Methodist to endorse the United Nations and requested approval of an earlier statement of principals on racial matters, condemning violence and discord, which it said "emphasized the need for both Negro and white to plan together for the future of our state," and noting that "desegregation [of public facilities] is not the dire calamity that some ... citizens have thought" nor a guarantee of friendship and neighborliness. Dr. Harry V. Richardson, president

of Interdenominational Theological Center and a vice president of the Georgia Council of Churches, was the first Negro to address the South Georgia Methodist Conference in recent times.

April 29, 1963. The Evangelical Ministerial Association of Augusta, Georgia, comprising clergymen from about 60 of 100 Augusta. Protestant churches, adopted a resolution supporting voluntary desegregation of the county schools, after five Negroes had petitioned, on March 14, the Richmond County Board of Education for voluntary desegregation. The resolution stated: "We believe that voluntary desegregation done in a Christian spirit is the most effective solution to this particular problem ...we commend both these groups, the Negroes and the board, for the manner in which they are approaching this matter and we urge that they continue in this spirit of understanding and cooperation in future negotiations.

June 15, 1963. A number of Atlanta (Ga.) religious leaders were asked to comment on the current racial crisis. According to Miss Jo Ann Crasford, Religious Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, the majority of churchmen and ministers interviewed felt the action of churches in any "moral crisis" lies not in the resolutions adopted by its hierarchy, but in the actions performed by its members.

June 20, 1963. The Rev. Louis F. Huckaby, chaplain at Crawford Long Hospital and chairman of the conference's Board of Christian Social Concerns, spoke after the report had been read to the conference:

> "I challenge you to be Christian. Our past stands haven't changed many minds, many lives, or many churches... Desegregation deserved the backing of the church in its pronouncements and leadership...The church should have led the way...We were more interested in maintaining the status quo than magnifying the universality of the gospel of Jesus Christ. We've placed a guard of stewards at the church door lest colored visitors come in." He defined integration as "something spiritual" that begins only when people learn to trust and love each other. The report and Dr. Huckaby's speech were adopted; he received a standing ovation.

July 1, 1963. In a joint statement issued by the Baptist Convention's Public Affairs Committee, the Christian Life Commission, and the administration committee of the Executive Committee, Georgia Baptist pastors and their congregations were urged "to continue to exercise their moral and spiritual influence for understanding and good will between the races." The committees issued the statement after

hearing a report from Dr. Searcy S. Garrison, Convention executive secretary-treasurer, on a recent White House Conference, called by President Kennedy to discuss some aspects of the current race problem.

July 11, 1963, Columbus. Three Negro church organizations -- Mt. Calvary District Sunday School and Baptist Training Congress, a 10,000-member group; the Columbus Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance; and the Adult Liaison Committee--expressed opposition to further demonstrations.

July 28, 1963. The Rev. Don McEvoy, director of the Atlanta chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, preaching at the First Christian Church in Decatur, declared:

> The time has come for churches in Atlanta to declare themselves "unequivocably" open to all. ...[the church] must rid itself of its involvement in this sinful separation of brethren. The time has come for every congregation in the Atlanta area to declare unequivocably that the church belongs to God and not to men, and thus must be open to all of God's children without restriction. ...Ministers have been silent on this issue, for the most part, because social customs have been more binding on us than the commands of Christ. We have been more concerned with avoiding controversy than we have with being Christian. The result has been that we have usually given our pastors a choice between an emasculation of their ministry or martyrdom. ...The white churches have been overly concerned with the possible loss of members and financial support if they gook a forthright stand. Better we should be concerned over the loss of the church's soul. Make no mistake about it. The whole future of the church is at stake in our response to this present crisis. Segregation is sin. To block human fellowship is to block fellowship with the Divine.... Either we face up to the Christian implications of human brotherhood or our whole church parroting of other New Testament doctrines is idle and meaningless chit-chat.

July 3, 1963. The bi-racial Greater Atlanta Methodist Ministers Alliance adopted a resolution praising city officials, the Chamber of Commerce, newspapers, and restaurant owners for "their stand in encouraging the desegregation of parks, swimming pools...and public facilities. The association is composed of about 300 pastors.

Arkansas.--April 18, 1963, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish representatives united in a Greater Little Rock (Ark.) Conference on Religion and Human Relations. More than 100 representatives of 40 churches and church organizations heard leaders of their denominations

call for an end to discrimination in education, economic opportunity, churches and housing. The leaders jointly referred to segregation as a "moral problem" and as "sin." In conclusion, the Rev. David A. Boileau, professor at St. John's (Catholic) Home Missions Seminary, suggested three areas for conference work:

> We must clean up our own house. We all run segregated facilities. We must ask ourselves if segregation or token integration is right and we must destroy segregation in our churches, schools, and societies. Each must examine his own conscience. And we must establish in our community the role of religion as a force in society. If we bring the force of religion to bear on segregation this will wipe it out.

Florida.--June 12, 1963, the Florida Synod of the United Presbyterian Church departed from its announced program to name a committee on race relations. The synod also considered a working pact with the Presbyterian Synod of Jamaica, island nation south of Cuba. Jamaica, with a preponderance of Negro population, sent several members of the Jamaica Synod to the conference for consultation.

Kentucky.--June 16-20, 1963, The Fourth Interracial Consultation on the Southern Church and Race Relations was held at the College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky. The group issued a "statement of concern" which concluded: "We...dedicate ourselves to work with all others to continue progress in eliminating racial discrimination in voting, public accommodations, education, employment, and housing."

May 17, 1963. The Rt. Rev. C. Gresham Marmion, Episcopal bishop of Kentucky, admonished the diocesan convention, "We dare not be a religious club, which is the way some of our churches operate. ...In our churches we should not just tolerate, but we should welcome people of all races..."

June 13, 1963. The Kentucky Methodist Conference called on its churches to "explore avenues leading to the invitation of all races to worship together." The following day it adopted a statement that said:

> We deplore the practice of racial segregation as unfair, illegal, and un-Christian. Regarding present social upheaval between the two races, we applaud all non-violent attempts to breakdown segregation barriers which now exist.

August 11, 1963. The Record, official weekly newspaper for the Roman Catholic archdiocese of Louisville, commented in an editorial

that the "overall Knights of Columbus record in the racial area is unbelievably bad." It said that knights and other Catholic organizations in the archdiocese should eliminate any segregation that exists in theory or practice, and should recruit Negro members. It quoted local Knights of Columbus officials as saying there were no Negro members in the Louisville archdiocese; no Negroes had asked for membership.

Louisiana.--February 1, 1963, at an Institute of Religion sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and held in Baton Rouge, La., Rabbi Charles Mainband, then of Hattiesburg, Miss., (now located in Longview, Texas), said that patience and determination were necessary virtues needed to overcome racial bigotry. "People are more inclined to lose their identity in a group on matters of controversy," he continued, "We are inclined to slough off both the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. ...In no area has democracy failed as it has in race relations."

March 5, 1963. Catholic Bishop Robert E. Tracy of Baton Rouge, La., speaking in Donaldsonville to white and Negro Catholics of the civil parishes of Iberville, Ascension, and St. James, declared, "There is no reason some Christians should discriminate against other Christians and segregate them. Talk is cheap, but what is not cheap is to live Christianity." The Bishop was reporting on the Ecumenical Council which he attended in Rome, and replying to a question from the floor.

August 5, 1963. Roman Catholics of north and central Louisiana were called upon by their Bishop, Charles P. Greco, Diocese of Alexandria, "to accept desegregation with understanding and restraint" and to help end "discrimination based merely on race, color, creed or national background." His pastoral letter was read in all churches and chapels of the diocese. (More than 85,000 Catholics, and which includes all civil parishes north of Rapids, Avoyelles and Vernon. There are 83 church parishes and more than 100 missions.)

North Carolina.--January 8, 1963, the Federated Ministerial Association of Almance County adopted the report of its Race Relations Committee which urged the association to: encourage equal job and educational opportunities, make the church itself an example to business and education by eliminating barriers based on race, and suggested joint meetings with Negro community leadership.

May 12 & 26, 1963. At all Episcopal churches in Raleigh (May 12) and in Greensboro (May 26) a letter from Bishop Richard H. Baker and

Coadjustor Thomas Fraser, Jr., expressing alarm and grief over racial unrest in North Carolina cities. The letter was read during morning services and urged church members to exercise the discipline of love and forgiveness and implored all those in authority:

> ...to act quickly in achieving a resolution of this tension which will grant to all men the equality and dignity given to them by God. We ask all people to support the merchants and institutions serving the people of this city when they strive to provide all men this equality and dignity. We ask all people to work, to pray, and to act courageously to end the strife with which we are beset and to help achieve in this city a harmony and brotherhood that God wills for all people.

Raleigh.--June 1963, the following excerpt of a statement issued by the Raleigh Ministerial Association's Human Relations Committee some two to three weeks after the more Christian and forthright statement issued May 13 by the Raleigh Merchants' Bureau and followed two days later by a full page ad with 1,000 signatures of white people supporting integration of public facilities:

> We urge that the City Council of Raleigh, the Mayor's Committee and the responsible leadership of the city continue to seek means of bringing about the immediate desegregation of restaurants, theatres, and hotels in the city. We personally pledge our support of any establishment that desegregates and will encourage other people to do the same.

June 1963. The North Carolina Methodist Conference, after spirited debate, adopted a resolution urging that racial barriers be lowered in community institutions and places of public accommodation. The resolution urged members of local churches to "voluntarily open the doors of their stores, motion picture houses, restaurants, churches, schools, and other facilities to all people of every race."

June 19, 1963. Two hundred and fifty ministers, priests, rabbis and laymen, "appealed to the conscience of North Carolinians" on the "whole issue of race relations" at a meeting of newly formed North Carolina Council on Religion and Race. The five-point statement of policy declared:

1) We believe that to discriminate against any individual because of race or religion is immoral...
2) Above any directive of man-made laws, or the economic expediency of the moment is the eternal moral law of God: each of us is his brother's keeper...
3) Peace between men is a vain dream until there is peace within the conscience of each individual...

4) It is not enough for the victories in human rights to be gained solely through legal and economic maneuvers; the voice of religion and churchmen must be heard...
5) Bigotry, hatred, violence and doctrines of racial superiority have no place in our religions traditions...

South Carolina.--January 19, 1963, 122 Columbia (S. C.) ministers representing 12 denominational groups, issued a statement giving their views on racial problems then facing South Carolina citizens. They confessed their failure to apply more fully the Christian principle of brotherhood in their personal lives and in the churches they served, and declared their conviction that racial problems and their solutions are basically moral and spiritual. They pledged support to public officials and other citizens supporting law and order.

June 13, 1963. Excerpts from a statement made by Bishop Paul Hardin, Jr., of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church:

> ...It is a source of personal concern and grief to me to see my beloved Southland and the Methodist Church torn by the race issue. My anguish is all the more acute when I realize that basically the main issue is not race but simple justice and personal dignity. It is as natural for a colored person to seek his place under the sun as it is for a white man to do so. In Christian calmness and diginity, let us work together in an effort to grant justice and opportunity to all people--not because of economic and political pressure, but because we believe that justice is the common property of all free men.

Tennessee.--Spring, 1963, the Cumberland Presbyterian Synod of West Tennessee adopted a report at its annual synod meeting urging ministers to "preach their true convictions concerning these social problems of our day, especially the recognition and acceptance of all races as children of God."

May 22, 1963. The Nashville (Tenn) Association of Churches unanimously adopted a resolution praising Mayor Beverly Briley's recent handling of racial disturbances in Nashville, and commending him for naming a Human Relations Committee to work on racial, cultural and religious problems in the community. The group "pledged its prayers and support in helping the committee resolve racial problems."

August 25, 1963. Bishop William L. Adrian of the Tennessee Diocese had his pastoral letter read in all Catholic masses. The letter urges Catholics make the effort to provide equal opportunity in areas of "employment, education, and public accommodations..."

August 26, 1963. Nashville, Tennessee, the head of the Roman

Catholic church in Tennessee urged church members to do away with racial discrimination by meeting with Negroes and talking "openly and calmly about our mutual hopes and problems."

Texas.--June 5, 1963, the Episcopal bishop of the Dallas, (Texas) Diocese Bishop C. Avery Mason, called for support of Bishop Lichtenberger's statement, saying, "It speaks for itself, and we will act accordingly. This, of course, has been our policy." The Dallas diocese has been quietly implementing the church's stand on integration for a number of years. The diocesan convention has long been integrated, also the diocese's Camp Crucis--which is used for summer retreats. In some Dallas neighborhoods, members of both races regularly attend churches. In 1962, the Department of Christian Social Relations conducted a number of inter-racial conversations among clergy and laymen in the area.

June 29, 1963. An Editorial in The Baptist Standard, by the editor, Dr. E. S. James, ~~Mr. James~~ said that the Southern Baptists "were ashamed to acknowledge the truth to ourselves that we, the second largest religious group in the nation, have done so little to secure justice and equality for all men." He added that he was ashamed because President Kennedy had to remind ministers of their moral duties.

Virginia.--June 5, 1963, the Presbyterian Synod of Virginia advocated that church and secular leaders lead in ending racial segregation. The statement said further,

> We believe...the time has come for the state, the South, and the nation to move quickly to settle the racial question...

The Synod set plans to call on its various institutions to report at next year's meeting on the progress they have made on the stand "that enforced segregation of the races...is out of harmony" with the church.

June 13, 1963. The Virginia Methodist Conference issued a recommendation for racial integration of all prep schools and colleges it supports in the state, to be put into effect not later than the 1964-65 academic year. Approved by a majority of three-to-one, a conference spokesman said the new policy was not mandatory but merely a strong recommendation.

Week of July 13, 1963. The Norfolk (Va.) Presbytery announced "a deep and urgent concern over the relation of the races and especially

as this affects and challenges the Christian church." The adopted statement continued:

> Enforced segregation of the races is discrimination which is out of harmony with Christian theology and ethics; and the church, in its relationship to cultural patterns, should lead and not follow.
>
> We call upon the sessions and congregations of Norfolk Presbytery to engage in serious and prayerful study of racial relations and social justice, especially as it bears upon the seating of worshippers and admission of believers as to the membership of our church regardless of race.

August 24, 1963. The Virginia Conference of the Evangelical United Brethren Church condemned the State of Virginia for its "subterfuge in establishing the tuition grant as a device for closing the schools in Prince Edward County." The adopted report continued:

> ...we recommend careful consideration of the educational problems in said county and if possible the giving of financial and moral support to establishing and maintaining of schools to educate the children of both Negro and white. ...we deplore the denial of any citizen of equal access to tax-supported public institutions or facilities; the denial of any citizen the right to equal participation in voting; we commend those who have hired Negroes and individuals and groups who take steps to eliminate racial discrimination in housing, education, employment, and the use of public facilities. We believe human rights must always take priority over property rights.

Statements of National Church Organizations.--May, 1962, the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church called on its members to study the principles and goals stated in "A Charter of Racial Policies," and for the speedy ratification and commitment to work for implementation within jurisdiction, conference, district and local woman's society. The Charter included the following: to eliminate in the church all forms of segregation based on race, to create opportunities for inclusive fellowship and membership in local churches, and to work toward changing community patterns of racial segregation in education, housing, voting, employment and public facilities.

October 1962. At the annual assembly of the International Convention of Christian Churches, a total of $6,353 was presented to the United Nations. Among the numerous resolutions passed were several dealing with race. The delegates expressed "concern to the officials

of the state of Mississippi" and appealed to their "sense of decency and respect for law, order and principles of Christianity and fair play." The resolution deplored the "defiance of the federal court orders by the officials of the state of Mississippi regarding the entrance of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi" and encouraged the Justice Department in its efforts to secure compliance. Other resolutions urged church agencies to work for more speedy integration, and asked the denomination's schools to hasten integration of student bodies, faculties, and staffs.

May 9, 1963. The strongly worded resolution that urged the Southern Baptist Convention, the previous day, to express concern for Negro demonstrators jailed in Birmingham, Alabama turned up for vote so toned down it was almost unrecognizable as the same resolution. In its new form it made no mention of either Negroes or Birmingham, but simply "the problems involved in our social adjustments today." These must be solved in a Christian context, it said, and it pledged to help all "who do not enjoy freedom." The resolution passed without debate despite the loud applause accorded the original motion when it was presented by the Rev. Robert E. Seymour of Chapel Hill, N. C. He had asked that Baptist be petitioned to "pray for us who are in prison out here" and urged to end discrimination in their communities.

May 22, 1963. The United Presbyterian General Assembly approved a church constitution revision requiring local congregation to make "certain membership is not refused because of color, origin or wordly condition." This action is subject to ratification by local Presbyteries in the 3,500,00 membership. The assembly also petitioned President Kennedy to call a White House Conference on civil rights as soon as feasible to hasten the day when "color or national origin" will be irrelevant to rights of citizenship, and suggested that church boards, agencies and local units examine their contracts for goods and services to make sure funds are not used to support racially discriminatory or segregated institutions.

May 26, 1963. The presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A., Arthur Lichtenberger, issued a statement calling attention to the recent action of the Diocese of Washington which directed all diocesan-related institutions to eliminate any discriminatory practices within six months. The diocese further requested the Bishop and Executive Council to take steps necessary to disassociate

such diocesan and parish-related institutions from moral of financial support if these practices were not eliminated in the specified time. The bishop's statement included the following points: to demonstrate by specific actions by identification of the church with those who are victims of oppression; to support and strengthen racial protests, financially and personally; to eliminate all discrimination in church and church-related institutions.

June 6, 1963. The 270-member general board of the National Council of Churches adopted a statement calling upon the church "to confess her sin of omission and delay and to move forward to witness to her essential belief that every child of God is a brother to every other." The Council pledged that its leaders would "engage personally in negotiations, demonstrations, and other direct action." It urged all affiliated communions and invited members of all faiths to join in support of civil rights legislation and to witness that the racial crisis is a "national moral issue and not a regional problem." The Council announced the formation of a Commission on Religion and Race to coordinate the action program. (See Action Section)

June 17, 1963. Dr. Fredrik A. Schiotz, president of the American Lutheran Church, sent a memorandum to the pastors making the following suggestions: 1) let your people know where you stand, 2) be sure that your own congregation does not withhold the hand of welcome from a Negro guest or applicant for membership, 3) Encourage your people to write to their senators and congressmen, 4) Encourage lay leaders to participate in community consultations, bringing together white and Negro leaders for conversation and peaceful action. The pastors were reminded of the resolution adopted by the Church Council in February, 1963, which included: "Should a congregation not practice the proclamation of the Gospel of our Lord without limitation to nationality or race and not admit to membership in the Congregation Lutherans who may wish to transfer into the congregation or not admit people to membership classes who may wish to be instructed, the district president shall report this violation of church practice to the Executive Committee of the District and to the Church Council."

June 18, 1963. The Central Conference of American Rabbis pledged "unequivocal support" to Negroes today in their battle for equal rights and opportunities. The 400 members of the Reform group called for an "all-out effort" by the 1,000,000 members of Reform Judaism's 650

congregations to press for strong civil rights legislation by Congress. Warning that "a filibuster to prevent passage" of such legislation would "pose a threat to our survival as a democracy," the Rabbis voiced dismay at the "senseless and often brutal delays" in extending "full civil rights for Negro citizens."

June 22, 1963. A resolution asking the General Conference of The Methodist Church for swift integration of the church at all levels was passed by 375 missionaries, about half on furlough after foreign assignment. Most pledged to work actively for desegregation while here, giving lectures and joining picket lines.

June 24, 1963. At a youth forum of about 150 delegates from 37 states, sponsored by the United Church of Christ, the Rev. Archie Hargraves, field secretary of the division of church extension, urged white people to join the fight against segregation in what he described as a worldwide revolution by "people of color." He warned that unless people face integration as a fundamental moral issue "the Negro people are prepared to say 'the hell with it' and smash the whole rotten fabric to pieces, taking upon themselves, before God, the reconstruction of a better world from the rules of the old one that is a lie and a mockery to God's purposes. ...The acid test is whether we in America can accept the proposition that a Negro may marry whomever he loves and loves him. The Christian church will either prove itself or destroy itself on the basis of its response to this proposition."

July 6, 1963. During this week the Lutheran Church in America appealed to its 6,200 congregations to eradicate all vestiges of racial segregation from their own church activities, and to join the fight for "justice in race relations" in American society by initiating and supporting race reconciliation efforts and backing legislation to assure equal opportunity for all in housing, education, employment, voting, and access to public facilities. The statement emphasized that Christians can no longer temporize with racial barriers because any form of segregation or discrimination "is in violation of God's will."

July 9, 1963. The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, at its annual institute, issued a statement which calls for alerting pastors to utilize their pulpits to give active support to

the President's civil rights legislative program; and for Christians to demonstrate their protest against unjust discrimination and degrading practices which would limit Negroes from reaching their maximum potential before God.

July 14, 1963. Cardinal Spellman's denunciation of racial discrimination was reiterated today in all the 402 parishes of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York. The Cardinal had made the attack on July 11 at the dedication of Drew Houses in Harlem. Excerpts of his address were read as the sermon in all churches. This is a very rare occurrence. ?

July 14, 1963. The president of the Lutheran Church in America, the Rev. Dr. Franklin Clark Fry (who is also president of the Lutheran World Federation and chairman of the central committee of the World Council of Churches) called on the 3,200,000 members to help end racial discrimination. He made the request in a pastoral letter to the 6,812 pastors, calling attention to the decision of the church's executive committee last month to take "action leading to justice in race relations." His letter continued, "The time has come to act. The doors must be open to all. Everyone who is eligible, by faith or scholastic attainments or need should be welcomed to full membership or enrollment as a student or admission as a patient or guest on equal basis with the people of the majority race." The church, he said, "is bound to seek souls [and] the obligation of Lutheran Christians [includes] civic affairs as well as purely church matters. ...Under God the time has come to act and to lead others by precept and example."

July 17, 1963. At a called meeting of the executive meeting of the House of Bishops, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. endorsed the Washington march and passed a resolution urging both laymen and ministers to join it. There were some quiet dissents from Southern Episcopalians, which received scattered applause and hisses.

July 25, 1963. A committee of the fourth World Conference on Faith and Order condemned racial discrimination and urged Christians to fight it "whatever the cost." The conference is sponsored by the World Council of Churches.

July 27, 1963. At an emergency meeting the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice adopted the following

recommendations:

1. Called for all Roman Catholics to support, as a moral imperative, the President's civil rights program, and to build grass roots support of it.
2. Urged Catholics to take part in other demonstrations and picket activities in cases where "sincere negotiations" fail to achieve equal opportunities for Negroes.

There are 57 local Catholic Interracial Councils, coordinated by the NCCIJ.

August 15, 1963. Two major institutions of American Reform Judaism called on lay and rabbinic leaders of the 650 Reform congregations not to deal with construction companies, banks, and other businesses that discriminate against Negroes. The appeal, also directed to more than 1,000,000 Reform worshippers, was made by the Commission on Social Action, joint body of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis (comprising 850 spiritual leaders). Stressing the need for concrete action at the grassroots level, the "Call to Racial Justice" included these recommendations:

1. Businessmen should institute and enforce nondiscriminatory employment and promotion policies, make efforts to introduce Negro employees into work forces, and provide training to upgrade jobs for Negro employees.
2. Members of labor, business and professional groups should take positive steps to encourage the introduction of Negroes into skilled trades and professions.
3. All members are to support and participate in efforts for racial integration in their own communities, neighborhoods and public schools.
4. Members should not patronize public places or businesses that discriminate against Negroes as either patrons or employees.
5. Members should not frequent private clubs that refuse membership on racial grounds.
6. Members should invest in financial institutions that make funds and services available on a non-discriminatory basis.
7. Members should give active support to the enactment of local, state, and Federal legislation and to forceful executive action on all levels of government.
8. Congregations should use integrated crews in construction of new houses of worship.

August 23, 1963. Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States in a pastoral letter said "The conscience of the nation is on trial" over racial discrimination, and urged, "we must act to remove obstacles that impede the rights and opportunities of our Negro brethren... We

should do our part to see that voting, jobs, housing, education, and public facilities are freely available to every American." The letter was read at all masses in many Catholic churches and chapels on Sunday, August 25. A National Conference Welfare spokesman said that Bishops were not required to have it read and that some, for various reasons, might ignore it.

August 30, 1963. The 1,100 delegates of the Methodist Conference on Human Relations, representing 10,000,000 Methodists, approved the following points in a statement to be submitted in a petition to the Methodist General Council:

1. Called for federal and state laws "that will open all facilities serving the general public to all persons without regard to race."
2. Urged church units to employ their economic power to aid integration.
3. Advocated that the 135 church-related colleges, including many in the South, and all Methodist hospitals and other institutions be opened to all races and proposed "that the name of the church and funds from its budget shall be withdrawn from any institution pursuing a policy contrary to this recommendation."

The 1963 statements of religious bodies speak for themselves. It now seems evident that the church is ready to attack discriminatory practices and racial injustice both within its own institutions and without. Paraphrasing the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,* the church, which has been "merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion" may indeed become, like the early Christian church, "a thermostat that transformed society."

The question is: how influential will these statements be on the individual church member?

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*Letter from a Birmingham Jail.

IV. ACTIONS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE CHURCH IN RACE RELATIONS

~~Beginning~~ With the July 4, 1963 demonstrations of clergymen at Gwynn Oak Park in Maryland, the first time a group of influential church leaders of the three major faiths had participated together in direct action protests against discrimination, the church began to move from the conference table and pulpit into the firing line of racial tension, applying the tactics of direct action to underscore its often-expressed statements condemning racial discrimination. July and August news items have noted: nuns walking picket lines in Chicago, clergy joining demonstrations in many northern cities, and the new Religion and Race Commissions leading the recruitment of 40,000 church-men to join the August 28 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. The NCC also set up a volunteer operation in New York City which prepared 80,000 lunches (sold for 50¢ from refrigerated trucks in Washington) for the marchers.

While it should be noted that clergymen individually or in small groups had previously participated in sit-ins, Freedom Rides, and prayer pilgrimages, (e.g., Albany 1962) to protest discrimination, the summer of 1963 marked the beginning of a nationally organized and nationally led religious compaign to eradicate racial inequality and intolerance in America.

Catholic, Jewish, and major Protestant faiths are now planning local demonstration campaigns on a nation-wide basis, with religious leaders actively participating.

Toward this end new interracial action groups have been formed in a number of Protestant denominations to plan programs and to co-ordinate efforts. The more recent ones are: The Commission on Religion and Race formed by the National Council of Churches (June 17), the Commission on Religion and Race named by the Unitarian Universalist Association (June 29); the American Baptist Convention's plan for Baptist Action for Racial Brotherhood (northern-June 24); and the United Church of Christ's Committee (July 6). All these committees have as their announced purpose the spear-heading of a planned allout attack on racial discrimination with more active participation by the clergy. The United Presbyterian Church's Commission on Religion and Race (May 19), will emphasize "creative action" with other faiths and removal of racial bars in Presbyterian congregations, institutions, and agencies. The Protestant Episcopal Church appointed an 18-member

Advisory Committee on Intergroup Relations (June 28), to assist the Christian Social Relations Department in program plans for legislation, direct action, and speeding up desegregation within the church.

Religious oriented action groups formed outside the organizational structure of the denomination include the new Presbyterian Interracial Council (June 16); and the older Catholic Interracial Council (after 25 years of local activity; organized nationally, 1960), the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America (1953), the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (1959), the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee Institute of Human Relations, and the congregational Christian's Race Relations Department (1952). In most of the above, membership is restricted to clergy and laymen of the denomination.

Interdenominational groups include the new Committee of Southern Chruchmen, and the oldest group of all, the Fellowship of the Concerned. Organized in 1949 in Atlanta, Georgia, to promote the spiritual approach to social issues, the Fellowship has been since its inception interfaith, interdenominational, and interracial. It is still active today.

In the past, the influence of the church in race relations had been somewhat limited. All three of the major religious groups in the United States -- Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant -- had made some progress in improving race relations. But until quite recently the agencies of the church had represented a small percentage of church leaders and laymen. All agreed that too many local congregations were apathetic and skilled workers in race relations too few. There was an expressed fear among some leaders in church affairs that initiative had passed beyond the control of religious men.

The Christian Century, in an editorial of October 10, 1962, "The Agony of the Church," discussed the contradiction between the American dream and American deed and said it resulted in a split national personality. The editorial continued:

> A much more tormenting struggle is now taking place within the soul of the white Christian church. What is merely a dilemma for the nation is an agony for the church. This is so because in the church the principles of human dignity and equality are accepted not merely as humanitarian ideals to strive for but as divine imperatives which God commands his children to obey. Yet it is in the white church that these commands, so far as the Negro is concerned, are most flagrantly disobeyed. ...

The unwillingness of the church to lay upon its conscience the nation's primary domestic problem or to tolerate the ministers who do so is one measure of the church's shame. A deeper measure of infamy is its stubborn refusal to repent of its offense, on account of race, against the unity given it in Jesus Christ. It loves the cruel falsehood of racial exclusiveness more than it loves Christ. In its refusal to repent of the guilt of division within itself on account of race, in its perpetuation of differences caused solely by race, the church rejects the cross borne by its Lord. No wonder it prefers to hear pleasant ineptitudes instead of the gospel of Jesus Christ, sharper than a two-edged sword!...

The racial struggle would put a dilemma for the church even if she had no conscience about the equal rights of the Negro as a child of God. Even for the most rigid racist in her fellowship, the clash between truth and prejudice is at least an annoyance. But the dilemma turns into an agony in the hearts of Christians who have a conscience about the way the white church treats the Negro. They know that God has commanded us to love one another. They know that this command includes the Negro. They know that fulfillment of this command brings the Negro into the white church and vice versa. They know that you cannot love a person innately inferior. They know that they are disobedient, and they know that they stand guilty before God. It will be a tragic day for the Christian church if anything other than repentant obedience to the will of Jesus Christ takes away that agony.

The National Conference on Religion and Race.--What has been hailed by many religious leaders as a milestone in the development of religious involvement in race relations was the first National Conference on Religion and Race. It was held in Chicago last January, attended by some 800 religious leaders and race relations representatives, and convened by three religious bodies--the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Council of Churches, and the Synagogue Council of America. This is how Dennis Clark, Executive Secretary of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, described the aims of the conference in an article for Ave Maria: "It was a driving attempt to match religious courage to religious conscience. It was an effort to pit theism against racism in the mind of the nation." Mr. Clark continued.

It became clear that for the first time in this country there is a religious consensus about race relations that is achieving broad practical gains.

This is the first time this kind of consensus ever really moved in the land. In the early part of the last century there was a consensus among religions about race--a consensus of indifference. ...

> ...The moral and social strength represented at this conference could only be brought to bear in a country as big and diverse as ours. If all the constructive force represented at this meeting really rolls against racism, the old dragon will surely fall.

In the words of Mathew Ahmann,* who served as executive secretary of the conference, "the Conveners hoped and planned for a Conference which would concretely examine the role of religious institutions in race relations, and then move on to propose and inspire renewed action, and interreligious projects to increase the leadership of religion in ending racial discrimination in the United States."

But J. Irwin Miller, president of the National Council of Churches, warned that merely ending racial discrimination was not enough: "We can abolish every system and practice and custom and regulation which now offends...if we do not at the same time work with equal vigor and determination to eliminate the spirit which embraces and supports all of these, then we will find that little has been accomplished and that somehow all the new regulations and programs have become servants of the old spirit."

To this end, the workshops drew up recommendations for churches and synagogues to follow in launching specific projects at the local level. Here are some of the areas in which increased religious action was called for:

1. Total elimination of racial bars in church-related institutions and schools.
2. Diligent work under religious auspices to help Negro families find houses in restricted white neighborhoods.
3. Contract clauses in all religiously sponsored building projects that will demand nondiscrimination of contractors.
4. More backing for minority voter registration.
5. Interreligious task forces in the inner-city and suburban areas to work for housing improvement and freedom of residence.
6. A service corps to aid in rural reconstruction.
7. More religious representation with respect to urban planning decisions.
8. Steady church and synagogue policy to fill the vacuum in civic life by developing community organizations where none exist now.

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*Mr. Ahmann is the Executive Director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, and is the editor of <u>The New Negro</u> (1961).

9. Widespread home-visiting programs and other work to foster interracial association.

Among the roadblocks to progress noted by conference workers were these: the appalling apathy of local congregations, the need for persons skilled in promoting racial change, and the difficulty of getting religious groups to face up to the moral implications of racism.

An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People.--The Conference (which Dr. Kyle Haselden, editor of the Christian Century and author of The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective, declared "may prove to be epochal") concluded by issuing "An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People." The appeal denounced racism as "our most serious evil," called for "a renewed religious conscience on this basically moral evil," and urged the American people to seek: 1) "a reign of justice," 2) "a reign of love," 3) "a reign of courage," and 4) "a reign of prayer." "We call upon all the American people," the appeal concluded, "to work, to pray and to act courageously in the cause of human equality and dignity while there is still time, to eliminate racism permanently and decisively, to seize the historic opportunity...for healing an ancient rupture in the human family, to do this for the glory of God."

Follow-up Committees Formed.--Provision was made for a follow-up committee and, temporarily, for a continuing secretariat to put the resources of the conference at the disposal of local groups which want to transform words, ideas, and plans into action. But this is not the sole action the delegates had in mind; it is merely the means to such action. More than 40 interfaith local committees have been formed for regional action in target areas.

In his January 27 Report of the Committee on Follow-up, the Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley* (chairman) issued a statement which, in the light of recent developments, has proved to be an overly cautious estimate of the Conference's impact upon religious groups. Mr. Walmsley stated:

> Why did we hold this meeting? Surely few of us have any illusions that we can transform the churches into the forefront of the civil rights struggle. To congratulate ourselves for doing today what common sense and conscience say should have been done by religious institutions generations ago would be the height of hypocrisy or worse, a radical misreading of the movement of contemporary events, and the ways by which God transacts His will in history. ...

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*Executive Secretary of Christian Citizenship, National Council of Protestant Episcopal Church.

> Much has been made in the lectures of the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament. But the prophetic message is not only an exhortation to do justly and love mercy. It is clearly apparent that what God wills in our day is a massive transformation of human relations--internationally, interreligiously, interculturally, interracially. The prophetic message is that if the Israel of God--either the Old or the New--will not respond to his will, God will then choose new agents. Further, he will cast out a stiff-necked and rebellious people, driving them into a captivity in Babylon for their apostasy. The captivity into which we have been thrust is our near total irrevelance as a moral factor in contemporary society. ...

The real hope of the Conference lies in the degree to which we recognize that fact.

National Religious Action Against Racial Discrimination.--While religious leaders were facing the reality of the appalling gap between church pronouncements and church action regarding race, as revealed at the January Conference on Religion and Race, the civil rights crisis of the summer of 1963 burst into the eyes and ears of the nation, beginning with the Birmingham riots in early April. They were galvanized into action, and the formation of commissions on religion and race began. The programs of these commissions (listed below) typify the two-pronged effort, both within and without the church: within--to eliminate discrimination in the church and its institutions; without--to attack injustice in society by personal involvement in every phase of the struggle, including negotiations, sanctions, demonstrations, and legislative support.

> May 16--Some 250 commissioners of the United Presbyterian Church, USA, chartered a new organization called the Presbyterian Interracial Council--an independent group not officially related to or dependent upon the denomination. Its purpose is to press for direct action in areas of discrimination and segregation, and local and regional units will be established. Its first official act was to send to Birmingham a small group of volunteers prepared to demonstrate if local integration leaders desired their participation.

> May 20--The United Presbyterian Church USA, (northern) allocated 300,000 to fight racial discrimination among its 8,250,000 members. The more than 800 commissioners (delegates) voted that the fund will be administered by a new United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race composed of the "strongest Negro leadership" in the church and of the chief executives of the denomination's major boards and agencies. The commission will emphasize "creative action" with other faiths, emergency financial aid to churches and ministers penalized by strong stands for integration, recruitment of experts on race relations, and special training programs. The assembly instructed the new commission to report next year on racial restrictions in United Presbyterian congregations, institutions, and agencies to catalogue actions taken to support civil rights.

May 31--The top leadership of the Mormon Church was reported to be seriously considering the abandonment of its historic policy of discrimination against Negroes. This would, in effect, desegregate the three-level Mormon Heaven. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has a lay priesthood to which almost every male adult member belongs. Mormon theology teaches an afterlife with three stages of celestial bliss possible, admittance being governed by one's condition during life and progress in the priesthood. Since Negroes belong only to the first degree of membership, they are limited to the lowest degree of paradise. Women's places in paradise are determined by the achievement of their husbands. The church has also forbidden Negroes the right of marriage in a Mormon temple, and interracial marriage is also forbidden. On June 7, denial that priesthood membership might be opened to Negro Mormons was issued by Hugh B. Brown, second Counselor in the first presidency of the church. He said, "I was not quoted correctly. We are not considering that."

June 8--The Delaware Conference of the Methodist Church approved the transfer of eight of its Negro churches in the New York area to the predominantly white New York Conference. This is one step toward abolishing the all-Negro Central Jurisdiction, the Conference reported.

June 24--A Committee for Social Action was appointed by the Convention of the South, composed of 125,000 Negro church members in 11 Southern States from Virginia to Texas, the segregated Negro conference of the United Church of Christ. "The committee will work toward the achievement of social justice and the realignment of all conferences and associations along geographical rather than racial lines."

June 27--The Unitarian Universalist Association set up a 12-member Commission on Religion and Race.

June 28--The Protestant Episcopal Church appointed an 18-member Advisory Committee on Intergroup Relations to assist the Christian Social Relations Department in program plans for legislative, support, direct action, and speeding up desegregation within the church.

The Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of CHURCHES, with Dr. Robert Spike as the executive director, announced it will concentrate on three areas of action designed to put more force behind the Council's position against racial discrimination. The adopted program follows:

1. Legislation
   a. Mass services across nation during "one great hour of freedom" to focus attention on civil rights legislation (date to be announced).
   b. Mass demonstration in Washington if Congress fails to act on, or if Southern Senators filibuster against, proposed civil rights legislation.
2. Community Action and Demonstration
   a. Local ministers to set up 24-hour-a-day vigils in prisons to prevent "police brutality" against civil rights demonstrators under arrest.
   b. Establishment of interfaith groups in cities to check on desegregation of churches, housing, schools, and employment.

3. Desegregation in the Church

(a.) National governing bodies of member denominations to withhold financial aid for construction projects of individual congregations unless contractors guarantee against racial discrimination in hiring.

Omit

In addition, The Commission will develop a detailed program on how to open suburbs as peacefully as possible to families of minority groups. The two-point program will: 1) organize all church and synagogue groups in suburbs to enter into program of effective action; 2) set up working kit of materials to cover procedure.

July--Seven Catholic Sisters and Catholic Interracial Council members in Chicago joined Negro and white students in picketing Chicago's Illinois Club for Catholic Women in protest of the Club's policy of discrimination. Shortly after, the club issued a statement declaring all qualified women will be welcome without restriction.

July--In one of the first tri-faith stands on civil rights, the National Council of Churches, the Synagogue Council of America, and top Catholic officials drafted and presented to Congress a joint statement backing strong civil rights legislature.

July--The Methodist Episcopal Church will vote in 1964 on a plan to overhaul its organization to eliminate separate "jurisdictions" for its 10,000,000 white and Negro members. Approval of the plan is expected, although not without determined opposition from Southern Methodist.

July 4--The United Church of Christ (2,056,000 members) created a Committee on Race Relations and authorized $1,000.000 to expand and improve the church's work in race relations. Dr. S. Gary Oniki is the executive coordinator. Projects include: higher education; citizenship education for Negroes; payment of bail bonds, legal defense, and economic aid for persons arrested while demonstrating; housing and assistance to Negro tenant farmers; and humanitarian work for needy persons in urban areas. The church also voted to withdraw financial support from its segregated educational institutions, and to make loans for new construction contingent upon nondiscrimination in building work and a commitment to an interracial policy by the congregations.

July 10--Leaders of the American Baptist Convention (northern) drew up a plan of Baptist Action for Racial Brotherhood. It is designed to prick the conscience of the denomination's 1,500,000 members. The Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr., is head of the 15-member committee.

August--Three major Catholic dioceses (Washington, D. C.; Oklahoma City-Tulsa; Greensburg, Pa.) have banned the issuance of construction contracts to builders who violate fair employment practices. The Roman Catholic Church spends annually $2,000,000,000 on construction, more than any other U. S. institution other than the Federal Government.

Obviously, the church has decided that "the time is now" for action in the area of racial discrimination. Besides supplying manpower for demonstrations, the various religious commissions on religion and race are sending groups of churchmen to racially tense communities to urge

local church leaders to become more active.

In northern communities, the National Council of Churches is leading efforts to overcome discrimination in housing, education and employment, as well as in the churches. Local clergy and laymen are asking residents of communities to sign petitions supporting equal housing opportunities for Negroes; residents are being asked to agree not to move out if Negroes move into their neighborhoods. In Chicago, priests and ministers circulated among a crowd of belligerant, rock-throwing whites in an attempt to calm then when a Negro family moved into a formerly all-white section. Several clergy stayed overnight with the family.

Large white churches are being urged not only to integrate their congregations but to hire Negroes as assistant ministers. Many church-operated hospitals, orphanages, and homes for the aged reject Negroes; some of the major religious denominations have warned that funds will be cut off unless there is desegregation within the year. Church staffs are urged to recruit Negroes for replacements as openings occur. Sunday School materials are being revised and rewritten. Seminaries are planning to have representatives visit Negro colleges to recruit Negro candidates for the ministry. Interracial home visits are being promoted to destroy racial sterotypes. Religion and race committees also plan programs to reduce school dropouts and to train the illiterat They urge strong church support for civil rights legislation.

Church leaders know that these new and forceful programs for civil rights and human dignity will disturb many and alienate some of the membership. They acknowledge that it can and may result in loss of financial support from some churches and church members and bring about dissention within the local churches. But church leadership believes that the racial upheaval may prove to be of genuine spiritual value to the church, forcing it to cast aside irrelevant issues and preoccupation with "success" as measured by yearly increases in membership and revenue. They hope the church will become again the agent of God ~~to~~ and will remove the stigma of racial discrimination from the nation.

The power of the church to influence the minds and hearts of the American people was made clear by New York Times correspondent James Reston in his column of August 30. In discussing what might happen as a result of the now famous August 28 "March on Washington," Reston wrote:

... the first significant test...will come in the country this weekend. It is no good waiting for a political reaction in Congress, for if there is no moral reaction out in the country, there will be no effective political reaction here /Washington/. ...Congressmen...want to be re-elected, and all of them know the political power of the church...If the preachers said what they really thought about this racial crisis and even half of those who heard and believed them wrote their honest convictions...to Capitol Hill, the political balance on racial equality might easily be transformed. ...For while the politicians here are not saying much about the march, they are listening. And if such a mammoth demonstration, dramatizing the basic religious concept of equality, does not get an impressive response even from the churches, Congress could easily conclude that the nation was indifferent or worse.

Response of Local Southern Churches and Congregations to National Anti-discrimination Edicts.--How much of this new spirit of religious renewal and sudden and impressive determination by United States church leaders to do something, rather than just say something, about the evil of segregation is evident in the Southern Church? Are local congregations and ministers facing up to what has been defined as the most crucial issue in the life of both church and society: race?

Certainly the majority of Christian churches in the South continue to constitute the single greatest obstacle to even the simple matter of church attendance by Negroes. Some have even made bouncers of their ushers who have closed or physically barred the church door. In a few instances, Negroes have been bodily carried out of the church even as the minister was proclaiming the compassion and love of Christ and asserting that this is for all people. Undoubtedly, this action on the part of the Christian church has caused bewilderment and chagrin to many church members; great embarrassment to foreign missionaries; and guilt, anger, and frustration to those responsible for decisions to bar the doors of the church to Negro Christians. The attempts to restrict church attendance as if the House of God were a private club makes preposterous the position of missionaries and clashes violently with the basic premise of Christianity: that it is for all mankind.

It has apparently been easier for local clergy and ministerial associations to issue manifestos on the desirability of alleivating racial tension by opening to all persons the schools, lunch-counters and restaurants, theatres, and hotels than the doors of their own churches. Businessmen may well have reflected that if the churches had practiced an "open door" policy, community transition from segregation to desegregation would be easier for them.

There have been, of course, some notable and magnificent exceptions. Those local churches, ministers, and ministerial associations which have assumed leadership and responsibility in desegregation efforts in their communities could, in 1962, almost be counted on the fingers of both hands. In 1963 the examples are multiplying and spreading--not, perhaps, as quickly and in as great numbers as could be hoped--but increasingly nonetheless. Unfortunately, there also continue to be examples of evasion or repudiation by the local Southern church of national anti-discrimination edicts. A state-by-state breakdown of examples of church action in the South - action both positive and negative - can be found in the appendix to this study.

V. THE NEGRO CHURCH AND THE NON-VIOLENT MOVEMENT.

The failure of the organized church in race relations is made painfully apparent by the fact that there still is today a "Negro Church wing," a wing which not only has separate churches and ministers, but also separate conferences, theological schools, and ministerial associations. The steps that have been taken toward integrating the church have been slow and hesitant indeed. At present, more than 11,000,000 Negroes, half the entire Negro population of the United States, remain in segregated churches. Some 10,000,000 belong to the separate all-Negro Protestant conferences of the Baptist and Methodist churches. About 25,000 belong to the all-Negro 11-state convention of the United Church of Christ. About 500,000 belong to predominantly Protestant bodies, although chiefly in all-Negro congregations, and about 500,000 are Roman Catholics. At the national level, in most denominations and in interdenominational bodies, Negroes have considerable representation. But the pattern rarely is reflected on the local scene--North and South.

Thus, it is hardly surprising that the relationship between the Negro churches and the non-violent Negro revolt is virtually that of blood kinsmen. More of the leaders of the revolt come from the ranks of the clergy than from any other source, and the New Testament provides a very large portion of the ideological legitimation for the movement. Yet the life and teachings of Gandhi are probably more important than those of Jesus in the philosophy of non-violent direct action.

Maybe, but this is a moot pt., & if it remains in the study it will cause a lot of resentment in many quarters. Why not say that Thoreau, Tolstoi & Gandhi, as well as JX, are important prophets in the Movement?

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., acknowledged "moral leader" of the protest movement, has explained his own reconciliation of these two philosophies (which may seem to some persons in spiritual conflict) in his latest book:*

> ...I was introduced to the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. As I read his works I became deeply fascinated by his campaigns of non-violent resistance. The whole Gandhian concept of satyagraha (satya is truth which equals love and graha is force: satyagraha thus means truth-force or love-force) was profoundly significant to me. As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi,... I came to see for the first time that the Christian doctrine of love, operating through Gandhian method of non-violence, is one of the most potent weapons available to an oppressed people in their struggle for freedom...

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*Strength to Love, "Pilgrimage to Non-violence."

The traditional religious influence of the church in the life of the Negro American has always been strong, and, largely because of this influence, the Negro churches have been the headquarters and assembly points for civil rights action groups. Mass meetings and training sessions have been religiously oriented, with much stress on prayer, returning love for hate, and only non-violent resistance to harassment and economic reprisal. The nation is indebted to the Negro church for exerting such a strong and sustained influence upon its members. It is because of their genuine religious fervor, their deep faith in God and in Christ, that the non-violent concept has been so widely accepted and practiced. With few exceptions the movement has remained non-violent and its participants have been able to return patience for persecution, a rigid self-control for harassment, and sometimes even love for hate.

In local situations it has been the Negro ministers who have rallied community support for social reform by preaching about moral as well as civil rights and the necessity to say, in word and deed, to the white community, "we will no longer accept discrimination; the time has come to act."

A year ago the Rev. Andrew J. Young, director of the Citizenship Education Program for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the United Church of Christ, declared:*

> If Negroes have no more to hope for than equality with the white man, then they might as well give up. Negro writers... are saying now, "who wants to integrate a sinking ship?" We tell our people...we are not working for the freedom to sin as the white man have sinned, that life must hold more for us than a gray flannel suit and split-level families taking Metrecal. ...If men are created in His /God's/ image and thrown into a harsh and often brutal arena of history, their lives are shaped in his presence and they are accepted as they are and offered the challenge of loving obedience. ...We become fellow heirs with Christ, breaking down the dividing wall of hostility between man and man and man and God, and sharing literally in the fulfillment of creation. ...
>
> This, I think, is the basis of Christian citizenship training in our society now. The non-violent movements are becoming schools for the new American, because here people learn that

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*The Report of the Fourth Interracial Consultation on the Southern Church and Race Relations, College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky., July 16-20, 1962, "The Church and Citizenship Education of the Negro in the South," pp. 68-80.

life is not basically good. They know the evil of men and yet they learn also that life involves the necessity of suffering for what is right. They can have no illusions about the way in which the world actually exists. This is not a suffering that is imposed upon them; it is a creative and voluntary suffering. ...We are coming to have more understanding of the nature and purpose of God as a result of living in his world and working to break down some of the barriers of hostility that exist. ...

We see in a sense a new reformation that is coming into being in the Negro church. Sunday morning is perhaps no longer the hour in which the real church meets. The social community of those like-minded, the intimate fellowship, meets on Sunday morning at 11:00 o'clock, but the real church that comes together to take upon itself the responsibility of changing the world meets on Monday night. It is an interdenominational fellowship. ...This is the company of the committed that is gathering to hear their missionary orders. ...But these are the people of God in our time, we think.

But while the Negro church has played a major role in the Negro revolt and while that revolt may in turn be bringing about the "new reformation" described by the Reverend Young, it should be noted that more than half of the young Negroes in the non-violent action groups consider themselves non-Christians, non-believers in the traditional meaning of religion. Nevertheless, the precepts they cherish and the principles they attempt to practice are tap roots of the Christian faith--brotherhood, humility, hope, and charity. Gayraud S. Wilmore, assistant professor of Social Ethics at Pittsburgh Theological Seminary has given the following description of such non-believers:*

There is, however, an authentic secularism, singularly unpopular in religious America these days. It is critical of the church not so much because of what the church professes as because of its retreat from the struggle for freedom and justice, its fear of the truth whenever the truth does not correspond to its creed, its loss of the sense of the beauty and the terror of natural life. There are secularist who speak disparagingly of the church because they know very well what the Lordship of Christ means, but find themselves unable to accept the relationship between this Christ and the bland, middle-class Christianity which the church represents to them. Usually unaware , although sometimes quite consciously, they propagate the gospel and demonstrate its relevance in the idiom of the arts, the sciences, in the field of politics and human relations. They often mis-understand and distort the meaning of the faith, but despite themselves, some of these people are caught up in and used by the action of God for reconciliation.

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* The Secular Relevance of the Church, pp. 25-26. Westminister Press. Mr. Wilmore is also general editor of the series, Christian Perspectives on Social Problems.

> One is sometimes struck with the amazing congruence between this secular understanding of the human situation, their passion for human freedom and justice, and that of prophetic Christianity.

Perhaps the Negro protest movement will not only force Americans to live up to their Constitution and Bill of Rights, but also force the church to become truly the church.

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VI. THE BLACK MUSLIMS AND THE RELIGIOUS RADICAL RIGHT WING

Although its goals are obviously social, the Black Muslim movement is a religious movement and its appeal to Negroes stems from the current social unrest and distrust of the dominant white majority. Despite its neurotic extremism, the organization's commitment to high standards of personal and group morality are commendable. Dr. C. Eric Lincoln,* who has studied the Muslim movement in considerable depth, had this to say about the "Muslim Mythology" in a recent New South article:**

> The Black Muslims are bitterly anti-Christian, for Christianity is held to be the white man's most pernicious scheme for enslaving the non-white people of the world, while the white propagators of that religion relax in luxury and ease wherever they have found believing dupes. ...
>
> In Muslim mythology, Black Man--"the Original Man," was created by Allah, the one true God. The white man, however, is a "made thing," a beast, a synthetic man called into being by Yakub, the evil principle which is everywhere in opposition to peace, justice and equality. ...
>
> Since the white man is the son of the devil, the white man himself is a devil by nature and is incapable of doing good. Ultimately, the blue-eyed devils must be destroyed. Such is the will of Allah.

Many observers believe that the Black Muslim movement has been able to make gains in membership, particularly in the ghettos of the large cities in the North, because of the failure of the white moderate and of the "power structure" of the nation to listen to and accommodate the reasonable and just requests of the Negro leaders.

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*Professor of Philosophy, Clark University, Atlanta, Ga., and author of The Black Muslims in America, Beacon Press, 1961.

**"Extremist Attitudes in the Black Muslim Movement," New South, January, 1963.

A lucid and penetrating description of the appeal of Black Muslimism to Negroes was made by James Baldwin in his best - selling book, The Fire Next Time:

> Power was the subject of the speech I heard. We were offered, as Nation of Islam doctrine, historical and divine proof that all white people are cursed and are devils, and are about to be brought down. ...The white man's rule will be ended forever in ten or fifteen years (and it must be conceded that all present signs would seem to bear witness to the accuracy of the prophet's statement). ...Very little time was spent on theology, for one did not need to prove to a Harlem audience that all white men were devils. They were merely glad to have, at least, divine corroboration of their experience, to hear--and it was a tremendous thing to hear--that they had been lied to all these generations, and that their captivity was ending, for God was black. ...And now, suddenly, people who have never before been able to hear this message hear it and believe it, and are changed. Elijah Muhammad has been able to do what generations of welfare workers and committees and resolutions and reports and housing projects and playgrounds have failed to do: to heal and redeem drunkards and junkies, to convert people who have come out of prison and keep them out, to make men chaste and women virtuous, and to invest both the male and the female with a pride and serenity that hang about them like an unfailing light. He has done all these things, which our Christian church has spectacularly failed to do. ...
>
> "I've come," said Elijah, "to give you something which can never be taken away from you," ...This is the message that has spread through streets and tenements and prisons, through the narcotics wards, and past the filth and sadism of mental hospitals to a people from whom everything has been taken away, including, most crucially, *their sense of their own worth*.** People cannot live without this sense; they will do anything whatever to regain it. ...
>
> *God is Black*.** All black men belong to Islam; they have been chosen. And Islam shall rule the world. The dream, the sentiment is old; *only the color is new*. And it is this dream, this sweet possibility, that thousands of oppressed black men and women in this country now carry away with them after the Muslim minister has spoken, through the dark, noisome ghetto streets, into the hovels where so many have perished. *The white God has not delivered them; perhaps the black God will*.**

If the god of the Black Muslims is black, the god of the white fundamentalist religious groups currently associated with the radical right is lily white. Like the Muslims, however, white religious extremists preach a gospel of hate and fear. And they too have their devils, a host of Satans ranging from Khrushchev to Kennedy, from the

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**Italics are mine.

National Council of Churches to the United Nations. Their literature, a literature that takes on the status of Holy Writ for many southern churchmen and church groups bitterly opposed to desegregation, depicts a nation besieged from without and betrayed from within by a vast "Communist conspiracy."

Among the leaders of the rightist religious groups, Billy James Hargis of the Christian Crusade and Fred C. Schwarz of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade are perhaps the best known. Others are: Verne Kaub of the American Council of Christian Laymen (who has sometimes been called the Dean of the American Right Wing); Carl McIntyre of Christian Beacon; Harvey Springer of Western Voice; James Fifield of the Freedom Clubs and the televised Lighted Window; Bob Shuler of The Methodist Challenge; Edgar C. Bundy of the Church League's News and Views; C. O. Staksklev of Truth and Liberty; John L. Rice of Sword of the Lord; William D. Herrstrom of Bible News Flashes; W. C. and Sarah Moore of Herald of His Coming; Max A. X. Clark of National Christian Journal; Howard E. Kershner of Christian Economics; Russell and Ann Ackley of Portions in Due Season; F. Henry Sattler of The Malist; Joseph Matt of The Wanderer; Stormy Jordon of the ironical postcards.

Elwyn A. Smith, writing in the November 14, 1962 issue of Christian Century, warned that "Billy James Hargis, for example, contends that he preaches the gospel of Christ, the 'greatest anti-communist power in the world today'--and he delivers a message of love and hatred a alike that make mincemeat of faith and reason alike."

Mr. Smith continued:

> The churches have not yet proved capable of convincing their members, much less the American people, that the Christian gospel is altogether incompatible with preachments of hate. ...The blend of hard political right with religious revivalism is a familiar American formula by which a moralistic minority lays bare the sin which, if eradicated by the children of righteousness, is sure--so goes the claim--to purge the guilt of the nation.
>
> ...One wonders whether people like Billy James Hargis and Fred Schwarz will not compromise fundamentalism so seriously that in large regions of the country it will no longer be recognizable as religion. When this /right-wing revivalism/ fever has passed, fundamentialism's weakened sense of divine love may well have been wholly supplanted by anti-communism's gospel of fear.

United Press International Correspondent, Louis Cassels reported in a story this spring that "right-wing pressures which threatened

to disrupt American churches have waned during the past year. But the radical right is still causing trouble for churches in some communities. And even in areas where its influence has declined sharply, church leaders are wary of a possible resurgence." The following observations are based on a nation-wide survey conducted by the National Council of Churches and reported by Mr. Cassels:

> Of the 96 state and local councils responding to the survey, 52 reported a decrease in such attacks. Fifteen others said they had never experienced any serious trouble. Fifteen councils said things are about the same, and 14 felt there has been some increase in rightist pressure during the past year.
>
> Many of the respondents said that rightist groups are trying as hard as ever to stir up distrust of the clergy and the National Council of Churches, but church members are not listening to the attacks as critically as they once did. (Denver, Colo.; Long Beach, Calif.; Wichita Falls, Tex.; Spokane, Wash.)

Reports indicating "little change" came from Miami, Florida, Atlanta, Georgia, and Oklahoma.

The Christian Crusade has recently fallen on hard times. At the 1963 Annual Convention, August 4, the Rev. Billy James Hargis complained to the 500 delegates from 33 states that income for the first seven months of this year had been only $396,000 as compared to $470,000 for the same period last year. A total of $18,000 was collected at the conference (six persons contributing $1,000 each). Hargis also complained that the crusade was losing members to the fast-growing John Birch Society. The Christian Crusade was a fundamentalist religion movement when Hargis started it in Sapulpa, Oklahoma, 17 years ago. In recent years he has shifted its emphasis to "awakening America" to the internal threat of communism. He indicated that more emphasis may be placed on religion in the future and announced the formation of a youth affiliate crusade, the Torch Bearers, and said there would be chapters on 76 campuses this September. (Two-week seminars this summer trained 116 youths as leaders for "patriotism and Christianity.) The monthly magazine and the programs on radio stations in 55 cities will continue.

The coming election year may well intensify activities of all these groups, particularly in areas where there are right-wing candidates for public office. Baptists Hargis and Robert Welch (founder and head of the John Birch Society) have avowed white supremacists in their

organizations, and there are distinct racist overtones in their attacks on civil rights legislation. As for religion, Welch contends that there are about 7,000 ministers in the United States who are communist sympathizers.

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VII. THE CHURCH MARCHES WHERE?

In analyzing and assessing the role of the church in American life, religious leaders generally agree that its principal failures have been these:

- The church follows rather than leads.--"...the forces of religion must lead rather than follow in this battle to build a society and a world in which the dignity of every human being is jealously guarded..." Dr. Julius Mark, president of the Synagogue Councils of America.*

- Religion is not relevant to life today; no religion in America can Practice its convictions and preach racism.--"Careful and responsible thinkers refer to racism as the core of many of our problems today. What we do about it is the ultimate test of our vaunted democratic way of life, /and we must/ ...remove the last vestiges of injustice, legal inequality, and discrimination from our committees, parishes, schools, and other institutions." Cardinal Albert Meyer, Pontifical Commission for Bibical Studies for the Second Vatican Council.*

- Clergymen lack the courage of their convictions, and are susceptible to pressure from church members.--"By negligence and silence we have all become accessories before the God of mercy to the injustice committee against the Negroes in our nations." Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel, Jewish Theological Seminary.*

/We have a/"clear duty /to/ make clear to all our people the cancerous nature of this evil and its threat to our society if it be not eliminated." J. Irwin Miller, president, National Council of Churches.*

- Church members are apathetic or resistant to social change; religion is more widely professed than respected among us.--/In some parts of the nation/ "the conduct of the Christians is worse than the laws." Dr. Franklin M. Littel, Chicago Theological Seminary.*

"It is not enough merely to publicize a social doctrine. It has to be translated into action." Pope John XXIII, in his encyclical letter, Mater et Magistra."

The Church Follows Rather than Leads.--Why has the church hesitated in becoming involved in the social conflict of our time? The

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*Speaking at the Religion and Race meeting in Chicago, January 1963.

social activist is moving into a whole new phase of life; the church, until recently, has been the tail end of the movement. Only after the Negro students began the sit-in movement (February, 1961) did the church begin to change its emphasis from "law and order" to a real confrontation with the moral and ethical implications of segregation. The kneel-ins brought this issue into the pews and altars of the churches. No longer was it possible to evade facing, and taking a stand on, the responsibility of the church toward segregation.

The church was not always such a laggard, and the men of God most remembered and revered through the ages were those involved in the great moral issues of their time. Jesus was crucified because he would not cease to express his convictions of faith. John Wesley, when preaching the word of God to the miners in England, learned that their poverty had to be taken into consideration and their general condition improved before religion could be meaningful to them.

Will Campbell writes in his book, Race and the Renewal of the Church:

> Christendom came very close to gaining the whole world. It is now, or so say its critics, dangerously close to losing its own soul. In no area more crucial to the future of the church is this more true than in the area of race relations. ...
>
> In Africa and Asia the leadership is found today in the tidal wave of nationalism sweeping those two continents and carrying their peoples toward political and economic independence. In America, the most promising and exciting developments in human relations are taking place, not in the churches, but in government.
>
> The church might have influenced these developments by being true to its own nature. It might have determined their success or failure, but it failed to act. It waited until government took the initiative to rescue human rights. And today when the church acts in the human relations field, it follows government or political authority. It imitates the action of the state or it confirms such action with a pious benediction. Moreover, when it has acted, the church has been too often an echo of the cry for law and order, democracy, the rights of man, human dignity, constitutional process, the public schools.
>
> These things are good, but are they the most basic, most distinctive, concern of the church? ...We have been asking the wrong questions. Instead of demanding, what can the Christian do to improve race relations? we should be asking, what must the Christian be? As the body of Christ, the church first of all must be the redeemed community. Then will it be empowered to redeem the world, and not before.

> The sin of the church is not that it has not reformed society, but that it has not realized self-renewal. Its sin is that it has not repented. Without repentance there cannot be renewal.

~~In the summer of 1963, as previously noted,~~ The church has begun taking an active role in the civil rights movement--Jewish rabbis, Catholic priests and nuns, and Protestant ministers (many of them national leaders) began walking picket lines, joining sit-ins demonstrations and marches, even going to jail. But again the church is following; it is supporting the Negro and interracial action groups, the secular liberals, and civil rights legislation.

The church has recently shown more determination to bring moral and economic pressure to bear on its own institutions--schools and colleges, hospitals, church building programs, and rental property--to eliminate any racial discrimination. There is some evidence that these stronger national policies are giving courage to local ministers and churches to take ~~coution~~ cautious first steps toward "open door" policies. However, in areas where this happened, it has usually followed desegregation of public accommodations after either demonstrations or negotiated settlements.

Religion is Not Relevant to Life Today.--There is a growing demand for a religion that is personal and is applied; that says what it means and means what it says. If the test of the Judeo-Christian religion is to love God and your neighbor, its practical application is exemplified by the Good Samaritan. The sick and the needy, the troubled and mourning are not to be found in the churches on Sunday morning. The people most in need of help seldom come to church; the church must go to them.

Today the racial problem is the most deeply disturbing dilemma of religious faith and conscience. Too many churches are operated like country clubs with programs totally unrelated to the lives of the people. Too many clergymen evade this troublesome issue and repeat cliches and prescriptions for peace of mind. Some use the cautious approach of telling the congregation, "the national board has recommended..." or else speak in vague generalities to avoid stepping on the toes of the conscience of any large contributor to the church budget. Perhaps the white Protestant church in particular needs Negro

ministers or African missionaries to break through their complacency and expose their hypocracy, fear, doubt, and the evasions and rationalizations of the vestries, the boards of deacons, and the building committees. Such a program might make of Christianity something a searching person could honestly accept.

In the slum areas of the inner city, the old patterns of churches and religion no longer work; to the ministers who tried to apply them, they seemed irrelevant. It became clear that unless the minister was concerned with their everyday life the people were not going to listen to him. The kinds of programs that have developed from this new attitude are dynamic and effective. Two examples follow:

> In one East Harlem parish, the store-front church evolved to include a counseling center, narcotics program to help drug addicts, medical clinic, remedial reading clinic, library, and recreation program for teen-agers.
>
> In another city, a minister organized a reform Democratic club for community improvement in a slum area. The club was successful in getting its candidate elected to the state assembly, another as state committeeman, and an appointee to serve in city administration Department of Buildings to represent the rights of the tenants of sub-standard housing.

But such examples are all too few and too seldom found. The splendor of the church is everywhere revealed along Fifth Avenue downtown; the service of the church is scarcely revealed at all to those in the ghettos of Fifth Avenue uptown.

The inconsistency of the church's mission boards sending money and missionaries to the African countries for generations, and then refusing to admit the mission-educated students to American church-related schools has been castigated by churchmen, journalists, and missionaries. Charging that U. S. missionaries too often "peddle pious piffle" instead of becoming involved in the life of the people to whom they are supposed to minister, the Rev. Harris Mobley, a Mercer alumnus, in a frank address to Mercer University students scored the actions of American missionaries who refuse "to get involved in the wounds of the African." He continued:

> African Christian leadership is "fed up with playing second fiddle to the missionaries. Our paternalism, cultural ignorance and disrespect for things African have all but finished us. ..." What the African people want "is human dignity and self-respect." The mission boards have not been getting "the best people for the jobs. Too often they attract mediocre characters who could not make it at home." Besides being unwilling to work with Africans "at the bottom," they are not able to work with those at the top...

" "Let's insist on a better reason for brotherhood than political expedience or economic feasibility...racial segregation is offensive to human dignity, to the Negro in particular, but most of all to God."

The real question is not "whether Negroes want to worship in our churches but if we want them to come. It is not will it hurt the cooperative program, local giving, even peace in the church, but will it hurt a greatly concerned God if we don't. Not what it will do to the building program, but to the building of the Kingdom of God. Our ultimate danger is not in losing members but in losing the very soul of the church."

Clergymen Lack the Courage of Their Convictions, and Are Susceptible to Pressure from Church Members

The dilemma of the Southern minister who believes that Christians and Christian churches should, as a matter of principle, be in the forefront of the forces working for racial tolerance and that any Christian should be admitted to the church has been well documented. Pressure from congregational leaders, ostracism and obstruction, threats of violence, petitions to remove the minister--these are all familiar patterns. The wonder is that as many clergymen as have been noted in the news have been willing to pay the price of this difficult decision.

Ralph McGill, in a May 19th 1963 column of the Atlanta Constitution, discussed the intolerant attitude of laymen which defeats and sometimes destroys a southern minister. The Atlanta columnist wrote:

"I want to tell you about churches and preachers," the letter said. "The churches belong to the members. The minister is just a guest, or, to be plain, a hired man. We, the members, decide to whom we will offer the job of filling our pulpit. When, and if, we want him to go we will vote to tell him so as we voted to ask him to come. All this talk about a minister taking the lead is just stuff. The members will decide what members to accept, and to whom doors will be opened and to whom closed. This is the truth of it, and all this talk about Christian 'duty' is meaningless. The Christian members of churches will decide. The preacher is just a hired man."

The writer was a woman. One could imagine her, cold-eyed and angry, but also icily-controlled, as she put down her dogma. She named her particular affiliation. It is that of an evangelical group that generously supports foreign missions, with emphasis on Africa and Latin America. That the writer represents a considerable body of thought is undenied by the almost weekly actions of ushers at some churches and the humiliations of ministers unable to have an open church door.

If the description of the "preacher" as "just a hired man," or hired guest, is a harsh one, let us face the fact that the record is an uncomfortable one in that it too often sustains the statement made. A church in Columbus, Ga., abruptly fired its hired man a few years ago for saying the race problem was a moral one. A pleased church member, a party to the firing, was quoted as saying, "Now we can get a preacher with the right sort

of religion." This will remain as the classic utterance of all time. It exactly fits the letter writer's description of things ...the hired man will be asked out if he doesn't do what the members order. More than a hundred ministers have been booted out of deep-South churches since 1954 and, quite obviously, more are on the way.

The number, however, likely will not be large, though the attitude of being ready and willing to fire the church hired man is more prevalent than is generally comprehended. It is by no means restricted to rural or city fundamentalist churches where God himself is hailed as the first and greatest segregationist. It is a fiercely nurtured state of mind at an undetermined number of rich and comfortable urban churches where, indeed, the "right sort of religion" is the first and great commandment.

The appendix to the "Action" section of this report lists both courageous actions by ministers and retaliation by church members. The probability is that many more ministers have left their churches under varying degrees of pressure without any publicity and with other reasons given for their departure from the community or state. The Rev. Dr. Albert McClellan of Nashville, Tenn., a Southern Baptist executive, says he knows definitely of only three pastors "forced out" of their pulpits recently over the race question. But he said "there could be many more,' and that he knew of several others who resigned voluntarily because they felt they couldn't preach forthrightly on the racial problem. In Mississippi, Methodist Bishop Marvin Franklin said "a little more than usual left last year." Since in the South the admission of Negroes to white churches or ministers advocating an "open door" policy is considered news, the reported number of forced departures is extremely low by percentage.

A recent nationwide survey of about 4,000 ministers by Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research showed that a third of them reported being criticized by members for preaching about controversial issues, such as race relations. About a third also are unhappy enough about the situation to want to leave their parishes, though they haven't done so, the study found.

Some denominations, including the United Church ofChrist, the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Lutheran Church have set up special funds to aid those who lose their pulpits over the issue. Union Theological Seminary sent a special letter to all alumni offering special two-week "study leaves" to those under heavy fire locally.

Church Members Are Apathetic or Resistant to Social Change; Religion Is More Widely Professed than Respected Among Us.

In religious circles this view is widely accepted; why is it true? Has the church for too long shown tacit agreement with the prevailing opinion that religion is just for Sundays in church and has nothing at all to do with the outside activities of church members from Monday through Saturday?

Should it be necessary to question whether the church's concern is limited to personal and private sin (as many southern churchmen do) since personal life is social life (unless one happens to be a recluse or a hermit)?

Clergy and laity alike are taking another look at the church--from within--and there is much discussion going on as to the methods of measuring church "success" or "effectiveness." Regularly attending comfortable, air-conditioned buildings to be mildly inspired by music, stained glass, and not-too-disturbing sermons does not demand real interest in or respect for the church. Neither do "togetherness" church suppers, picnics, and missionary teas.

Obviously, church policy can be bent and molded so as to conform more to personal preferences, to local "way of life." And the Christian faith has ofttimes been watered down so as to make it more palatable, more easily acceptable, more adjusted to human desires, needs, prides, and prejudices.

If members are to be challenged to live creatively "in the gap between the will of God, theologically understood, and the concrete human situation, pragmatically understood,"* the church and the minister must offer more.

The Negro church has offered more, and has been revitalized and transformed. Can the white church change? Would a "transfusion" of the energy and vitality of the Negro church (which most white churches are stubbornly resisting) aid the fragmented church to regain its wholeness?

Has the church failed to put across its conviction that prejudice is immoral? Has it stubbornly refused to crusade against racial discrimination and resolve its own differences over this issue? According to its own spokesmen, it has. What then, of the future? Can the

* by P. Lehmann, as quoted by David W. Barry, Executive Director, New York Mission Society, in a paper, "Guidelines for Evaluation of the Local Urban Church." 1963.

church regain its former position of respect, influence, and moral leadership? A few, at least, of its leaders and severest critics believe that it can.

"The strongest centers of resistance have been invaded and most of them have given ground," said Dr. Harry Richardson, president of the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta, to church leaders from throughout the nation on April 18, 1963. "If the present conditions continue, we can almost expect the disappearance of the race problem as we have known it within 40 years." Dr. Richardson made the following points:

- the church in the South in 40 years will be more worldly minded. It will be concerned with the welfare of human beings
- the church will be more interested in helping bring into the world a better life for people; it is up against movements that are determined to do that.
- the church must be led by a new kind of minister--men who have no other aim or interest than to serve for God's sake and His sake alone;
- today's ideals of success--a big salary, a big church, popularity, a role as communicator to millions--must pass. The church will have to be led by those who ask nothing other than to lose themselves in service to God and to their brother:

The late Pope John XXIII realized the church must free itself of old and irrelevant restrictions and divisions before it could reach out to a new concept of world brotherhood--a union of all creeds and races. He made a good beginning in the short time he had, and his vision of what the church could become, as enunciated in his magnificent encyclicals, inspired all religious leaders. His message on race (Pacem in Terris) in particular had worldwide influence and significance.

> It is true that nothing is easy, and we do not hide this fact from ourself. But with the help of God and with a sincere tribute of subjection to Him, true progress in brotherhood and peace is possible.

American churchmen today know only too well how difficult it is to attain "true progress in brotherhood" between Americans of different color and different creed. But, guided by Pope John's eloquence and by the example he set not just for Roman Catholics but for men of all faiths, they are also learning that the bonds between men far outnumber the barriers. And they may yet raise the church to new heights of greatness, to new horizons of glory.

APPENDIX

Recent Examples of Southern Church Action: Positive and Negative

ALABAMA, 1963 :

Birmingham, April 28--Groups of three or four Negroes visited 39 white churches. They were accepted at nine, where they were escorted inside and directed to pews. (This was after 26 days of demonstrations with more than 400 arrests.)

Gadsden, June 16-- Several downtown white churches accepted Negroes for services without incident.

Linden, June 13-- The Rev. Joe H. Patterson resigned, effective June 29, as pastor of the Linden Baptist Church when deacons in his congregation objected to his recommendation of an "open door" membership policy in the church. That night his home was stoned and a cross was burned on his lawn; his wife and three young children were there alone. Sentiment in the congregation changed in his favor, and he was asked to reconsider his resignation, but refused.

ARKANSAS, 1963:

August 2, 1963--In the past few months one Southern Baptist church has opened its doors to Negroes, the first in the state to do so.

Gillett, week of June 24--Rural Negro church bombed with dynamite.

FLORIDA, 1963:

Dade County, April 15--At the invitation of Bishop Coleman F. Carroll, 17 Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant religious leaders of Dade County met to lay the groundwork for a program of mutual cooperation in racial and other moral community problems.

Pensacola, Aug. 28, 1963--The Southern District of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod admitted a number of Negro churches to district membership along with new white congregations: total admitted, 27. There was no separate listing of the number of Negro churches.

GEORGIA, 1963:

Albany, June 19--A manifesto asking peaceful negotiation of differences was issued by 47 Negro ministers. They have had at least one meeting with white business leaders.

Seven youths who had led anti-desegregation demonstrations sought sanctuary in the Shiloh Baptist Church.

Albany, July--St. Mark's Episcopal Church has announced it is a "house of prayer for all people," and Negroes have attended services there. The rector, the Rev. H. W. Shipps, requested that "anyone who does not understand...please call so we can have a quiet discussion."

Albany, July 20--The Bnai Israel Temple turned away two (white) Jewish members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee who were accompanied by a small Negro boy. A temple member who observed the Friday night incident said an usher met the group and refused to let them in; they left quietly.

Athens, August 25--Two white churches admitted Negroes for the first time today; six Negroes attended the First Methodist Church and the First Baptist Church. There were no incidents.

Atlanta, January 22--A new organization, the Greater Atlanta Methodist Ministers Alliance, was formed at the annual joint meeting of the Greater Atlanta Methodist Ministers Association (white) and the Atlanta Methodist Ministers Alliance (Negro). The combined group will meet monthly. Formerly the Negro and white groups met jointly only at the annual meeting. About 200 white and 100 Negro ministers joined in forming the GAMMA.

Atlanta, Jan. 24--A resolution deploring racial barracades on two southwest Atlanta streets was adopted by the North Georgia Diocese of the Episcopal Church. Another resolution, urging all church-related institutions be required to make clear they "do not use race as a basis for admission...," was ruled out of order and not acted upon. The Bishop stated that the church's policy was quite clear and the resolution unneccessary.

Early in March it was announced that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s five year old son was rejected for admission to Lovett Episcopal Day School. The enrollment at Lovett includes about 40% non-Episcopalians, and about 30% are Jewish. On March 26, Cecil A. Alexander, Atlanta architect, submitted his resignation as trustee of Lovett in protest. On June 14 the board of trustees by unanimous vote denied applications of Negroes and instructed the headmaster not to accept any applications from Negroes. On July 3, Episcopal Bishop Claiborne of Atlanta withdrew any "implied or official" Episcopal Church support of Lovett School, and announced that the Episcopal priest serving as headmaster at Lovett had submitted his resignation. The headmaster, the Rev. James R. McDowell, has accepted the position of headmaster of (Episcopal) Sewanee Military Academy in Tennessee. The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity has announced plans to picket the school; the Bishop has given permission for religious services to be continued: chapel, weekly Communion Service, and religious instruction.

Atlanta, May 25--The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Atlanta received its first Negro priest; the Rev. William E. Calhoun was ordained at the Cathedral of Christ the King.

Atlanta, May 28--Two Negro student chaplain internes were accepted at Grady Hospital, to begin in June. Both are Baptist and will serve the spiritual needs of hospital patients.

Atlanta, June 30--The board of directors of the Presbyterian Survey, official publication of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., adopted a policy of supporting Atlanta restaurants which have desegregated. The Board of Women's Work had already done so.

Atlanta, July 7--St. Mark Methodist Church admitted a Negro visitor. All Episcopal, Lutheran, most Presbyterian, and some Methodist and Baptist churches have admitted Negro visitors for some time without incident. (See "Example of Church Ambivalance"at end of appendix for account of Atlanta First Baptist.)

Augusta, April 29--The Augusta Evangelical Ministers' Association recommended voluntary desegregation of local schools. In a statement to the Augusta Herald the ministers said, "we believe that voluntary desegregation done in the Christian spirit is the most effective solution..." The resolution asked that ministers "be invited to join the asssociation, regardless of color or race, in compliance with the provisions of our constitution."

Carrollton, June 27--The Rev. Donald H. Harrison asked members of St. Margaret's Episcopal Church to lend their support to his opposition to organization of a white citizens council. Mr. Harrison is also chaplain to Episcopal students at West Georgia College, desegregated Fall, 1963.

Decatur, July 28--A Christian Church minister preached "the time has come for every congregation in the Atlanta area to declare unequivocably that the church ...must be open to all God's children without restriction."

Macon, July 1--Mercer University (Baptist) and Wesleyan College (Methodist) were among the ten establishments signing contracts with the federal government to operate the businesses where their post office stations are situated on a non-discriminatory basis.

Macon, Sept. 6--At least three Negro students have been registered for classes at Mercer University. One student is from Ghana; the other two are local.

Savannah, June 24--Bishop Thomas J. McDonough announced that Catholic schools in the Diocese of Savannah will be integrated effective September 1, 1963. This policy applies to all grades of both elementary and high schools.

Savannah, July 13--Clergymen issued a statement calling for a "real and just solution" of the racial crisis and the "immediate resumption of negotiations." The ministers included the Episcopal, Catholic and Methodist bishops of the city; they also offered their services in reaching a settlement.

Savannah, July 14--Negroes sought to worship at several white Savannah churches; all were turned away without incident.

Savannah, July 17--The Protestant Ministerial Association issued a request that July 28 be a day of prayer (during efforts to negotiate racial problems).

Terrell and Lee Counties, July 3--Work of rebuilding three southwest Georgia Negro churches began on this date, nearly a year after the buildings were destroyed by incendiary fires.

KENTUCKY, 1963:

Evarts, June--Last summer the Evarts Congregational Christian Church (United Church of Christ) invited children and teachers from the Negro churches of the community to participate in the Daily Vacation Church School. The minister, the Rev. Carolyn Welch, reported that the program was successful and was, she thought, enriching not only to the church but to the community. The same program was followed this year, with even larger attendance and community participation.

October 1963--The Kentucky-Tennessee Conference of Congregational Christian Churches (white) and the Tennessee-Kentucky Conference of Congregational Christian Churches (Negro) will hold a joint annual meeting for the second time, looking toward eventually combining the two conferences. Committee work of the two groups has already been unified wherever possible.

LOUISIANA, 1963:

Baton Rouge, July 29--Desegregation of the 11th and 12th grades in four Roman Catholic high schools in East Baton Rouge Parish will begin in 1964.

Buras, July 6-16--Window panes were broken in the rectory of Our Lady of Good

LOUISIANA, continued:

Harbor Church. It was the second time the rectory had been fired on since nearby Our Lady of Good Harbor School was integrated last September. Last November 13, 26 window panes were shattered by birdshot. On August 27 Our Lady of Good Harbor School, operated by the Catholic Sisters of St. Francis, was closed after being damaged by a midnight explosion. The school had been scheduled to reopen, still desegregated, on September 3.

New Orleans, March 24--An article by John Carporon in the Washington Post stated that the color bar had been removed in all Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of New Orleans, with an estimated 200 Negro Catholic youngsters attending formerly all-white parochial schools. Catholic schools in the archdiocese were desegregated in policy in the fall of 1962, but few had Negro students.

Ponte A La Hache, June 27--A Roman Catholic priest, who charged a Belle Chasse man punched him in a disagreement over the cleric's conducting a biracial religious instruction class, asked and got a court dismissal of simple battery against the man.

Plaquemine, Aug. 25--Negroes attended services at two white Protestant churches today: 7 were admitted to the Northside Baptist Church (seated in a separate section) and 8 attended the Episcopal church. At the First Methodist and First Baptist churches groups of Negroes were turned away.

MISSISSIPPI, 1963:

At the height of the 1962 riots on the University of Mississippi campus, Episcopal priests went out into the face of death as a sort of two-man truth squad, talking to students, relieving them of knives, shovels, bottles, bricks and other more lethal weapons.

June 2--The clerical delegates of the Mississippi Methodist Conference voted 89-85 in a closed session to sever relations with the Rev. Ralph Edwin King, a white Methodist minister who was arrested as a racial demonstrator. He was refused permission, by the bishop, to question the decision or to speak to the assembly.

Clarksdale, Aug. 8--An interdenominational group of ministers from other parts of the country tried without success to call upon the city government, to urge a reconciliation of differences.

Jackson, May 24--Negro and white clergymen held, for the first time, a joint session to discuss the city's racial problem and"to seek peaceable amelioration of the Negro's just complaints." They agreed to devote their sermons the following Sunday, May 26, to this issue.

Jackson, May 29--A group of 12 leading white ministers, including five bishops and representing eight denominations, released a statement urging "communications" between the races. The statement continued, "we have met with responsible civic leaders and with representatives of two ministerial associations... our progress has been exceedingly limited."

Jackson, June 16--Four young Negro women attended St. Andrews Episcopal Church without incident. (This was the day following the funeral of Medgar Evers.) Negroes were refused admission at Central Presbyterian and First Christian churches. The previous Sunday (June 9) Negro visitors were turned away at two Methodist and two Baptist Churches. One of the Methodist churches was Galloway Memorial, and on June 10 the pastor, the Rev. W. B. Selah, resigned. The assistant pastor, the Rev. Jerry Furr (signer of the "Born of Conviction"

MISSIPPI, continued:

statement in January) said he would also resign. Others were the Capital Methodist and Calvary Baptist churches and the First Baptist Church (which said Negroes had attended in the past but were unwelcome now because of racial tension). Five Negroes attended Mass at St. Peters Roman Catholic Church, where Negroes have gone regularly for years. On June 30 three white churches refused to admit Negroes.

June 28--Of the 28 young white Methodist ministers who signed the January 1963 "Born of Conviction" statement proclaiming their belief in "freedom of the pulpit" and opposing racial discrimination in Mississippi, 12 have left the state and seven have moved to other churches within Mississippi under varying degrees of pressure and frustration. Nine still remain in their original churches. Those who left the state did so voluntarily; none was expelled from the Methodist Conference. All were targets for segregationist reaction within their churches and communities; a few suffered violence or threats of violence. Tires were slashed, rocks thrown at parsonages, a cross was burned by the Ku Klux Klan at at least two parsonages. Harassment by telephone was general. One minister's wife was dismissed from her teaching job; another minister lost his part-time teaching position. All, however, have had some loyal support from their congregations.

Tupelo, July--The ruling board of the First Methodist Church voted 40-4 to seat Negroes.

NORTH CAROLINA, 1963:

January 30-- The North Carolina Council of Churches, embracing 15 denominations, elected a Negro, Dr. Samuel E. Duncan, as vice president. The council also voted to hire a full-time worker in the area of social concerns and pledged funds to pay his salary. A resolution was adopted commending the governor for his Good Neighbor Council and encouraging "the employment of qualified people without regard to race."

June 17-23, 1962--The annual national conference of the Methodist Student Movement advocated the desegregation of swimming facilities at Lake Junaluska, the Methodist Southeastern jurisdiction summer assembly grounds in North Carolina. The students also voted to set up an interracial seminar in Mississippi or Alabama, at which Negro and white students will have the opportunity to confront the racial issue in the light of Christian ethics, and adopted a statement supporting Methodist participation in union discussions with other churches.

Ahoskie, July 22-28--Negro and white preachers jointly conducted week-long, nightly series of integrated services and meetings.

Charlotte, Summer 1963--An interfaith North Carolina Council on Religion and Race was formed.

Lexington, June--During this month the First Methodist Church admitted Negro worshippers.

Raleigh, May 12--As Negroes demonstrated here for the fifth straight day, the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church declined to deliver a sermon because of his "keen disappointment" in his congregation's apathy over Raleigh's racial troubles. Only two or three members of the congregation had heeded Dr. Albert Edwards' request to express themselves to local businessmen on the racial controversy. "If Christian people do not express themselves at a time like this," he said, "then who will?" The church has admitted Negro visitors in the past and ten were present on this Sunday.

NORTH CAROLINA, continued:

The Raleigh Ministerial Association voted 42-1 in favor of desegregating business facilities.

Only one church, Calvary Baptist, barred and locked the church door as ushers turned away 12 Negro college students during the mass attendance by Negroes of local churches. Later, the church voted (80% affirmative) in favor of admitting Negroes and 12 Shaw University students were seated on May 19. The same week, Longview Methodist Church joined the list of churches indicating all persons are welcome. The Rev. Worth B. Cotton, pastor, told the congregation "as Christian Church we cannot turn these people away."

Raleigh, May 15--The First Baptist Church rejected (367-147) the application for membership of Charles Earle, a Shaw University student from Jamaica. The Southern Baptist Convention has loaned Earle $375 to help finance his education. Earle is president of the Student Council and has been a leader of student demonstrations.

Raleigh, May 20--The West Raleigh Presbyterian Church endorsed, and offered "encouragement and cooperation," the resolution of the Raleigh Merchants Bureau calling for lowering of racial barriers in government and business.

Raleigh, June 13--Six Episcopal clergy (4 Negro and 2 white) were turned away when they attempted to eat at downtown S. & W. Cafeteria. The ministers were attending a church conference at St. Augustine's College in Raleigh. The group prayed, read the Bible, and left quietly. The cafeteria desegregated the following week.

Thomasville, July 18--A shot was fired into a Negro church during a rally.

OKLAHOMA, 1963:

Jan. 24--The Oklahoma Diocese of the Episcopal Church approved a resolution requesting all Episcopal schools in the state to announce in all bulletins or promotional material that no students shall be "barred because of race, creed, or color."

Oklahoma City, Aug. 24--The N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council staged the first kneel-in here when 20 pairs of Negro youths attended 20 churches; they were turned away from three.

Summer, 1963--Catholic Bishop Reed of Oklahoma City has inserted a non-discriminatory clause in church construction contracts.

Tulsa, August 2--The National Council of Churches local chapter joined with the N.A.A.C.P. recently to help collect 10,000 signatures to a petition asking city officials to wipe out segregation in all public places with a city ordinance backed by stiff fines. Speedy approval was predicted for the measure, which is also supported strongly by Catholic and Jewish leaders.

SOUTH CAROLINA, 1963:

Charleston, June 27--Catholic hospitals in Charleston and Columbia will accept Negro patients this fall; all services will be available to them, hospital officials said. But Negro doctors will not be permitted to practice in these hospitals.

SOUTH CAROLINA, continued:

Columbia, Oct. 28, 1962--The first break in hotel segregation was accomplished by the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The body rented an entire downtown motor hotel so that its two Liberian missionary bishops, who are African, would be housed with white bishops during the annual meeting. Since restaurants (except for chain-store lunch counters) were still segregated, the two bishops took their meals with other bishops at Trinity Church or at private homes.

March 28--the Rev. Charles Webster, director of Baptist student work at Clemson College, charged that he had been forced out of his church post because of his contacts with Clemston's only Negro student--Harvey B. Gantt.

Farmington, Jan. 13--The Trinity Episcopal Church at Farmington, whose congregation of about 140 families is white, chose as pastor a Negro, the Rev. Joseph A. Pelham, of Detroit and a member of the Michigan Episcopal Diocese staff. The Senior Warden said the Rev. Mr. Pelham was "head and shoulders" above more than a dozen other candidates and the parishioners have accepted him with "widespread enthusiasm."

Florence, Aug. 27--The Rev. L. B. Burgess, pastor of the Mt. Zion AME Church, said some 12 Negro ministers probably will accept the invitation of the all-white Florence Pastors' Conference to join them. A joint meeting is anticipated soon.

Sumter, July 19--This city, which has been without racial demonstrations for two years, witnessed prayer groups at city hall and the courthouse.

TENNESSEE, 1963:

Knoxville, Aug. 4--Three hospitals (Baptist, Presbyterian, and Catholic) announced their simultaneous desegregation during previous week.

Knoxville, May 5--A group of Catholic and Presbyterian ministers sponsored an "Operation Friendship" in Blount and Knox Counties. Participating were 650 persons from 24 churches and synagogues. At the National Conference on Religion a and Race last January, the Interracial Home Visit program was one of the official recommendations. Chicago's Friendship House provides a service of consultation in person or by mail, "how to do it" literature, summer study weekends featuring actual participation in a Visit, and analyses of various aspects of the technique. It has assisted religious and secular groups, interfaith committees, private and civic human relations agencies, and ordinary citizens wanting to help eliminate racial discrimination at the grass roots level.

Southern cities other than Washington, D. C. and Knoxville, Tenn. where Interracial Home Visits have been held in cooperation with Friendship House are: College Park, Md.; Covington and Louisville, Ky.; and several other cities where those conducting the visits are not making them public at present.

TEXAS, 1963:

The Texas Council of Churches completed a Race Relations Progress Study in the Spring of 1962. The church report of the study consisted of 15 mimeographed pages and was one of eight commission reports studied by the conference. It was based on questionnaires completed by 873 churches (out of 4,178 mailed) and replies from 76 interdenominational agencies. The findings were presented to the Study Conference on Race Relations Progress in Texas held at Perkins School of Theology April 24-26.

TEXAS, continued:

The report revealed that chances of belonging to a racially integrated church in Texas are best when the church is: 1) a large church, 2) with a middle-class constituency, 3) composed of those with professional or graduate level training, 4) in a downtown urban location, and 5) is a Presbyterian or an Episcopal church.

One third (two-thirds of those having over 1,200 members) of the churches replying to the questionnaire claimed some degree of desegregation, token in the large majority. The conference workgroup warned that token desegregation, like a successful vaccination, often seems to retard significant integration.

Other areas studied were schools, colleges, public facilities, recreation, employment, hotels-motels-restaurants, and housing. The conference program was of high quality, but small attendance seemed to reinforce the findings of the work groups that the churches are quite willing to let government take the lead in fighting discrimination.

June 5, 1963--The Texas Annual Conference of the Methodist Church heard a report from the board of Christian Social Concerns calling upon all church-related institutions to make their service and facilities available to people of all races, and urged that the Conferences of the Central Jurisdiction (Negro) be included in the organization. The conference approved the report, but a resolution calling for the conference to go on record as favoring desegregation in all Texas Methodist schools did not get a second.

Waco, week of June 17-- At least two churches publicly announced they are open to all.

Amarillo, June 23--Approximately 40 Negroes worshipped in five white churches.

Beaumont, July 15--The Rev. Wm. B. Oliver III, of Dallas, has been appointed pastor of the Graham Congregational Church, effective September 8. He is the first white pastor to take an all-Negro church in the history of the United Church of Christ.

Dallas, July 17--The white congregation of the Cedar Crest Baptist Church has voted to admit Negroes if they appear at services. In the past several months, four Southern Baptist churches in Texas have opened their doors to Negroes, the first in the state to do so. Names of others are so far unknown.

Dallas, Aug. 4-- The city's racially-mixed South Oak Cliff area launched (under sponsorship of five white churches) a neighborhood program to promote community development and interracial cooperation.

Houston, July 2-- A third Negro, Terrance Boone, sought membership in the First Baptist Church Saturday and was referred to a conference of members. The church, of which Dr. Kenneth White, president of the Southern Baptist Association, is pastor, previously rejected membership applications of two Negroes. White said from the pulpit Sunday that the church has adopted a new policy of questioning applicants for membership.

Sherman--Biracial ministerial alliance has helped open communications on employment opportunities this year.

VIRGINIA, 1963:--

Sept. 27, 1962--The five-year-old Hemlock Haven segregation controversy ended as Southwest Virginia Episcopal laymen and clergy voted for a "separation by sex" plan at the youth camp near Marion, Va. The resolution to conduct a

diocese camp passed by voice vote within ten minutes after it was introduced. The special council was called last June by the Right Rev. William H. Marmion, diocesan bishop, to decide the camp question and to take a second look at the proposed 1963 budget of $275,112 (which was not passed at the regular Council meeting last May).

Spring, 1963--The Virginia annual conference of the Methodist Church set the academic year 1964-65 as the "absolute deadline" for integration of its church-related colleges.

Charlottesville, June 3--Thirty-one ministers of the Charlottesville-Albemarle Ministerial Association met Saturday to discuss current racial problems, and 30 agreed to request city council to appoint a biracial committee.

During his Sunday sermon, the Rev. Donald A. Givens, pastor of Jefferson Park Baptist Church, said "the church's sole purpose is to win souls to Christ...each member should remember this regardless of his feelings."

Danville, July 16--Thirteen white ministers again urged Mayor Stinson to enlarge his all-white racial advisory committee "to include citizens of both races." Ministers represented Baptist, Methodist, Disciples of Christ, Lutheran, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Catholic, Jewish and Greek Orthodox churches.

Danville, Aug. 7--The First Christian Church voted to oust its pastor, the Rev. Cecil Robert Taylor (38 and father of three sons) chiefly because he was one of 13 white ministers to urge city council to appoint a biracial committee to solve racial problems during massive demonstrations in May. Shortly before the first demonstrations began, the Rev. Robert L. McCan was voted out of the First Baptist Church because of a sermon in which he encouraged an end to discrimination. This is the second time the Rev. Taylor has lost a church; he was asked to leave Sandersville, Ga., in early 1962. A native of Lynchburg, Mr. Taylor said he hoped he could stay in the South.

Fredericksburg, April--The Methodist Church admitted its first Negro member. There was some criticism of the minister, the Rev. J. William Hough, and a petition was circulated for his removal. Both the governing body of the church and the local ministerial association asked that he be reappointed. On May 26 a second Negro was admitted to membership and "occasioned no comment." Mr. Hough was reappointed June 15.

Martinsville, June 7--Henry County Christian Civic League called on local business leaders to voluntarily desegregate public facilities and employment, and requested City Council appoint an official biracial committee.

Richmond, July 7--The Rev. Robert W. Hare (white), of Raleigh, N.C., became pastor of the (Negro) First Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

May 29--Three Episcopal bishops publicly supported the statement issued by the presiding bishop, the Rt. Rev. Arthur Lichenberger, urging members to support racial equality.

The Rt. Rev. Robt. F. Gibson, bishop of Diocese of Virginia (Richmond) reported there are integrated parishes, the youth conference at Roslyn has been integrated for several years, and the youth conference at Shrinemont in Rockingham County is integrated.

The Rt. Rev. William H. Marmion bishop of Southwestern Virginia (Roanoke) said

VIRGINIA, continued:

the diocese has integrated parishes and the youth conference is integrated by race but segregated by sex, beginning this summer (Hemlock Haven near Marion).

The Rt. Rev. George P. Gunn, bishop of Southern Virginia, supported the statement but did not report any integration.

The bishops also noted that St. Stephen's School in Alexandria has accepted a Negro student and a Negro girl is on the waiting list of St. Catherine's School in Richmond. Her application has been approved by the board.

WASHINGTON, D. C., 1963:

October, 1962--Interracial home visits, patterned on those begun in 1955 by Friendship House, a Catholic interracial organization with headquarters in Chicago, began in the Washington, D. C. area. In January the Chicago consultation committee was co-sponsor with Protestant and Jewish groups for a metropolitan-wide mass Interracial Home Visit Day that brought 2,500 white visitors to the homes of 500 middle-class Negro hosts. In March the same interfaith committee arranged a second mass visit day, with a similar number of hosts--this time white--inviting in white neighbors and leading a discussion with Negro guests on equal housing opportunities.

June, 1963--Trustees of the House of Mercy, a home for unwed mothers, operated by the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Washington, D. C., voted to disregard race in future admissions. In its 70 years the home has never admitted a Negro woman, but the diocese had threatened to cut off financial aid if it failed to integrate.

June 14--Clergymen participated in the protest against racial discrimination in a silent march from the White House to the Justice Department.

Aug. 28-- More than 40,000 clergy and church members participated in the national demonstration before the Lincoln Memorial to dramatize the Negro demand for jobs and freedom from discrimination. The demonstration also supported the President's legislative program now before Congress.

* * *

Example of Church Ambivalence: The First Baptist Church of Atlanta, Ga.

(This account of attempts by Negroes to attend an Atlanta church is given in detail because of its extreme example of what can happen in a Southern church.)

April 21--Several Negro ministerial students have attempted to attend services at the First Baptist Church in the past few weeks, both on Sunday morning and at Wednesday night prayer meeting. Prior to this date Negroes had been admitted but were seated in the basement where the overflow crowd from the sanctuary listened to services over a public address system. On April 21 three Negro students were forcibly ejected, while one remained and another voluntarily left. Amos Brown, Morehouse ministerial student who was "dragged" out of the church by an usher, he said, commented that he had listened to the services on television "It would be terrific if he [Dr. McClain, pastor] tried to put into action some of the things he preaches about on Sunday morning." On May 2, 14 Negro and white theological students were turned away from prayer meeting.

May 17--In Detroit, Michigan to deliver chapel messages to the American Baptist Convention, Dr. Roy O. McClain agreed to meet with 30 ministers, most of them

Negroes, who were disturbed by reports that Negroes had not been allowed to worship in his church. Dr. McClain told his critics the First Baptist Church has no policy on integration or segregation. He said he'd had meetings with groups in the church trying to develop a better climate where integration could take place. "As far as I personally am concerned," Dr. McClain said, "I'm for integration." The ministers had asked the program committee to remove McClain from the program, but the committee declined.

June 24--An integrated group of eight students attended evening services despite being asked to leave by one usher. The area was roped off by ushers. On June 30 and July 7, a group of Negro and white students were turned away while Dr. McClain, on televisinn, preached "ignorance is the mother of prejudice," and called prejudice "a cancer" which "will kill you, literally; it will eat your innards out." The group began picketing the church on July 7. They returned for evening services and an elderly white minister from California (already under $500 bond for attempting to enter the church with the group on June 30) was arrested and charged with "disorderly conduct-demented" on complaint of the pastor. He charged in court that he was dragged down the church steps by his heels. During the morning demonstration, radio and television newsmen were asked to leave their cameras outside the church or not come in. One usher came down the steps and placed his hand over the lens of a TV newsman's camera photographing the pickets.

A crowd of men, most dressed in sport shirts or tee shirts and slacks, gathered across Peachtree Street from the church during most of the morning service. Their comments on the situation rose to catcalling and jeers. They were not arrested or removed.

Nathan J. Porter, a young Brazilian-born Baptist minister who is a member of First Baptist, led a brief impromptu worship service with the whites and Negroes who were picketing the church after being refused entrance. Mr. Porter is a member of the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board here. He spoke briefly with the group on the power of love and the need for forgiveness. The quiet demonstration seemed to bring more extreme reactions from onlookers and church members than on previous Sundays. A girl of college age walked down the church steps and away in tears after the service. Other members came down the steps, between the rows of pickets, with grim, drawn faces. After almost everyone had left the church grounds, except a few ushers clustered close to the building and the pickets who stood stolidly on either side of the front steps, a beautiful, blonde little girl came to stand at the center of the scene and leaned on a handrail on the steps. The little girl stood and looked quietly for a long time, neither smiling nor frowning, until the pickets dispersed.

Aug. 25--The white minister who was arrested received the maximum misdemenor sentence: 12 months in prison and six months in public work camp plus $1,000 fine. His case has been appealed. On Sept. 17 he was removed to Grady Hospital because of a hunger strike, for intravenous feeding if necessary.

Religion

UNDER GOD
comments
CHRISTIAN ACTION COUNCIL
No. 4, 1963

U of C "Student Tour" in S. C.

The Christian Action Council had the privilege recently of being "host" to a group of University of Connecticut students on a "Come and See Tour." Its purpose was to enable "Yankee" students to obtain an "in depth" introduction to South Carolina life and culture.

The Rev. Warren Molton (Wofford graduate and originally from N. Augusta) as director of the University Christian Fellowship was the initiator of the project which brought 10 students and 1 adult advisor to the Palmetto state.

The full and comprehensive program included visits with political, economic, and religious leaders, tours of several industries, talks with Negroes, etc. — all planned to focus attention on changes taking place in our midst and the relation of the churches to these changes.

Moral Responsibility for Safe Driving

Harold Holmes, director of the Religious Activities Committee of the National Safety Council, recently conferred for two days with church leaders in South Carolina. Considerable enthusiasm was expressed, and plans made, for the **"Highway Safety Week-end" on November 2-3.**

The "Fatal Five" causes of highway fatalities, he pointed out, in 80% of the cases are "in the hands and mind" of the "man behind the wheel:" (1) speed too fast for conditions, (2) driving while intoxicated, (3) failure to yield right-of-way, (4) improper passing, and (5) reckless driving.

News letter This

REQUIRED Bible Reading and Prayers in Public Schools — Unconstitutional

". . . We find that the states are requiring the selection and reading at the opening of the school day of verses from the Holy Bible and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer by the students in unison. These exercises are prescribed as part of the curricular activities of students who are required by law to attend school. They are held in the school building under the supervision and with the participation of teachers employed in those schools.

". . . We agree with the trial court's finding as to the religious character of the exercises. Given that finding, the exercises and the law requiring them are in violation of the establishment clause . . .

"The conclusion follows that in both cases the laws require religious exercises and such exercises are being conducted in direct violation of the rights of the appellees and petitioners . . .

"Nothing we have said here indicates that such study of the Bible or of religion, when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education, may not be effected consistent with the First Amendment. But the exercises here do not fall into those categories. They are religious exercises, required by the states in violation of the command of the First Amendment that the government maintain strict neutrality, neither aiding nor opposing religion . . .

"While the free exercise clause clearly prohibits the use of state action to deny the right of free exercise to anyone, it has never meant that a majority could use the machinery of the state to practice its beliefs . . .

"The place of religion in our society is an exalted one, achieved through a long tradition of reliance on the home, the church, and the inviolable citadel of the individual heart and mind. We have come to recognize through bitter experience that it is not within the power of the government to invade that citadel, whether its purpose or effect be to aid or oppose, to advance or retard."

(These are key paragraphs from the Majority Decision of Mr. Justice Clark in the 8-1 Supreme Court opinion, issued on June 17, 1963.)

Cuban Refugees

South Carolina Episcopalians are studying the possibility of a "Bishop's Flight" of Cuban refugees to be located in South Carolina.

A total of 161,941 Cubans had been registered with religious agencies in Miami as of March, 1963. Protestants, through Church World Service, have resettled nearly 11,000 — although no previous concerted effort has been made by any denomination in this state.

The fact that only about 60,000 refugees have been relocated by all Cuban relief committees — although other have relocated through friends or their own initiative, indicates the need that still exists.

Justice — Not Just Race

(The following statement was made by **Bishop Paul Hardin, Jr.** at the S. C. Conference (S.E.J.) of the Methodist Church on June 13, 1963.)

". . . In view of the circumstance which surrounds us throughout the South and in our own beloved state, the chair desires the privilege of making a statement.

Nearly three years ago the Methodist Church granted me the great privilege of returning to the state of my birth and rearing. Since then I have traveled all over South Carolina, and spoken in many churches and places in the discharge of my episcopal duties.

Ample opportunity has been given for the people to discover that I am neither a die-hard conservative nor an irresponsible liberal.

It is against the light of that background that I speak when I say that it is a source of personal concern and grief to me to see my beloved Southland and the Methodist Church torn by the race issue.

My anguish is all the more acute when I realize that basically the main issue is not race but simple justice and personal dignity. It is as natural for a colored person to seek his place under the sun as it is for a white man to do so.

The words "integrationist" and "segregationist" have become epithets.

They form a smokescreen which beclouds the issue and divides our ranks.

It is as wrong and as sinful to despise your brother over the race issue as it is sinful to hate him for any other reason. Let no Christian, therefore, scornfully refer to anyone as a segregationist, and let no Christian angrily call his brother an integrationist.

Rather let us remember that as Christians we are taught of God's Word that all men are children of God.

In Christian calmness and dignity, let us work together in an effort to grant justice and opportunity to all people — not because of economic and political pressure, but because we believe that justice is the common property of all free men."

Youth and Military Service

Four basic positions are the "live options" of each young man in regard to military service: (1) active participation in the armed forces, 1-A; (2) conscientious objector in non-combatant service; 1-A-O; (3) conscientious objector in non-military service, 1-O; and (4) non-cooperation refusal to register.)

Dr. Stewart Patterson points out: "Whatever choice the individual as a Christian may make, he carries the responsibility of witnessing for Christ. Careful thought should be given and counsel sought not only as to what choice to make, but, also as to how and where the witness may be made." (from "The Christian and Military Service," 15¢)

New Prison Chaplain

The Rev. Adlai Lucas — a Baptist minister who has just completed two years of special study in North Carolina — has recently been employed as chief chaplain at the State Penitentiary. Mr. Lucas is a native of South Carolina, graduate of U.S.C. and Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary.

Ellis MacDougall, Director of the Department of Corrections, invited several church leaders to serve as a special "Advisory Committee on Chaplaincy" to assist in the selection of the chaplain and the interpretation of his work. The committee consisted of Dr. Horace Hammett (Baptist), The Rev. John Pinckney (Episcopal), Dr. Karl Kinard (Lutheran), Bishop Paul Hardin (Methodist), and The Rev. Arthur Martin (Presbyterian), together with Council executive Howard G. McClain.

Retarded Children

There were 3,400 retarded children in public school "special classes" during the past school year, according to the State Department of Education. It is estimated that there are 20,000 "mentally retarded" children in the public schools (nearly 3% of the 600,000 enrolled) — thus less than one-fourth are in "special classes."

A recent survey indicated that there were no known church-school classes for the mentally retarded in South Carolina.

Lottery — "A Frankenstein Monster"

New Hampshire's approval of a state lottery caused the WASHINGTON POST (5/2/63) to editorialize that it was "an insult to the intelligence of 20th century Americans." Also it stated: "In the hope of raising $4 million a year for its schools the state will stimulate among its people the demoralizing psychology of winning something for nothing and invite within its midst corruption that almost always accompanies organized gambling. This is a shocking letdown in standards . . ."

Dr. E. E. Blanche, a noted statistician who has extensively studied gambling practices, has said: "Morally and legally wrong and outlawed, lotteries do more than mulct the rich and poor alike; lotteries change the very pattern of living, distort the sense of values, and incubate the eggs of crime. Examine the sociological and economic implications of the lottery, and you will behold a Frankenstein monster capable of consuming both those who run the lotteries and those who play them. The financial returns, insignificant in proportion to the national income or the Federal expenditures, are like the thirty pieces of silver paid for the betrayal." (THE ANNALS, May, 1950)

Congressman Paul Fino has latched on to the New Hampshire action to promote his continuing effort to gain passage of his bill to establish a national lottery.

"Money, Money, Who's Got the Money?"

The Christian Action Council's budget of $21,750 comes from denominations, local churches, and individuals. We have been encouraged by recent denominational increases (Baptist state convention, up to $4,200 for '63, and Presbyterian Synod up to $1,500 for 1964), as well as $200 from 7th Episcopal Area, A.M.E.

Adequate financial support will always depend, however, on local churches and individuals.

> Fall, 1963, will mark the conclusion of **30 Years of Service** of the Christian Action Council. A modest hope is that **200 churches and 125 individuals** (who have not previously contributed) will **make $30 gifts this year.**

In Focus

Our special thanks are due to the large number of persons who helped to plan and make possible the "Come and See Tour" for the U. of Connecticut students. It was a solid educational experience and made an unforgetable impact on the students.

We extend our "welcome" to all new pastors, church workers, and seminarians who are in S. C. churches this summer. This includes the new chief chaplain at the Penitentiary, Rev. Adlai Lucas. His appointment should help to awaken us all to the fact that penal institutions and prisoners should become the object of special attention and action to churchmen in this state.

It is encouraging to hear a crescendo of opinion by business leaders that segregation presents a moral challenge to our state and nation. Church leaders should not only support political and business leaders in their desegregation endeavors but also set an example of responsible leadership for every attitude and practice of full opportunity to Negro citizens.

Howard G. McClain

News-Notes

. . . **Dr. L. M. Allison**, dean of Erskine Theological Seminary, has taken special responsibility in the Council's proposed "continuing education for young pastor's" program.

. . . **Bishop Carey A. Gibbs**, A.M.E. bishop in South Carolina, has been installed as presiding bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Council president Neil Truesdell participated in the services.

. . . **The Rev. Clyde Ireland**, pastor of Greenville's Church of the Redeemer, is the new chairman of the Department of Christian Social Relations, Episcopal Diocese of Upper South Carolina.

. . . **Dr. Spencer Rice**, former principal of Spartanburg High School, is the new executive director of two Methodist boards (Education and Christian Social Concerns) as of July 1. "Moral Man and Moral Society" is to be the '63-'64 theme for Christian Social Concerns.

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RESPONSIBILITIES OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM
First National Institute Religious Freedom and Public Affairs Project

THE DIALOGUE

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS

EDITORIAL

This issue of The Dialogue presents materials drawn from Religious News Service reports on the First National Institute of the National Conference of Christians and Jews Religious Freedom and Public Affairs Project, held in Washington, D.C., November 18-21, 1962. It is not the concern of The Dialogue to add to the wide publicity enjoyed by the Institute, but rather to share with our readers well-balanced approaches to some current controversies in the area of church-state relations. Appended are excerpts from the religious press, summarizing and evaluating the presentations and stimulating further discussion.

—The Editor

NCCJ HEAD URGES UNITY OF PURPOSE

Dr. Lewis Webster Jones, President of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, opened the Institute with an appeal for unity of purpose despite political and religious differences. He expressed the hope that Institute participants would "provide a new example of charity and love in our sense of brotherhood toward each other."

Explaining the Institute, Dr. Jones said the some 120 participants included "professional lay leaders of the social action arm of your Church, Church editors and theologians, citizens of every shade of religious opinion and of no religious affiliation, professors of government, political science, and law, and elected government officials from city councilman to mayor to state senator to congressman."

"Each of you has been selected to attend this Institute, because you are a citizen of national prominence and leadership," Dr. Jones said. "You are here as individuals and not as representatives of organizations, and we ask you to speak your minds freely and frankly — only by frank confrontation can we grapple with these issues intelligently."

Highlighting some of the questions with which the Institute grappled, Dr. Jones said: "How do our religious groups wield their political power on issues that concern them in the realm of politics; and as we engage in political controversy, what is their responsibility to other religious groups and to the democratic process? On the other hand, how have politicians attempted to manipulate the religious vote, and what is the significance of this for our pluralism and democratic unity?"

Dr. Jones said that one of the purposes of the Institute was to "examine the changing nature of our pluralism from the historic perspective, permit each one of the groups that make up our pluralism to define their understanding of religious liberty and what is required of our political order so as to enhance that liberty."

He stressed the opportunity of the participants to discuss the "conflicting Constitutional understandings of the First Amendment that prevail in America today," as well as the chance to examine "specific incidents where religious groups have been in conflict in the public order."

STATUS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY: PAST AND PRESENT

A Protestant Hits "Christian America" Myth

The myth of the "good old days" of a "Christian America" in which religious liberty flourished must be discarded by Protestants if they are to join with their Catholic and Jewish neighbors in building a workable pluralistic society, according to Dr. Franklin H. Littell, professor of church history at the Chicago Theological Seminary. He said that colonial society was "nominally Christian and in fact heathen" and that the religious liberty sought by the predominantly Protestant settlers was "their own, not that of others." "Protestants must bury forever the pernicious legend of the 'Found-

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Religion (Clemson)

Oct. 6, 1962 - Statement by Dr. Neil Truesdell of Newberry, S. C.
A personal statement issued by Dr. Truesdell as president of the Christian Action Council at the request of the Council's Executive Committee.

Great issues call for great principles. A strong principle of Judeo-Christianity is the obedience to the supreme power of government.... It is a cardinal principle of ethics that the highest powers of government be obeyed. Otherwise, there is always the danger of lawlessness, confusion and anarchy

Many fine citizens of the South and of South Carolina believe they have been aggrieved. Regardless of the opinions concerning the issues involved, many South Carolinians have experienced deep sorrow as a result of the events in Mississippi. Many are deeply concerned.... What happened in Mississippi probably had to happen. But it does not have to happen again. If there should be a recurrence it would be a double tragedy--double because we had not learned from the first incident. But it must not happen in our State, for to do so would be a violation of the finest Christian ethics.

Under God, we are a State and nation of law. The Federal decrees are the ultimate governing and legal power. As citizens we have no choice but to obey, for once any law is successfully circumvented all law is weakened. Once law is taken lightly the liberty and freedom of every citizen is threatened. These must be preserved at all cost, for liberty and freedom are the foundation of the most priceless possessions of any citizen....

The Christian Action Council calls upon every Christian, every citizen within the State, to proclaim to the world that we are a State of law, that we are motivated by the highest of all laws--the royal law of love. This is a place where the redemptive power of Christ can accomplish its holy work-- a work which, under His power--will lead this State into its finest hour and most noble era. With the message of God's love for all mankind going out from each pulpit, with the response to that love being enacted in the lives of all of our citizens, we can face the future with confidence. The God who has directed the destinies of this State from the moment the first settler came to this colony will not forsake us now. Only let us remain in His love, and live in the spirit of that love in our relationship with our fellowmen.

* * * * * * *

Jan. 20, 1963 - Statement signed by 121 white ministers of 13 denominations in the Columbia area. Over 2/3rds of them were pastors. This statement was issued by the ministers as their own personal sentiments, making no pretense of speaking for any church, denomination or church-agency. By denomination these included:

1 Assembly of God
1 Associate Reformed Presbyterian
18 Baptists
1 Christian(Disciples of Christ)
1 Church of God(Cleveland, Tenn.)
18 Episcopalians
1 Greek Orthodox
26 Lutherans
1 Lutheran, Missouri Synod
1 Nazarene
30 Methodists
16 Presbyterians
3 Roman Catholics

Having the privilege of exercising our ministry in the greater Columbia area, we ministers of the Gospel address the Christian citizens of our community at this moment of opportunity.

We affirm that the Christian view of man includes recognition of each person as a child of God having dignity and worth imparted to him by God himself. This is demonstrated in the redemptive cross of Jesus Christ, God's act of unmerited, unrestricted love. His resurrection gives promise of victory over every evil which suppresses full development of man as a son of God. This belief demands that we aid our fellow-man especially whenever his God-given rights are limited or denied.

We confess that we ourselves stand under the judgement of God for our failure to apply more fully the Christian principle of brotherhood in our personal lives and in the churches we serve.

We declare our conviction that racial problems and their solutions are basically moral and spiritual. Christians of our beloved state are presently being confronted with opportunities to witness to their affirmation that all citizens be given equality of opportunity for full development of their

- More -

capacities as children of God. Channels to endorse and support such a principle, for example, are presently ours in education and in employment opportunities.

In our nation, these opportunities are guarded by law. Christians are constrained to obey the interpretation and application of these laws by the courts. We anticipate that public officials and other citizens will affirm their allegiance to and support of law and order. We pledge our support to this endeavor.

As Christians, we must be found in the ranks of those who lead our city and state in orderly obedience, in justice and brotherhood.

* * * * * * *

Jan. 21, 1963 - Statement issued by the S. C. Baptist Convention's Christian Life and Public Affairs Committee.
Although this is issued only as the unanimous statement by the 10 members of the Committee, it is said to represent a "consensus of the point of view of a majority of Baptists who have been 'messengers' at recent convention sessions." Officers of the Committee include Dr. John Murdoch of Greenwood, Chairman; James A. Rogers of Florence, vice-chairman; Tom McMahan of Columbia, secretary.

1. We heartily commend the public officials of our state for their wise and consistant efforts to preserve order and to encourage respect for the law during the difficult period of racial re-adjustment through which we are now passing. As we face further crises in this process, we express the hope and prayer that bitterness and violence of every form may be avoided and that every citizen of the state will work to preserve order, without which our problems are not solved, but further complicated and enlarged. The history of our region, both past and recent, as well as the tenets of our religion, underscore the urgent necessity of maintaining respect for constituted governmental authority.

2. We earnestly and respectfully urge that the public schools be kept open and that every effort be made to prevent the interruption of normal educational processes. Education is essential to the highest interests of both religion and democracy.

3. It is important that we maintain clear, candid, and sympathetic communications in all areas of our public life during these critical days. There are differences of opinion and convictions between groups of responsible citizens and between groups of sincere Christians. It is imperative that we face these differences in a spirit of mutual respect and postive good will; that we seek to find constructive means of resolving our differences in accord with the teachings and the Spirit of Christ. Whatever legal measures are taken in dealing with the problems thrust upon us by racial tensions, the burden of working out a peaceable and mutually harmonious relationship of good will between the races, and between those who differ concerning practical ways of dealing with this problem, rests most heavily upon the churches. We believe that the continued proclamation of the Christian gospel of redeeming grace and the application of the gospel to our attitudes and to each individual situation as it arises, will ultimately result in solving our racial problems with justice and equity for all.

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Jan. 22, 1963 - Officials from several of the largest denominations in S. C. met unofficially in Columbia on January 8th in the first such inter-church leaders conference ever held in this state. The first purpose of their meeting was inter-church communication. The second purpose was the facing of problems of common concern. Correspondence, growing out of this meeting, resulted in the statement issued today, which is signed by these 10 leaders as individuals rather than officials. While not part of this formal statement, this group expressed high commendation of the attitudes and actions of the authorities of this state and at Clemson College.

"The fourth Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States has ruled in favor of the admission of Harvey Gantt into Clemson College.

Such a ruling goes contrary to the customs and traditions of the South and and of our own state of South Carolina in particular. While many of our citizens may resent the decision, it is unthinkable that we, as a nation dedicated

to rule by law should abandon the principles of our American Government and our American way of life to obtain our selfish ends, however desirable they may seem.

As followers of our Lord Jesus Christ who died that all might live, let us remind all men, white and colored, that we are bound by the law of love of God and love of neighbor as the pre-eminent virtue of the Christian way of life. Therefore, it is our duty by this law of love of God and neighbor to avoid every form of violence and hatred in our relations among ourselves and to use peaceable means to reach conclusions founded on justice and order and the universal law of Christian love.

Let not the Sovereign State of South Carolina be disgraced by violence. May God grant to us peace and order and that we do unto every man as we would have him do unto us."

Signed by: --

Rev. Dr. Horace G. Hammett, Executive Secretary, (Baptist); Bishop Paul Hardin, Jr, (Methodist); Rev. Dr. Karl W. Kinard, President (Lutheran Synod); Bishop C. Alfred Cole, (Episcopal Discese of Upper South Carolina); Bishop Francis F. Reh, (Roman Catholic); Rev. Dr. Arthur M. Rogers, Stated Clerk (A.R.P. Synod); Rev. Otto Stucki, Superintendent, (Nazarene); Rev. Ira D. Crewdson, Executive Secretary,(Christian); Bishop Gray Temple, (Episcopal Diocese of S. C.); Rev. Arthur M. Martin, Executive Secretary, (Presbyterian).

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January, 1963 - Fountain Inn-Simpsonville Ministers' Fellowship issued a lengthy statement on "A Christian Stand on Violence":

...We do not wish to make any comment upon any argument related to the admittance of Negro students. We seek to dispel confusion and uncertainty about the use of violent action upon such occasions, and for this sole purpose we hereby place upon the public record the teachings of the Christian Faith as they apply to this particular issue.

A Christian citizen does not encourage, or approve of, or take part in, the use of violent action as a substitute for, or in defiance of established laws.

He will refrain from any action which violates the safety, dignity or property of another person. He will not travel to another community to invade the problem-solving processes of that community. Specifically, he will refrain from assault, arson, stoning, cursing, spitting, shoving, obstructing the way, or any other invasion of another person's lawful enjoyment of life, liberty, or the pursuit of happiness. Knowing that crowds of spectators may suddenly become mobs of rioters, he will be especially prudent to avoid this possibility. Knowing that abstinence from violence does not insure sinlessness of intention, he will refrain from so-called "non-violent" demonstrations which intrude upon the affairs of a community other than his own....

A Christian citizen works within the established framework of the law.... A Christian citizen has a responsibility to criticize the structure and operation of the law, and to change the law, if need be, by lawful means.

If the law is not obedient to Christ, the Christian must protest. He will protest by every legal means. He may withdraw himself or his children from such schools, if that is his decision. He may sustain suits to test the validity of the laws, or to impeach those who administer them. He will seek to develop a national political party which will elect officials who will enact the necessary changes in the laws.

A Christian citizen makes use of every opportunity to pray that the justice and love of God will prevail over injustice and hatred....

* * * * * *

NOTE: The following is from a letter written by Sen. Edgar A. Brown (Barnwell) to one of the officers of the Christian Action Council, after Sen. Brown had issued a strong statement against violence at Clemson:

I appreciate so much your nice letter of January 4, approving my attitude against any possible violence at Clemson.

Most of my mail is enthusiastic in its approval. I have had only one or two "crackpot" letters, and these do not worry me because when the basic principle is right, there is no occasion for worry....

* * * * * * *

Methodist: Section on Human Relations and Economic Affairs - Rev. Ralph A. Cannon, Chairman - of the S. C. Conference Board of Christian Social Concerns (S.E.J.) letter to President Robert Edwards (a Methodist layman) of Clemson:

Historically speaking, periods of transition have always been painful in the affairs of men.

Simply and sincerely, before an hour of significant change for Clemson College and the state of South Carolina, we want to express to you our support.

As Mr. Gantt is admitted to Clemson College we want you and the Board of Trustees to know that we are grateful for every effort that has been made to make this an orderly transition.

We strongly affirm that such adjustment to new conditions is consistent with our state's honorable traditions and illustrious past, her citizens' allegiance to the nation, and her peoples' faith in the providences of a just and holy God.

May you know that as fellow Christians we wish to share with you in the heavy weight of responsibility you face in behalf of all the people of South Carolina.

* * * * * * *

S. C. Methodist Advocate, 1/17/63, carried the following unsigned guest editorial which was entitled, "A Shaft of Light":

"Wednesday, January 9, 1963, was a day of history in South Carolina, and sensitive souls vibrate with the thrill and satisfaction of those who see history unfold before their eyes. And it was a day of glory, too....

And all of this [the redocration, etc. of the State House] is symbolic of the dawn of a new day in South Carolina, when proud traditions of honor and dignity are being recalled as bases from which to move into yet another great transition period of history.

Sensitive to the great moment of history have been two men whose voices have spoken to given politicical expression to the new mood. One, a political stalwart of many a battle, the Hon. Edgar A. Brown, a few days ago opened the door and let in a ray of light.*

And Wednesday, South Carolina's Governor Ernest F. Hollings...shook the door wider open and turned in a great shaft of light.**In his farewell address to the Legislature, many a South Carolinian and American could see that the mantle of statesmanship, even in temporary political defeat, had been placed on his shoulders, and more than that, the shoulders are adequate to the occasion...

...realistically we can all be grateful that no longer are we saying: 'If you come in, we'll throw you out, locking the door in your face, and at the same time locking ourselves out also' No, we are not really going to carry out that bluff. We are going to say now: 'If you come in, we will treat you as a fellow human being.'

So the prediction...that ultimately South Carolina would prefer desegregation to disgrace is about to come to pass. Though first to secede and last to re-unite, there is a bright hope that she will re-unite with grace and dignity, even in the closing hours of her choice. The great ideals of freedom, equality under the law, respect for human dignity, nurtured in this Great Republic and this State, 'will not now be rejected in the house of their fathers,' as a Saint of the Twentieth Century has often said.

Many a grateful native son has today gratitude in his heart for Fritz Hollings who spoke so eloquently in his farewell address for a government of laws and not of men."

---* In reply to an enquiry from the Charleston NEWS AND COURIER, carried in The STATE on 12/31/62 Sen. Edgar A Brown said: "The people of this state are law-abiding and know my position on good government...If the ultimate decision of the federal courts direct that Harvey Gantt should be admitted to Clemson College, ..[Clemson officials] will not tolerate violence on the campus or any action that would do violence to the good name of Clemson College and the State of South Carolina. Violent attitudes and actions...would inevitably deliver the college into the hands of armed Federal forces...as Little Rock and Oxford..Therefore, I am determined to ..demand that Clemson be kept under the control of..South Carolina

---**out-going governor of S.C., in his final address to the S.C. General Assembly on 1/9/63 said:

"We have all argued that the Supreme Court decision of May, 1954, is not the law of the land. But everyone must agree that it is the fact of the land. Interposition, sovereignty, legal motions, personal defiance have all been applied to constitutionalize the law of the land. And all attempts have failed.

As we meet, South Carolina is running out of courts. If and when every legal remedy is exhausted, this General Assembly must make clear South Carolina's choice, a government of laws rather than a government of men.

As determined as we are, we of today must realize the lesson of 100 years ago, and move on for the good of South Carolina and the United States. This should be done with dignity.

It must be done with law and order. It is a hurdle that brings little propress to either side. But the failure to clear it will do us irreparable harm."

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NOTE: The two following "documents," issued earlier, indicate and are illustrative of the nature of numerous sermons and other pastoral expressions of concern. It is important to note, also, that a number of pastors - especially in the Columbia area - commented favorable to their people of the "quiet, orderly, and Christian response" of people in that community to the desegregation of the lunch-counters on Main Street in the late summer.

"A COMMUNION MEDITATION" by the Rev. J. Walter Johnson, Central Methodist Church - Spartanburg, October 7, 1962 (World Communion Sunday):

"These are days that try men's souls, and I think it's partly our fault that they do. Beset, as we are, by an emotionally-packed problem such as disturbs our Southland today, are we not guilty of having abetted it by resorting to our deep-seated feelings of resentment, rather than working toward its solution with a calm and courageous Christian intelligence? Shall we continue to give vent to these deep inner impulses of hate, and prejudice, and selfishness? Shall we continue in this country to sneer at a human being's aspirations to the respectable status of equality, and forever kick it around as a political football? Or is this not a good time to take a new lead, and see what a sympathetic and understanding love can do - under the leadership of Christ's spirit?

Now this we should know: - as Christians we are a responsible people, and we are therefore to be guided by an intellectual concept of God's righteousness, and not by our baser emotions. We should be in the forefront of this racial disturbance today, giving hope and encouragement and Christian leadership to those of our population who are trying so desperately to reach for the more excellent way. "Whatsover things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things." Well, that's the Gospel, and we are called to the table of communion to remember the Christ who inspired it."

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"A Pastoral Letter" from the Rev. E. Paul McWhirter, Methodist District Superintendent of the Greenville District on Nov. 8, 1962, to ministers, General Superintendents, Church Lay leaders, District stewards, and chairmen of all commissions in all churches of that District:

"I have been greatly concerned in the past few months over our problem in the south...In Albany, Georgia recently we were caused to be ashamed of the actions of some of our people....In the Osford, Mississippi incident two lives were lost and many other injured....This is not our way of life, nor our hope for the future.

In the next few months we will be facing what could be a repetition of the above. I hope not! I write to you seeking your help. First - let us begin today by keeping this first in our prayer life...Secondly - Write a letter to our Governor Elect, Dr. Donald Russell and express a concern that he stand for what is right and Chritian. We do not want our schools closed. In Prince Edward County in Virginia people are suffering and will continue to do so for years because of the closing of the public schools. Urge the Governor Elect to uphold the federal law....

Thirdly - Write to your state senator, representatives and mayor urging them to stand for truth and right.... Friends, there is nothing Christian or Holy in avoiding a controversial issue such as this. We run a great danger of being a part of an ugly riot by remaining silent. Do we want a world as some people would have it or do we want a world as Christ would have it?"

Religion

council PLATFORM

Summer 1963, Volume 8, Number 1

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN ONE WEST 47th STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

GUIDELINES FOR COUNCIL PUBLIC AFFAIRS: 1963-64

The big, exciting event of the year in most Sections will be the launching of the NCJW School for Community Action. A deepened understanding and awakened concern will be stirred in Council member "students" at the School about the problems of preparing young people today for living, working and dealing with the vast complexities of the automated "space age" which is to be their world.

To tie in the learning and directions for action of the NCJW Schools with year-round Section Public Affairs activity will come naturally. As in the past several years, Council Public Affairs 1963-64 will continue to be most intensely involved — on the national scene, at state capitals and in the community — with problems concerning the nation's children and youth. A central objective of Council's work for youth will be to give the children of minority families the chance — and the extra help they must get — to overcome the special handicaps of a history of deprivation, discrimination and low expectations. Major working goals will be to assuure to every youngster:

- the best possible education and preparation for employment.
- a decent home and open choice of neighborhood to grow up in.
- an equal chance to make the most of his abilities as an adult working member and participating citizen of our democracy.

In today's world, international problems of peace and disarmament and the economic and social conditions of people at the other side of the globe affect the life of each individual and the future of every American youngster. The world view of NCJW Public Affairs 1963-64 will focus on these continuing — and each year more urgent — objectives:

- a sound and undiminished program of aid to the less developed nations
- a strong and effective United Nations
- international agreements for disarmament and a nuclear test ban.

The following preview of Council's Public Affairs program for the next club year is designed to give Section Public Affairs leaders a framework for Section activity. Major issues at the top of the year's calendar are briefly sketched; guidelines are indicated for legislative and community action; and National materials are described.

Big Dates for 1963-64 Public Affairs

November 12-13, 1963

Annual United Nations Institute
United Nations Headquarters, New York, N. Y.

On-the-scene reports by UN delegations of various nations and Secretariat staff.
Attendance at United Nations meetings.

February 17-18, 1964

Washington Public Affairs Institute
Gramercy Inn, Washington, D.C.

Top legislative issues discussed by Congressional leaders and Government experts.
Visits with Congressmen and Senators.

Watch for registration and program details for both institutes.

Civil Rights

The upsurge of demand by Negro Americans for equal opportunity and treatment, which is their right, has shaken every thinking individual out of the complacent notion that the answer to the race relations problem can be found in continuing the current slow-paced "gradual" movement toward equality. The Negro's "cup of endurance has run over," in the words of a prominent leader of the direct action protest movement which is sweeping the nation; and the demand of our Negro fellow-citizens for an immediate and rightful share in the "blessings of liberty" must be met with new bold action in the months ahead.

When the President pointed up this "moral crisis" facing the nation, he called upon the American people to act now "in the Congress, in your state and local legislative body, and above all, in all of our daily lives." Every concerned citizen — and that includes every member of Council — will take up the President's challenge "to stop and examine

his conscience" and give serious thought to this question: "What am I doing in my own community and in my own personal life to put into practice my belief in equal rights — to change the old habits and patterns of racial prejudice and discrimination?"

Threading through Council's program in the coming year will be an intensified effort to remove in every area of American living the injustices of racial discrimination. By support of needed legislative and administrative action on all levels of government, and especially by direct personal action, Council women will help their communities move with longer and faster steps toward the full practice of equal opportunity. They will be motivated not only by their democratic principles, but because they are concerned about the distorting effect on their own children of growing up in a segregated, homogeneous community, with its built-in prejudices against people who are different in color, belief or economic status.

Community Action: Ways of working toward equality in the major areas of Council activity in the coming year — in the schools, in housing and neighborhoods, and in youth employment — are pointed up in the following program outline, and in greater detail in National materials described in these columns. New learning and insights will be gained by Council members at the NCJW School for Community Action about what needs to be done to assure equal opportunity and a fair chance to long-deprived youngsters of minority families in their communities. This increased understanding will be a spur to more intensive, informed action by Sections and individual Council members to erase practices of segregation and discrimination where they live.

Federal Legislation: An extensive civil rights program was presented to Congress in June by the President as urgent priority business, in response to the growing insistency of Negro demands for equal rights. He asked for legislation to achieve the following aims: outlaw discrimination in public places; speed school desegregation by giving the Attorney General authority to initiate suits; intensify action to halt discrimination in federal jobs and federally financed activities; give federal agencies authority to withhold funds from programs which practice discrimination; create a federal agency to mediate local racial disputes. The President renewed his request for legislation to extend and strengthen the Civil Rights Commission; to provide federal voting referees who would assure registration without discrimination; and to establish a sixth grade education as proof of literacy for voting. To help prepare Negro youth for better job opportunities, the President asked Congress to authorize additional federal funds for expanded vocational education, training of out-of-school youth and for work-study programs.

The President urged Congress to remain in session until a significant civil rights program is enacted. The inevitable Senate filibuster is expected to draw out the civil rights debate through the summer months and perhaps into the fall. Council will watch developments, and Sections will be alerted to action in support of civil rights legislation as required. It is unlikely that all the urgently needed federal measures recommended by the President, which Council fully supports, will be enacted in the first session of Congress. NCJW efforts in behalf of the laws necessary to assure equal rights to all Americans will be carried forward into 1964 and beyond.

National Materials: Guidelines on How To Do It

Race Relations and Everyday Living. March 1961 *Council Platform.* True stories which offer cues to individual and group action on the home scene to break down barriers of racial segregation and discrimination. Includes a self-quiz which can be used as a checklist for action to achieve better race relations and as a tool for self-appraisal by individual members.

Council Reports on Civil Rights. January 1963 *Council Platform.* Reports by Council leaders in various parts of the country on local progress and problems in race relations. Suggests similar evaluation by Council in other communities.

Education

The new NCJW School for Community Action will revitalize Section interest in a long-standing Council program objective: a strong public education system offering the best schooling we can give to every American child. At the NCJW School, Section members will examine the state of American education today to find out whether the public schools are equipped for this most urgent task; who decides what kind of schools the children in their district attend and how the bills are paid; and what citizens can do to improve their public schools. Section "students" will also take a hard look at the urgent special problems of educating children who start out with the disadvantages of slum living and economic and cultural poverty, usually compounded by the discouragement of racial discrimination.

Council's heightened concern for strengthening public education will also be directed to such questions as: the growing uniformity of viewpoint and restraints on independent thinking in American education; the problem of religious practices in the public schools; and the threat to the future of public education from growing pressures for government aid to parochial schools.

Community Action: Ways for the Council Section and the individual citizen to participate in school affairs and help to mobilize greater public interest and support for better schools will emerge from discussions at the NCJW School for Community Action. Concrete guidelines are to be found in the National materials prepared for the School.

Public Affairs leaders will have an important role in following through on activities chosen by the Section for action, such as: mobilizing support for greater public participation in board elections and decisions and for school bond issues and taxes; testifying at school board hearings in support of adequate budget and programs to meet

changing and growing school needs; and pressing for equal and unsegregated educational opportunities for all.

Federal Aid: Despite early signs that education aid would get priority attention in the 88th Congress, it appears unlikely at this writing that any significant federal assistance to the public schools will be enacted in the first session. The administration's omnibus bill or package approach, designed to draw support from various groups, failed to rally the necessary Congressional support. Separate measures — particularly for aid to higher education, expansion of special science, language and guidance programs under the National Defense Education Act and extension of aid to "impacted areas" with federal personnel — have been introduced and seem to have more chance of enactment than a package program including significant public school aid.

The growing urgency of federal funds for public education will be pointed up at the NCJW School for Community Action, and Council's push for this priority legislative objective will be stepped up in 1964. Pressures for government aid to parochial schools are expected to increase and will continue to be a major obstacle to enactment of federal aid to education. Council will continue to oppose the use of government funds for private and parochial schools or for sectarian colleges, which would violate the principle of separation of church and state and, perhaps most important, would weaken the American democratic system of public education.

State Legislation: Increased state support is essential in most states to equalize the quality of education in each school district and to keep pace with steeply rising modern education costs, which cannot be met by limited local tax resources. Sections may obtain information and guidance for legislative action needed on the state level from the Council state legislation chairman.

National Materials: Guidelines on How To Do It

NCJW School Syllabus and Readings. Syllabus outline and readings for Lecture and Seminar II on "The American School" and Lecture and Seminar III on "Those Who Are Being Left Behind" offer guidelines and background for study and action toward better schools and equal educational opportunity.

Equality in Education. April 1962 *Council Platform.* Discussion of special educational needs and the question of equal educational opportunity for children of deprived and minority families. Includes guidelines for community action.

Censorship and Complacency in Education. May 1963 *Council Platform.* Discussion of trend toward uniformity or concensus of opinion — including the effort to find non-denominational or "neutral" expressions of religious belief — and the discouragement of critical thinking in American education.

The School Prayer Controversy: Why Jews Take Sides. Reprint from April 1963 *Council Woman,* with discussion guide and bibliography. Impact and meaning of the Supreme Court decision declaring the New York Regents prayer unconstitutional.

For release in fall 1963: Discussion materials on *Religion and Public Education.* The extent of religious practices and observances, released time and shared time; community relations problems and Council's position. Discussion of the question of government aid to parochial schools. Major court decisions on the constitutionality of religious practices and government aid.

Youth Employment

The urgent, explosive nationwide problems of large numbers of out-of-school, out-of-work youth have stirred a growing public awareness and concern in recent months. But few concrete steps to deal with these problems have been taken in most communities. Council study and activity in this area — which has been going on since 1959 — should gain momentum in the year ahead, stimulated by increased public interest and by understanding gained by Section members at the NCJW School for Community Action.

Sections which have completed surveys of the employment needs of youth in their communities have generally found these basic problems which need nationwide attention: Guidance programs are inadequate and not sufficiently concerned with spotting and working with potential dropouts. Vocational training opportunities are inadequate and not geared to jobs of today and the future. Negro youngsters are most seriously disadvantaged by inadequate and segregated schooling, lack of guidance and training, and by discrimination in apprenticeship programs and employment.

Community Action: Sections which have completed their surveys will step up plans to follow through on their findings with needed services and support for government and private programs. They will take their cue from local experts and from suggested activities described in National materials. Questionnaires are still available for Sections which have not yet conducted surveys of youth employment needs in their communities.

Federal Legislation: The Youth Employment Act of 1963 contains proposals to begin to meet problems of youth who are out of school and out of work. Two programs are provided: a youth conservation corps to reach boys outside of urban areas to give them supervised work experience, some training and the satisfactions of constructive and regular work; and a local areas employment program for boys and girls in city community work projects in public and private non-profit agencies. This would prepare these young people for regular employment or for a return to school and more training.

Passage of the Youth Employment Act has high priority in the 88th Congress and on Council's legislative calendar. If this measure is not passed before the end of the first session, Council will urge renewed and vigorous efforts for such legislation in 1964.

State Legislation: The state legislature can initiate programs to concentrate special services in schools with the highest drop-out rates; to finance research and pilot programs in the schools to keep youngsters in school and work with them after they have left school; to improve vocational training and make it available to a large segment of youth in the state.

Subsidized work and training programs, begun in some states, aim at these goals: preparation for a particular

job; motivation for returning to school; or motivation to participate constructively in the life of the community. Stronger fair employment laws are needed at the state level including authority to initiate complaints for effective enforcement.

After passage of the Youth Employment Act and appropriation of funds by Congress, it will be up to the states to allocate funds and plan programs to take advantage of the federal grants. In some states programs have been outlined in advance. In some regions, voluntary groups — Youth Commissions, Mayor's and Governor's Youth Employment Committees — have outlined local programs which could be the basis for state legislation as soon as a federal aid bill passes. Council Sections can contribute to the work of such groups what they have learned in community surveys.

National Materials: Guidelines on How To Do It

NCJW School Syllabus and Readings. Syllabus outline and readings related to the film showings gives guidance for study and initial action on youth employment needs of localities.

Employment Needs of Youth. A guide and questionnaires for conducting surveys on youth employment problems.

A Start for Youth. Suggestions for Section activities to develop local guidance, training and employment opportunities for youth.

A Start for Youth Bulletin Number 1. A review compiled at the end of 1962 of the status of federal legislation, state and local programs to aid in the training and employment of youth. Useful materials are listed and described. Subsequent bulletins planned.

Housing and Family Welfare

It is self-evident that the home and neighborhood where a child grows up will significantly shape the adult he becomes. Yet, in this era of affluence nearly one-third of American families are living in what is officially called "substandard housing." At the NCJW School for Community Action, "students" will discuss some of the problems of providing decent housing in sound neighborhoods for all the youngsters of their community — no matter what the economic position or skin color of their families. They will also take a look at some of the gaps in programs and services needed to help families move out of the trap of poverty and dependency.

Renewed membership interest in housing and urban problems will be the cue for follow-through activity in the Section's Public Affairs program. Objectives will be: to find out about housing and community development needs and work with other concerned citizens to rid the community and central city of slums and deteriorated neighborhoods; to provide good housing for families of every income level; and to assure open occupancy to all without discrimination.

Community Action: Using the updated *Guide to Better Housing,* described in the National materials listed below, Sections will be able to plan a local survey as the basis for action needed in their community and find out how citizen groups such as Council can best help to arouse public backing for sound housing programs. A primary objective of local action will be to break down the walls of racial segregation and assure equal access to all available housing and neighborhoods. This will take the form of individual direct action by Section members in support of open occupancy in their own neighborhoods, backed up by a push for fair housing laws and for effective enforcement of those already on the books. Citizen pressure will also be needed to see that the President's Executive Order banning discrimination in federally aided housing is put into practice in their communities.

Federal Programs: No major housing legislation has been enacted since the Housing Act of 1961. To meet growing and changing needs of America's urban areas, measures will be introduced in Congress in 1964, and will be supported by Council to: extend Federal aid to states and localities for building low and middle income housing; expand urban renewal and community development programs; and increase housing opportunities for the elderly. Along with other groups, Council will continue to press for the establishment of a Department of Housing and Urban Development at Cabinet level as essential for an effective national program to deal with the mounting complex problems of urban America.

State Legislation: The states have an important function in housing and family welfare services — both of them essential to Council's emphasis on equal opportunity for youth. Enabling legislation is necessary to take advantage of available federal funds for low and middle income housing and renewal of deteriorating urban neighborhoods. State fair housing laws must be passed and enforced to remove discrimination in private housing.

The states can also make an important contribution to the rehabilitation of families receiving public assistance. Last year Congress adopted important amendments to the Social Security Act in the area of public welfare which, to be effective, requires state action. But what have the states done to take advantage of these programs? As yet very little. A concerted effort is needed for state legislation to take advantage of the new federal grants and programs for children — in their own homes and in day care centers.

National Materials: Guidelines on How To Do It

Guide to Better Housing. With kit of background materials. Fact-finding and community action guide for Section efforts toward the goal of decent housing, sound neighborhoods and open occupancy for every family in the community. *(Revised edition to be released in late fall 1963.)*

NCJW School Syllabus and Readings. Syllabus outline and readings for Lecture and Seminar IV on "Those Who Start Behind" give background for understanding and discussion of the impact on youngsters of slum living and family problems.

Housing in a Balanced Community. April 1960 *Council Platform.* Discussion of middle-income housing problems and the consequences of segregation for blighted central cities and homogeneous suburbs — for both Negro and white families.

Suburbs, Slums and the New Metropolis. December 1958 *Council Platform.* A look at some of the basic and still mounting problems of America's large metropolitan areas — from the center core out into the farthest suburb.

The "Quiet" Integration in the Suburbs, by Margaret Fisher. June 1963 *Council Woman* article by the associate director of

the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing describing how the residents of many suburban communities are working to open in their neighborhoods to Negro families.

At the start of the club year, Sections are urged to contact their state legislation chairman to find out what legislation has been passed this past year and what issues are to receive emphasis in the next legislative session. The state legislation chairman will want to know about any special interest of Sections in a particular area of needed legislation. In states where there is no Council state legislation chairman, Sections can begin to study state issues and be ready to refer information to the state chairman as soon as she is appointed.

Medical Care for the Aging

Despite strong expectations that the 88th Congress would enact a program of medical care insurance for the aging, there has been no activity yet on Capitol Hill on the bills introduced at the beginning of the session. Council will continue to press for a program of medical insurance for the elderly under social security in the next Congressional session to help America's senior citizens meet the costs of major illness in the later years.

Immigration

Efforts will be carried forward into the next session to revise the national origins quota system as the basis of immigration. Council has long opposed this discriminatory system which bases selection for immigration on the national origins of the U.S. population according to the 1920 census. Pending legislation introduced by Senator Philip A. Hart (Mich.) in the 88th Congress would alter present laws so as to make reunification of families easier, give a better break to people from Southern and Eastern Europe and eliminate remaining quota obstacles to admission of persons who possess talents and skills urgently needed in this country. This legislation, which is unlikely to be passed in the first session, will be supported by Council in 1964.

Foreign Affairs

The atmosphere of constant crisis which surrounds the development and conduct of American foreign policy makes it difficult for people to recognize and understand the truly basic problems. The development of such an understanding is, nonetheless, the objective of Council's program in foreign affairs. Council, like many other major national voluntary organizations, is aware that in this age of high speed communication every reporter or commentator is anxious to bring the public something "new." The citizen, therefore, must have sound convictions based on knowledge in order to withstand the onslaught of those who seek to sway his views or arouse his emotions. Only then will he be safe from manipulation by politicians or pressure groups.

The three major issues selected for emphasis during the next club year are those which Council believes are basic to the long range foreign policy objectives of the United States: disarmament, foreign economic policy and support of the United Nations.

Disarmament

The successful conclusion of a nuclear weapons test ban would represent a major step toward disarmament. The fate of such a treaty in the United States Senate, however, has become the cause of considerable concern. Even before a treaty has been drafted there are some Senators — not all of them isolationist — who are saying that they believe such an agreement is not worth the risk to our national security.

In the belief that a good deal of honest opposition is based on fear of the unknown, the National Council of Jewish Women has been urging greater study and consideration of the economic and political effects of disarmament. Sound policies do not develop out of fear, but out of understanding of changes and risks and how to deal with them. It is equally true that little understanding of the true nature of the problems of disarmament is likely to grow from the unthinking, emotional approach of some groups.

Three of the key points in Council's continuing action program for disarmament are, therefore: 1) support of the Disarmament and Arms Control Agency and dissemination of its research and information; 2) encouragement to individuals, businesses and communities to devote serious study to the economic impact of disarmament; 3) setting up study and discussion groups to consider the way in which world law can be developed to replace the use of national force.

In addition, of course, there is the need for continued support of the United States government in its efforts to secure a treaty to ban nuclear weapons testing as a first step toward disarmament. Sections are urged to indicate to their Senators that there is strong public support for a nuclear weapons test ban treaty.

Foreign Economic Policy

Despite the fact that foreign economic aid programs have been in effect since the Marshall Plan of 1948, they have not yet been accepted as an integral part of United States foreign policy. Every Congress must review, sometimes reorganize, authorize anew and finally appropriate funds. The whole process is so political and unpredictable that it is extremely difficult to do any long range planning of foreign aid programs.

During this Congressional session, the President himself complicated the situation with the appointment of a special study committee under the chairmanship of General Lucius Clay. The recommendations of the Clay report, with its emphasis on narrowing the scope of the program and on cutting appropriations undoubtedly pleased many economy-minded Congressmen. However, in the years ahead, it may prove to be a considerable handicap to the development of

Be Ready for Action

To make legislative action possible without delay, as needed throughout the Congressional session, it is important for the Section Board to adopt a basic position early in the club year on outstanding issues. (See pages 16-17 of *Education for Action* for suggested procedure for obtaining Board approval for Section action.) Priority legislative objectives for Council in the next session are indicated in these guidelines under each major program area.

sound programs of assistance to the new nations for their economic and social development.

Despite the fact that polls show that 58 percent of the American people support foreign aid, members of Congress hear almost exclusively from those who oppose it. Indeed, it is ironic that the overwhelming public acceptance of the Peace Corps has not seemed to increase in any way the popularity of foreign aid. There needs to be greater understanding that those Americans who contribute their services as Peace Corps volunteers can only be effective if they are backed up by the economic support of all Americans through foreign aid programs.

Economic problems will also figure prominently on another level during the coming year. The forthcoming trade talks will begin to put into effect the broad tariff reduction powers granted the President by the last session of Congress. These negotiations will, however, be a significant test not only for our own expanding trade needs but also for western Europe and the common market. If the United States and the common market face each other as two hostile trade blocs, then hope will fade for the growth of world trade and for the cooperation of the nations of the free world in quickening the development of nations in Africa, Asia and South America.

The understanding and support of the American people of the efforts being made to achieve these objectives is essential to their success. Although it is not possible to say how just what form Council's action in this area will take, it will continue to be of important concern.

United Nations

The effectiveness of the United Nations as an international peace-keeping organization is constantly under attack. It is always being pressured to serve the interests of particular members or groups of members. These pressures relate to financing, administrative organization and the authority of the Secretary General, as well as to the agenda items before the General Assembly and Security Council.

Recently, financing has been a prominent issue, with questions of support of the United Nations being directly related to the UN peace-keeping operations in the Congo and the Middle East. The unwillingness of the Russians, the French and the Arab states to finance these operations has created a critical situation. The United States has done its share not only in direct financing, but also in the purchase of UN bonds.

In a little noticed vote in the House of Representatives recently, however, an amendment to cut our contribution to the United Nations by $19 million — a way of forcing immediate repayment of the bonds — was defeated by only seven votes.

Community Action: Because of constant sniping against the United Nations, particularly by right-wing groups, indications of public support are essential. In this connection, community-wide events and observances are particularly valuable. Council Sections are urged to promote, sponsor and participate in:

UNITED NATIONS DAY. *October 24, 1963*

UNITED NATIONS WEEK. *October 20-26, 1963*

TRICK OR TREAT FOR UNICEF. *October 31, 1963*

HUMAN RIGHTS DAY. *December 10, 1963*

Un Day and UN Week are annual occasions for community-wide observances designed to stimulate interest in the United Nations and to promote understanding of its objectives. For information on activities to observe UN Day and UN Week write to:

American Association for the United Nations
345 East 46th Street, New York 17, New York

U.S. Committee for the United Nations
375 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The children in your community, with some adult direction, can help children all over the world by participating in the annual United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) Halloween "Trick or Treat" program. Money collected is used for medical care and food for millions of children in other countries. For information on how to organize a "Trick or Treat" program for UNICEF write to:

U.S. Committee for UNICEF
331 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

The big event of 1963 will be the 15th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This will provide an opportunity for a significant international event and, more important, for looking at the human rights records of our own communities. Equal opportunity for all Americans is still not at hand and Human Rights Day 1963 presents an additional stimulus to community action. A most effective Guide to Community Action called *The Great Question — Human Rights* has been prepared and sponsored by a group of over thirty national organizations, including Council, and will be sent to Sections.

On the "action" front, it is to be hoped that the President will submit several international conventions in the human rights field to the Senate for ratification. If this is done, strong public support will be needed.

National Materials: Guidelines on How To Do It

Toward A Disarmed World. November 1962 *Council Platform.* An examination of some of the economic and political problems which will result from a disarmament agreement.

Meeting Attacks Against the United Nations. Informational kit answering current attacks against the UN and its agencies. Includes brochures, reprint of "The Council Story in the UN" and a Monitor Sheet with instructions for use.

Council Platform is a regular Public Affairs discussion and information bulletin. Additional copies will be sent regularly to Sections on request in quantity needed for discussion groups.

Council Platform is prepared by the staff of the Public Affairs Department, Helen Raebeck, head, Betty Rosen and Arlene Gilbert, professional assistants, and Olya Margolin, Washington Representative.

Religion

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

THE PURPOSE of this Society shall be to encourage men to respond positively to God's call for unity in the Church. The unity of God with man, and man with man, is made by God in Baptism and Holy Communion. We commit ourselves to establish total participation in the Church for all persons without regard to race, class, or national origin; to give mutual support to all who act in this ministry of reconciliation; and to express this concern at parish levels and in a more creative witness throughout the community at large.

IN FAITHFULNESS to Jesus Christ, Who values all men equally, and Who prayed that all might be One in Him, and in understanding of the essential unity of the Church, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity affirms the unity in His Body of all persons without any distinction as to race, color, national origin or class. In accord with the councils of the Church, we affirm that any form of segregation or separation based on such distinctions in either the Church or the general community is contrary to the will of Christ and must be resisted by His Church and its members.

WE CONFESS OUR FAILURE to seek steadfastly this unity of persons and we penitently admit to prejudices which may separate us from brothers. Praying daily that the Church may be rid of all divisions based on race, color, national origin or class, and that a more just social order be established, the members of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity will work toward this end within the Church and their communities as they are individually and corporately able. **They constitute this Society as a sign of their commitment and as a means of resource to the Church, and they invite other Churchmen to join them in its objectives, which are to seek:**

1. A recognition that our responsibility lies with all persons in a given geographical area and is concerned with drawing these persons into full fellowship through Baptism and Holy Communion within that one parish unit.

2. Mutual support amongst this society for all clergy and laity who, in seeking total participation in parish life for all, find themselves at odds with accepted social mores.

3. Increased acceptance and implementation of the principle that the Church is an inclusive fellowship which seeks out and welcomes all persons into the worship and parish life of any congregation without distinction as to race, color, national origin or class.

4. Elimination of criteria based on race, color, national origin or class for applicants to Church camps, conferences, schools, colleges, hospitals, or other institutions or agencies which the Church may operate or sponsor in any way.

5. Understanding of the prophetic role of the Church, both through corporate and individual effort, in seeking the elimination of racial and other prejudicial barriers in society, whether these be erected by governmental process or through custom.

6. That condition of harmony among peoples which is the benefit of a mutual recognition of the Lordship of Jesus Christ, so that brothers may dwell together in unity and see Him so lifted up that He will draw all men unto Him.

If you agree with this Statement, take your stand with three thousand others and use the attached form to join. If there is a Chapter of the Society where you live, you will be informed about local activities. Whether you are active in a chapter or not, your membership in ESCRU makes you part of a growing fellowship of Churchmen who are ready to move beyond words into the concrete implementation of these objectives. You must decide what you can do where you are.

* * * *

With still others being formed, as of late 1962 there were ESCRU chapters in these dioceses: Michigan, Missouri, Chicago, Maryland, New York, Ohio, Long Island, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. Informal ESCRU groups meet in other dioceses and at some seminaries on occasion.

USE THIS FORM TO JOIN ▶

TO: THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

CHECK ONE AND SIGN:

☐ As a member of the Episcopal Church and in agreement with the principles of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity as set forth in its Statement of Purpose, I apply for membership in the Society and enclose my dues for one year.

☐ I would like to support its work and be counted as a "Friend of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity". I enclose a contribution of $3.00 or more and understand that I may share in all activities and literature of the Society but may not hold office or vote.

_____
SIGNATURE

DATE_____

MR.
MISS
MRS.
REV.
RT. REV.

_____
NAME (PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE)

_____
ADDRESS

_____

_____ _____
PARISH DIOCESE

Beginning in 1964 minimum annual dues will become $4.00

Checks may be made payable to ESCRU or Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. Additional contributions are needed to support the work of the Society and will be gratefully received.	**DUES: Annually $3.00 per person minimum**	**ANY ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTION**	**TOTAL ENCLOSED**
	$_____	$_____	$_____

Contributions to ESCRU are tax exempt.

Behold,
how good and joyful
a thing it is
for brethren
to dwell together
in unity!

PSALM 133

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5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Religion

NCCJ

what is the national conference of christians and jews?

NCCJ

...was founded in 1928 by Charles Evans Hughes, Newton D. Baker, S. Parkes Cadman, Roger W. Straus, Carlton J. H. Hayes and other distinguished Americans.

It is a civic organization of religiously motivated people, seeking through education and discussion to promote civic cooperation and mutual understanding among men of good will of all religious and ethnic groups without compromise of religious beliefs.

Its purpose is positive: to approach more closely the national ideal of building "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

It seeks the resolution of community problems by bringing to bear on them the moral insights shared by all the major religious groups and all persons of good will who make up our pluralistic society.

NCCJ's program is educational and follows a multiple approach at various levels to the intergroup situation in the community. It reaches millions of Americans annually by conducting programs with and through existing institutions and organizations of society.

It is not an "interfaith" movement. It does not aim at any sort of amalgamation of religious bodies or a least common denominator of doctrine. It does not engage in common worship. It seeks in all its work to guard against the dangers of religious indifferentism.

It is neither a propaganda organization nor a pressure group. It does not lobby, it does not pass resolutions "viewing with alarm." It is not an "action group" in the conventional sense. But the education it seeks to promote is itself a profoundly important form of action if it brings about a change of heart.

NCCJ provides a means for men and women of good will of differing religions to work together on common civic concerns.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS NOW STARTS ITS 36TH YEAR OF INCREASING PROGRAM TO BUILD BETTER HUMAN RELATIONS. WITH A BUDGET OF APPROXIMATELY THREE MILLION DOLLARS—A DEDICATED STAFF WORKING OUT OF NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS AND 65 REGIONAL OFFICES—WE SHALL CONTINUE TO WORK TOWARD THE GOAL OF BRINGING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING INTO OUR NATIONAL LIFE.

Joseph C. Wilson

NATIONAL SPECIAL GIFTS CHAIRMAN

Events of 1963 have made it startlingly clear that our country's deepest need is not a more powerful technology, or even a more buoyant economy. More important by far is the need for people to learn to respect and understand one another. On this depends the very survival of our society.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews makes a unique contribution to this vital need, and its campaign deserves the vigorous support of business leaders throughout the United States.

Joseph C. Wilson
President, Xerox Corporation

major NCCJ program development areas and significant programs

We must help our children grow into emotional maturity so they do not use prejudice and hostility as a crutch for their own personality inadequacies.

NCCJ conducts "rearing children of good will" institutes, varied to meet local community needs, but focused upon the important role of parents in teaching children attitudes suited to democratic living.

The dissemination of accurate and objectively reported news about Catholics, Protestants, Eastern Orthodox and Jews helps to break down religious isolationism and prejudice.

The Religious News Service of the National Conference furnishes 450 newspapers, magazines and church publications and more than 200 radio and TV stations with photos, special features and daily dispatches on religious news.

To achieve the maximum impact in education, we must help train teachers and community leaders to acquire new understandings and skills in religious, racial and ethnic relations.

Since 1941 NCCJ has cooperated with leading colleges and universities in all parts of the country in a summer workshop program. In a university setting teachers and community leaders spend two to six weeks together, sharing, exchanging and learning practical ways of teaching good human relations.

Today's young people are tomorrow's leaders and America's future may very well depend upon the moral and spiritual values they acquire.

NCCJ is increasingly emphasizing its program for youth leaders. Conferences and institutes for high school youth provide opportunities to discuss issues of deep concern to young people.

It is evident that there can be no positive education for good human relations where peace and order are in jeopardy or where minority groups are victims of discrimination.

NCCJ's program in police-community relations includes an annual week-long national institute at Michigan State University, divisional police institutes and human relations programs for local police officers.

Opportunities for labor and management to meet and talk to one another about common human relations problems in non-crisis situations provide greater areas of understanding.

NCCJ institutes involving labor, management and community leaders help to create an understanding of mutual responsibility in crucial human relations problems.

In matters of interreligious relations the important consideration is not that agreement be reached but that lines of communication be kept open for a frank exchange of ideas and viewpoints.

A unique function of NCCJ through its program of dialogue is its role as a conferring agency, bringing together people of different religious affiliations for a friendly and frank exchange of viewpoints.

The development of sound informational materials on basic human relations problems expands knowledge and understanding.

NCCJ's extensive publication program produces intergroup relations materials for schools and colleges, churches and synagogues, civic agencies and the media of mass communications.

BROTHERHOOD WEEK, sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, has been observed since 1934. It is a time of renewal and resolution to sustain Brotherhood throughout the year.

NCCJ LEADERSHIP

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LEWIS L. STRAUSS, Former U.S. Secretary of Commerce

CARROL M. SHANKS, Financial Consultant and Civic Leader

President LEWIS WEBSTER JONES

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS is wholly supported by voluntary contributions from individuals, corporations, foundations, fraternal organizations and religious groups. These contributions make possible a network of 65 regional offices and their year-round programming for better human relations.

With its already established and proven experience in promoting understanding among all people, its educational program geared to reach people in all walks of life, NCCJ is uniquely qualified to meet the challenge of building a better democracy.

With your help and your contributions we can build toward the national ideal of one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

NCCJ

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92 Benevolent Street

RICHMOND 30, VA.
203 Westwood Bldg.
2317 Westwood Ave.

SAN ANTONIO 5, TEX.
632 Three A Life Bldg
118 Broadway

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4247 Park Blvd.

SAN FRANCISCO 3, CAL.
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703 Market Street

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721 Olive Street

TAMPA 4, FLA.
1216 E. Sligh Street

TULSA 3, OKLA.
515 S. Denver

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New York 19, N.Y.

WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
735 Southern Bldg.
1425 H St., N.W.

WHITE PLAINS, N.Y.
175 Main Street

WICHITA 2, KAN.
257 No. B'way
Suite 104

WICHITA FALLS, TEX.
718 - 10th St.

WILKES-BARRE, PENNA.
44 N. Franklin Street

WILLIAMSPORT, PA.
R.D. #2
Montoursville, Pa.

WILMINGTON, DEL.
1011 Washington St.

Canadian Council of Christians and Jews
506-508 Ryrie Bldg., 229 Yonge St., Toronto, Canada

L WDV
Religion

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans, Louisiana, 70113 • 523-2901

NON-DISCRIMINATION CONTRACT---Bishop Connare of Greensburg, Pa. and Bishop Reed of Oklahoma City have inserted non-discriminatory clauses in their church construction contracts.

FOLLOWING HIS STEPS---A moving story of Bishop Waters' development of a full understanding of racial justice, told in his own words, is available at our office. All you have to do is write for it. The director of the Southern Field Office, Henry Cabirac, at Bishop Waters' invitation, visited with him and with interested groups in Raleigh, Durham, Charlotte, Asheville, and Greenville, North Carolina urging more work for voter registration, further public school desegregation, and equal employment opportunities.

ATLANTA PROGRESS---Parochial schools in Atlanta have had the largest registration in history--this follows desegregation and shows that people of Christ will follow His path. Archbishop Hallinan is giving his full support to the Atlanta Interracial Council which is presenting excellent panels to parish organizations and other places when requested. Atlanta hospitals are desegregated.

CHARITY---Front pages all over the nation carried the story when a New Orleans area pastor was slugged by one of his parishoners who objected to integrated classes for children preparing for their First Communion. Perhaps the sequel in which the pastor refused to press charges against the assailant was not given the same coverage.

FIGHTER---Congratulations are in order for John P. Nelson, vice-chairman of the National Council and secretary of the New Orleans Council on Human Relations, who was one of those responsible for the lowering of the racial barrier at Tulane University. Not content to rest on his laurels, John has filed suit to open Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana schools to Indians in the area.(Remember-discrimination is not limited to one color.)

TRAVELER---Mr. Cabirac's been on the go--places he has visited in recent months include Savannah, Charleston, Washington, New York, Mobile, Nashville, Jackson, Atlanta, Chicago, Birmingham, Lafayette, Monroe, Dallas,

Shreveport, Little Rock, Oklahoma City, Austin, San Antonio, Houston, Raleigh, Greensboro, Durham, Charlotte, Asheville. If you want him--just buzz him--he'll come arunning provided you get him enough in advance so he can plan his trip to cover as many places as possible.

RATES BASED ON COLOR---It has come to our attention that some Southern-based insurance companies charge Negroes as much as 80 per cent more than national companies do. If you know anything about this practice, please help fight it.

LITERATURE---Here are some recommended pieces of literature we have on supply. Dr. Spock's "Prejudice in Children's Conversations with Dr. Spock"--.25 cents. "Challange to Religion"--National Conference on Religion and Race--$1.65, and "How to Organize a Catholic Interracial Council"--$1.50.

LET'S WORK---If you're interested in racial justice how about getting out and doing something. Pope John XXIII in "Mater et Magista" urged we translate doctrine into deeds. The Interracial Review suggests 12 steps:

1. Read and Study--know what the facts are.
2. Find Others--who are concerned and want to do something.
3. Raise the Issue--don't stand silent, be the first one to talk about it.
4. Join--it's O.K. to be a loner, but groups get things done.
5. Attend--once you've got it started keep the movement alive by attending the meetings.
6. Write and Visit--let your editors, legislators, pastors, and civic officals know what you think. Put it in a letter and, better still, take time to go and visit them.
7. Break Down Isolation--get the races together. They can't know each other as humans if they don't have the chance to meet.
8. Children--let them know truth and justice from the start at home.
9. Hospitality--how about a coffee party at home as a fine place to get people together.
10. Times of Tension--promote harmony so your neighborhood will be ready when passions rise and tempers flare--remember this isn't all strawberries and cream and it might get nasty--so be prepared.
11. Provide Information--let your community leaders know what is going on in other places.
12. Pray--let's face it--we need help and only He can give it.

PERMISSION OF CHANCELLORY NEEDED---All priests desiring to participate in the August 28 march on Washington are required to get the permission of their Chancellory Office and have this forwarded to His Excellency Archbishop O'Boyle in Washington. Archbishop O'Boyle is providing board and lodging for that one day to all those in need of it. For further information please write the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, 21 West Superior Street, Chicago 10, Illinois.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE---By now you are all aware of the historical National Conference on Religion and Race which was held in Chicago in January. This is the first time in the history of the country that the heads of the three faiths agreed to meet on a national level on any subject. Follow-ups of the conferences are being held throughout the country and there have been some concrete results. In your own community you should try to co-operate with such a follow-up committee, or if there is none, try to initiate one.

PARTICIPATION OF ALL CATHOLICS IN CHURCH ACTIVITIES---Unfortunately because Negroes have been resented for so long they frequently avoid participation in all forms of Catholic life such as parish and diocesian organizations, schools, etc., even when they are able to join. Those of us that are interested in Christian Unity and racial justice and charity should do everything possible to encourage Catholic Negroes to participate to the fullest extent.

PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS BILL---All Southern Catholic who are interested in implementing the principles of our Bishops regarding racial justice and charity have given priority to putting our house in order. This is correct. However our concern for justice should not stop here. If you will recall the Bishops' statement "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience" these principles should be applied to all walks of life.

Just as we are very much concerned with such evils in the community as indecent literature because it affects Catholics as well as non-Catholics, this should be the case with racial injustice. We therefore urge you to contact your Senators and Congressmen to ask that they modify some of their opposition to this bill, or in the case of the few areas of the South where your Senators and Congressmen are on the defensive, to encourage them to vote for it. It would be better not to identify yourself as belonging to a Catholic Interracial Council or a Human Relations Council.

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Religion

SOME REACTIONS OF A CITY PASTOR TO THE EFFECTIVE CITY CHURCH STUDY

George D. Younger, Mariners' Temple Baptist Church, New York, N.Y.
Distributed by the Department of the Urban Church
Presbyterian Board of National Missions, U.P.U.S.A.

The most striking difference between the materials prepared for the initial conference on the Effective City Church Boards in April 1955 and those used at the summary meeting in Pittsburgh in November 1960 is the frame of reference within which they are written. Where the preparatory materials wanted to compare and measure the city church in relation to the surrounding community, those resulting from the study feel it necessary to evaluate the city church in relation to the theological definition of "church." Where the earlier viewpoint looked at the city church from the outside, the final approach is looking from the inside.

This is an important distinction, for it marks out clearly the end of an era in urban church work. All of us are familiar with the pioneering work of Park, Burgess and others in urban sociology and of H. Paul Douglass, Kincheloe, Sanderson and others in church and society. Standing as watchmen on the city wall, they warned the churches of the urban (now metropolitan) explosion that was engulfing them. Using the techniques of the static sociology of their time, they traced out the dimensions of the surrounding community and the institution of the church within that community. Taking it for granted that each communion and each congregation was sure what it meant to be a church, they pointed the way to creative interaction between the local congregation and its surrounding community. The response of the denominational executive and the pioneering pastor to this knowledge can be summed up in the slogan: "The church must serve its community."

Many of the most significant projects in city work during the past four decades have been undertaken on the basis of this knowledge, and we cannot underestimate the importance of their contributions. Yet there has also been a growing uneasiness with the fruits of this approach. Devastatingly summed up for us by St. Hereticus in his satirical "coloring book" for Christianity and Crisis, the community approach has often resulted in producing ministers -- and congregations -- who are to be colored "the color of their environment."[1] The most obvious fruit is the endless succession of "church extension" congregations multiplied in suburbs across the continent, each carefully chosen in accordance with a community "survey" and each expected to "serve its community." A less obvious fruit -- but equally gnarled and wormy -- is the scattering of "inner-city experiments" in some of our urban areas, each keenly aware of community trends and proclaiming proudly its accomplishment of "serving the community." Important as it may be to know and seek to serve the community in which a church is placed, it is not sufficient reason for its existence as a church. Nor is it very helpful in distinguishing an "effective city church" from an effective supermarket, branch bank or settlement house.

Malaise about this approach has perhaps not been so marked among pastors in urban situations as it has been among the very people who were most responsible for it in the first place. Sociology had moved on from studying the outlines of a community and its institutions to using the more dynamic tools of psychology and the "depth interview" in an attempt to understand its sources and its movement. Values and norms were felt to be as significant as membership and frequency of attendance. The individual self-consciousness became as legitimate an object of inquiry as the ecology of which he was a part. In addition, as Frances Potter's introductory report showed, there is a lack of clarity and agreement among executives, pastors and other students of the urban church concerning "the major types of churches that can be found in a metropolitan area." All agreed that the "city church" includes all churches from downtown to the fringes of suburbia, but they could agree on little else.[2] The "traditional" categories of "downtown," "inner city,"

"neighborhood" and "suburban" proved no more effective an indicator of the type of community and the type of church than the ridiculously broad definition used by the Bureau of the Census to designate a community as "urban." The categories prove to have little specificity, and each shades into the other. In addition, they can do little with the downtown and suburban prestige churches that draw from the whole metropolitan area or the newest urban phenomenon, the "slurb," where a relatively new housing area already contains a slum population. The measuring rod that had seemed so sure in the 1920's, the urban community, had proven to be quite inadequate.

Some urban pastors had other misgivings about the conventional way of approaching urban problems. Under the influence of a resurgent theological concern for the church, they proclaimed, "Let the church be the church." Carrying the church's banner, they were willing to seek to colonize any part of the metropolis. Their inspiration and their norm was the life of the church itself. And they were as likely to engage in Bible studies as community studies. Although the impact of their experience upon the wider church was first interpreted in older terms ("They are serving their community."), during the past decade it began to become more apparent that their primary importance was theological and not sociological.

None of these influences fully account for the shift in emphasis, but it is most important to note that a change of viewpoint has occurred. This was not just a change in the viewpoint of a few reserchers trying to fulfill an assignment for a department of the National Council of Churches and its member denominations. This has been a change that has occurred among urban pastors and their churches as well. We are fortunate that, at the time that we wish to be more theologically oriented in our approach to metropolitan situations, the technicians who will be investigating and measuring our churches are more concerned to measure effectiveness in terms of what the church is than in terms of what the community is.

The natural tendency of the local pastor in relation to studies of this kind has been to resist investigation and measurement. "There are too many imponderables." "We're only getting started," "They're going to be looking at the wrong things" -- these are some common reactions. Yet, as the initial study report pointed out, it is impossible to measure "effectiveness" without first defining the "objectives," "purposes" or "goals" in terms of which effectiveness is to be measured.[3] Every local congregation -- and every pastor -- has some objectives, purposes or goals by which it seeks to forward its work. When these are made clearer to the researchers and investigators, then it becomes possible to measure effectiveness. If we are to avoid having superficial or irrelevant criteria applied from outside our situations, then it will be necessary for us to articulate with greater depth and precision than most local churches have been doing what we consider to be our main objectives, our fundamental purposes, our primary goals.

The initial study report also outlined the four "manifestations of the local church" which might be used as criteria for measurement. (These might better be understood as relationships, as I have indicated in parentheses.)

1. the church as an institution (in relation to itself)
2. the church as a congregation of individuals (in relation to individuals)
3. the church as a part of the social structure in the community (in relation to society)
4. the church as the "local outpost of the Kingdom," a manifestation of the Body of Christ (in relation to God)[4]

All these criteria have their importance, and none of us can avoid setting our direction or measuring our performance by standards that include the church in all these relationships. Yet, the final reports made to the 1960 conference make it plain that, if the church concentrates on the first three relationships (which, incidentally, are the most easily measurable!) to the exclusion of the fourth, it

has forfeited the very purpose for which it exists. Definitions of effectiveness, then, have to proceed primarily from an adequate theological doctrine of the church. Difficult as it may be, the church cannot be judged "effective" or "less than effective" without some reference to the purposes of God.

The standard which the researchers chose to do their measuring was stated thus: "The Church is called by God to become the Body of Christ in order to carry on Christ's ministry of reconciling the world to God."[5] This definition was reached on the basis of statements of the Third World Conference on Faith and Order at Lund, Sweden and the North American Conference on Faith and Order at Oberlin. An exegete might point out that there are many terms and images used to describe the church in the New Testament; a theologian might point out the inevitable compromise involved in formulating "ecumenical statements;" a local pastor might point out the difficulty of seeing theological descriptions in the empirical reality of a congregation. But the important point has been marked out: a church can only truly be measured in relation to God and to its own call to be a church.

Not all of the contribution of five years of discussion and study is to be found in the area of methodology, however. Approaching the church on the basis of its own doctrine and self-understanding, the researchers have given some important theoretical undergirding (and, incidentally, raised some disturbing questions) to the rule-of-thumb, pragmatic model of a local congregation on which most inner-city parishes and many suburban ones have been operating for quite some time. Stated simply, this model can be said to combine aspects of both the "congregational" and the "parish" approach. It has seen a local congregation and its constituency as a series of concentric rings: leaders or "militants" at the center, along with clergy and professionals; a wider circle of faithful members who are strong on religious observance; a still wider circle of weak or indifferent members; surrounded then by another circle of constituents who are involved in one or another of the church's activities; beyond whom lie the rest of the "parish," everyone who is as yet untouched by the life of this local congregation. Depending on their understanding of what it means to be a "member," different communions will draw a line at one or another of these rings and say that at this point membership ceases and wider constituency begins. Yet all have basically modified the traditional understandings of congregation or parish which came to them from their confessional group.

Charles Glock was the first researcher to raise the question whether the description of adherents of a local congregation as "members" or "non-members" was not so vague as to be meaningless. He suggested that "religiousness as a concept" be measured according to "the kind and degree of commitment" which a church expects and receives from its parishioners. As an analytical model, he suggested four dimensions into which members' faith-responses might be divided:

1. experiential (religious feelings)
2. ritualistic (religious practices)
3. ideological (religious beliefs)
4. consequential ("works," what people do and what attitudes they hold as a consequence of their religious experience, practice and belief)

He recognized that these are all dimensions of commitment and are all expected of the church member. Yet he also recognized that the churches are unclear as to what they expect of parishioners in each of these dimensions, and that church members tend to emphasize some dimensions of commitment to the exclusion of others.[6]

Yoshio Fukuyama, operating on the basis of this clue, refined Glock's proposal to four dimensions which seemed to be more meaningful and to represent distinctive styles of religious orientation:

1. cognitive (what people know about religion; "the knowledgeable church member")
2. cultic (an individual's practice of religion; "the active church member")

3. creedal (what a person believes; "the believing church member")
4. devotional (religious feelings and experience; "the devout church member")[7]
Using these categories and questionnaires designed to measure the extent to which church members fitted into one or more of these categories, Fukuyama found strong basis for the practical model already being used by urban churches. 1/3 of the respondents did not possess any of the characteristics used to define religious orientation; they were "nominal" church members who considered themselves Christians without knowing or believing very much in the Christian faith, who considered themselves part of the Christian fellowship without being active in it or sharing its experience. An additional 1/6 was cultically oriented, which meant that they were faithful in religious observance only. Still another 1/6 was oriented to only one of the other three dimensions, and only 1/3 oriented in 2 or more dimensions. Although not stated, we can probably assume that only a relatively few people met the test of being able to be measured along all four dimensions.[8]

Other findings of interest in this study of the quality of church membership were: 1. the shift from cognitive to devotional orientation as a typical style as one moved from youth to age along the age scale; 2. the increased intensity of a member's beliefs as one moves along the dimensions from cognitive through cultic and creedal to devotional; 3. the correlation between social class (high socio-economic status, high educational attainment, in prime productive years, married with children) and the modal dimension, the cultic; 4. creedal and devotional styles as "deviant modes of religious expression" associated with old age, lack of family ties, low educational attainment and low socio-economic status; and 5. dominance of the Protestant churches by nuclear family interest, which fail to provide for those widowed, divorced or unmarried, and by "institutionalization of religion at the cognitive level, " which works against members' achieving other dimensions of their faith.

Far less helpful than Fukuyama's findings are the attempts of Phillip Hammond to discover the relation of ideology to church participation. Starting out with categories of members as "ego-centric" (less attached to traditional beliefs, less community oriented), "socio-centric" (same in belief, but community oriented), "ecclesia-centric" (traditional in belief, less community oriented) and "theo-centric" (traditional and community oriented), he emerged with the tautological conclusion that the theo-centric were the most likely to participate in church activities, while the ego-centric were least likely. This is a good example of the kind of measuring-rod that is not likely to be very helpful either to local congregations or to researchers.

Three observations must be made about this whole process of measuring effectiveness, however. They apply, no matter what the criteria which are being used:
1. Tentativeness of Data: Although sociological studies and depth interviews can produce helpful data, we can never forget that their findings are quite a bit less than absolutes. In the first place, they represent a situation or a person's reactions only at the time at which the study is made, a kind of cross-section in time of a situation which has kept on changing. Second, their conclusions are often based on answers to a very limited number of questions. These questions are framed so that they will be indicative of the respondent's state of mind, but there is always the possibility of misinterpretation on the part of interviewer or interviewee. Finally, the results which are given "labels" and presented as findings actually represent small, though significant variations in totals, scores and correlations. The interpretation of such numerical ratios is a job for technicians and may sometimes tell far more about the questionnaire than about the congregation or individual being studied.

2. Need to Set Own Standards: One of the most significant findings of Project Laity, a parallel study to the Effective City Church Study which used some of its research instruments, was that "the means and standards used in successful problem solution were...group generated rather than drawn from available denominational sources."[9] Although outside standards of effectiveness and studies by those outside a church's situation can be of help, this project setting up lay-ministerial groups in 27 different local churches found that continuing groups which made the most progress on their own situation were those which met the following conditions: a. relevant persons within both power and policy processes of the local church were involved in the initial planning process; b. adequate definition of the situation which the planned change is designed to improve; c. vague goals at first, so that the nature of the goal can change as things move along; and d. goals which originate from within the experience and conditions of the local church. This seems to indicate that the most a set of criteria can do for urban churches is to provide them with a set of guide lines for conducting their own self-study. The best criteria in the world will not be helpful in measuring or stimulating effectiveness in parishes when imposed from the outside.

3. Relation of Local Congregation to Wider Church: In spite of what has just been said, it is obvious that no local group can adequately assess every factor in its own situation or generate de novo the necessary responses to the challenges they face. This means that a non-threatening consultative relationship needs to be established with denominational authorities. Project Laity also showed that when such help was available, local churches were able to move ahead faster and more effectively. However, most denominational boards in spite of protestations that they exist "to serve the local church" -- conceive their relation to the local church primarily as a promotional or program implementation function rather than a consultative one. They seem to be bringing "pressure" on the local groups rather than seeking to help them. We must also note that it is equally difficult to get churches of various denominations in a given area together because of the same "threat" which each poses to the other. Yet, many times this sort of mutual facing of their situation is precisely what is called for.

Every new emphasis carries within it the seeds of its own distortion and eventual destruction. This must be recognized in connection with present attempts to evaluate the city church in relation to a theological definition of the church rather than in relation to the community at large. We face a highly fluid and complex situation in every metropolitan area. The fact that primary attention is being given to the nature of the church in relation to God and to its own membership does not release us from the necessity of continuing attention to the situation in which the church is carrying out its mission and the people whom it is not reaching. Frances Potter suggested in her initial report that the methods used by the United States International Information and Educational Exchange to test whether or not it was reaching its audience might have some relevance in assessing a church's effectiveness. This would mean gauging the response of the "unsure" and "antagonistic" as well as of the "committed."[10] At a time when many are pointing to the growing estrangement between modern culture and every phase of the church's life, we cannot afford to keep our eyes only on "inside" fators. We need to study as deeply and carefully as ever the situation in which the church is seeking to witness.

There is a certain falsity to the whole process of trying to draw up "criteria" or "guidelines" or objectives. It seems to assume that we can start from scratch and create churches as if nothing had gone before. Unfortunately we start in this process at exactly the same place in which every local congregation and its minister must start: in media res, right smack in the middle. There is a certain coolness and sterility about the whole process that would like to "plan" everything out, as if it is ever possible to start with a completely clean slate. Every local

congregation must face not only what it presently is and what it wants to be; it must also bear the burden of what it has been. Even when the new minister comes in as "the new broom" or the population moves in bringing "a changed situation," there is no easy way to separate the present and future from the past.

This is also very true to the nature of the church itself, for here also we start in media res. Christ has come, the apostles have witnessed, and we are built on that foundation. In addition, we bear all the burdens, for good or ill, of our denominational and Protestant past. Therefore, it is quite unrealistic (as well as untheological) to start out as if we had nothing to go by and nothing to live down. Charles Estus, in a very perceptive paper prepared for the 1960 conference, has pointed out that sociologists can offer some guidance as churches make strategy decisions. Talcott Parsons outlines four basic strategy problems facing any group: 1.) adaptive (how to adapt to physical, social, economic and political environments), 2.) goal consummatory (how to realize the purposes of the church), 3.) integrative (how to harmonize the activities of persons and groups so that all contribute to the achievement of its purposes), and 4.) normative (how to gain commitment of members to purposes and their acceptance of standards governing the behavior of members). Estus points out that, in the light of the studies made in the Effective City Church inquiry, it is clear that, although integration around purposes is often a problem, the most basic problem facing urban churches is the normative one.[11] At this point it is most important that we recover some sense of a church that has existed in the past and of which we are now a part, a church that cuts across congregational lines and gives some sense of form to each local conventicle. We do not face this problem without resources, for we are already in the middle of the church's history.

One final observation: It is interesting to note that, although the Effective City Church study points strongly to the presence of criteria for measuring effectiveness within the church's own theological understanding of itself, it says nothing about methods being available from her theology. At this point a local pastor would like to express his great appreciation for all that the social sciences and the arts of administration can teach the local congregation. But he would also like to point out that we find quite clearly in Scripture and in the life of the believing fellowship a resource that cannot be overlooked: the Christian experience of repentance and forgiveness. I know of no other way that any local church can approach the task of self-study, and I am sure that it is even more necessary when others approach from the outside to apply general standards to all the particularities of a given situation. Without this experience of God's grace, we have the nightmare of the "organization man:" a group-think set of standards for evaluation that will be handed to every national and local executive, a slavish attempt on the part of clergy and congregations to "shape up" in those areas where they know they will be tested, a "successful" product according to the specifications or the limbo of disfavor and withdrawal of financial support -- a straight-line process that is supposed to move from plan through execution to evaluation. But we know that we all labor under the gaze of a Judge who so marks our inadequacies that none can stand. We know that it is constantly necessary to be humbled by our failures and partial execution, so that we shall once again come to repentance and open ourselves to God's renewing grace. Therefore, if the note of repentance and renewal has been missing in these preparatory studies, let us make sure that they will be considered a basic part of the process by which any denomination seeks to encourage churches to "effectiveness" and help them measure how they stand not only in the eyes of men but of God.

For Further Thought in Spare Moments:

How Should Criteria Be Applied?

"1. We might agree at the very start that all of our methods of evaluation will be highly fallible. We will never be sure how effective we have been in helping men to learn to know and love God, and we cannot define how God can be expected to perform His works.

2. We all recognize that we cannot impose our criteria, measures, and norms on groups that do not accept them as valid. Indeed, we may decide that self-application of criteria is the best method.

3. It seems clear that all of our evaluation will really be evaluation of progress, rather than achievement. Since the command is "Be ye perfect," we will never try to separate sheep from goats, but rather will try to distinguish limited from greater progress toward achievement of our ultimate objectives.

4. We will achieve a greater measure of "objectivity" and fairness if, having studied as carefully as possible, and having defined certain criteria for effectiveness, we apply these impartially to all the churches or programs for which they were designed. (It is a familiar democratic principle that before the law prominent and poor men are regarded in the same way.)"

Quoted from "What Is An Effective City Church"
By--Frances Squire Potter
Department of Urban Church
Division of Home Missions
National Council of Churches

Standard, Efficiency, Effectiveness

The effectiveness of any person or group can be judged in three ways. First, some standard can be used to determine whether the action of a person or group conforms with the standard. Secondly, action can be judged in terms of the efficiency of the action in realizing that standard. Thirdly, effectiveness can be judged in terms of the degree to which that is actually the purpose of action. The working statement of the purposes of the Church then becomes the standard with which these three forms of judgment are made. (Whitman et al, "A Frame of Reference for the Study of the Effective City Church, p. 1)

"Parish" and "Congregation"

One source of weakness of a parish ministry lies in the possible failure of such a ministry to realize true community among the members of the congregation. There are no structural deterrents to the distortion of the purpose of the Church to create reconciled community, as St. Paul describes it. All too often the parish ministry becomes a professional staff rendering services to the immediate neighborhood. This professionalization and subsequent "programming" of the life of the church is substituted for the community called by God to carry on Christ's ministry of reconciliation.

On the other hand, the basic weakness of the "gathered congregation" form of the local church is the ease with which the essential unity of members in Christ is distorted to become a unity in class, age, sex, or race. The consistent tendencies in all the local churches in our sample is for such distortion. The emphasis upon fellowship and community all too quickly becomes purely social and finally loses its sense of mission along with the basis for true community. (Ibid., pp. 3f)

The Problems of Heterogeneity

The church is unique among voluntary association in its commitment to serve everyone. While many reject its appeal, the commitment nevertheless has its effect...Generally speaking, when compared with other voluntary organizations, the parish church is distinguished by its heterogeneity rather than its homogeneity.

The fact of this heterogeneity has a profound implication for the task of organizaing the church's program. In effect, it defines that task as developing a program that will appeal to and involve many different kinds of people... This is clearly beyond the capacity of the smaller one-minister parish and would strain the resources of even the most well-endowed larger one. Some compromise is obligatory. In the average church, age and sex are taken to be the two most important characteristics determining members' interests and capabilities, and church programs are organized primarily around age and sex distinctions.

...In most secular organizations, age and sex tend paradoxically to have less influence precisely because these organizations are open to or attract members of one sex only in certain age brackets. As a consequence they are in a better position to consider other factors over and above age and sex in the development of their programs. Because its membership is so heterogeneous, the church is in no position to ignore the importance of age and sex in the construction of its program. But it cannot easily take account of other differences because its resources are so limited, particularly in the one-minister parish. (Charles Y. Glock, "On the Nature of Church Programs")

The Role of the Minister

In a constantly changing society, freedom to break with tradition, to alter old ways of doing things and to innovate new ones, is almost a prerequisite to serving communities which have been disrupted by urban redevelopment or in which shifts in racial, religious, and social composition have occurred. How much freedom parishioners and the church-at-large are inclined to permit their ministers in meeting the challenge of social change is thus of more than academic importance. Judging from several recent studies which touch on this issue, the answer for parishioners is not very much.

...The results of these studies would appear to relate to the observation that the minister, to some degree, stands as a symbol of the divine. In part, this is reflected in the inclination of the parishioner to impose, implicitly at least, more rigid moral standards on the minister than on himself. It is also reflected in the apparent propensity to perceive the minister in traditional terms and to see any sharp break with tradition as a threat to the symbol. Insofar as ministers must break with tradition to meet the exigencies of contemporary life, it appears that the church has a major educational job to do to encourage an atmosphere in which the minister will be allowed greater freedom in defining his role. (Charles Y. Glock, "On the Nature of the Ministerial Role")

The Self-Image of the Congregation

The present study provides support to the thesis that the self-image of the congregation is a primary key to the adaptation process... When the self-image does not correspond to the demands of the situation it becomes dysfunctional. This implies that a change agent interested in promoting adaptation must concern himself not only with program techniques, but also with a careful analysis of the existent self-image and with the means by which dysfunction may be relieved.

...(Out of these studies the following factors can be summarized:) In some cases the self-image is at a subconscious level, having been transmitted by tradition. In others, it appears that the minister and core of lay leadership provide the dynamic for change as they wrestle with the situation. Serious reconsideration of

the biblical mission of the church can be of significance. Frequently the situation itself raises issues and helps to break an outdated image. Sometimes outside contacts, including denominational resources, may be of significance. (Everett L. Perry and George Lee, "The Role of the Self-Image in the Life of the Congregation")

The Vertical-Horizontal Conflict

Roland L. Warren in a recent issue of "Human Organization" elaborated on the "vertical-horizontal conflict" that exists within most institutions. In the case of the urban church we note the conflict between denominational loyalty and involvement, and community identification and involvement. It is understandable that in the midst of this tension many of the urban churches revert to an extreme position - generally in the direction of the vertical of denominational dimension. If the church is to be a leaven in the community and to play a key role in the affairs of society, then there must be the horizontal outreach and dimension as well. (Walter Kloetzli, "Some Problems of the Urban Church")

Ecumenical Relations at the Community Level

In a sense this is part of the vertical-horizontal conflict; yet it is much more than this. Local pastors and church leaders must recognize that the total Protestant witness can be made more effective in many ways. Too many assume that union services are the best and only way to cooperate. Conferences and consultations about common problems and opportunities and plans in the community are certainly one very necessary ingredient for more effective Protestant witness in urban America. Then there is the level of coordinated action. Beyond this there is the level of united action. In all local efforts, whether they be by individual congregations, groups of congregations from several denominations, or congregations in conjunction with other community institutions -- Christians are expected to be found faithful to the Gospel and responsible to the Lord of the Church. Unfortunately, some are so "cooperation-prone" that they do not adequately evaluate the purposes, methods, and consequences of some community programs to which they give support. (Kloetzli, op. cit.)

Lay Ignorance of the Bible and Church History

Several of the membership interview forms used in the Effective City Church Study include a series of questions about the Bible and Church History... We believe most church members should have passed this test without difficulty. The questions could have been improved in many ways, but this would not seem to be an excuse for anyone making sufficient errors to fall into the "Poor" category.

...We could find no relationships of practical importance between the combined scores on these information questions and such variables as formal education, age, sex, occupation, amount of church activity, regular attendance at adult church school, or size of church.

The tabled results suggest that some individual churches may have adult church school classes which have raised their whole church's total score... Further, there are a number of small effects (both positive and negative) between college education and some of the questions composing the schedule. One might note that in some of the churches with the lowest scores well over half of the membership had college training.

The membership scores are poor. The deacon and church school teacher scores, considering their offices are poorer yet. Most of the errors are in the content questions, although many persons did not know such simple facts as the whereabouts of the Psalms in the Bible. It seems to us unlikely that a longer and more carefully constructed test will show great improvement in such scores, or that this

present population of churches with their predominant number of college trained members, is more ineffective in this area than the average city church. (Barry Keating, "How Much Do City Church Members Know about the Bible and Church History?")

Lay Involvement in the Local Church

...the emerging picture of the functional involvement of laymen in the life of their local congregations appears as follows. Church size and polity are basic to understanding such involvement. When polity encourages more responsibility for the local church from the layman, the number of roles available is greater. The larger the church, the greater is the number of available roles. But functional involvement reaches a maximum point when the church approaches a membership of 500. And lastly, when roles are available, age, sex and class play a basic role as to who fills them. (Charles Estus, "Lay Participation in the Local Church")

Footnotes

1. Christianity and Crisis, June 11, 1962

2. Frances Squire Potter, "What Is an Effective City Church?" pp. 11-18.

3. Ibid., p. 1

4. Ibid., pp. 46-51; cf. p. 2.

5. L.B. Whitman, Glen Trimble, Barry Keating, Anne Lively and Charles Estus, "A Frame of Reference for the Study of the Effective City Church," p. 2.

6. Charles Y. Glock, "On the Expectations of the Church Concerning Parishioner Commitment;" cf. Yoshio Fukuyama, "The Major Dimensions of Church Membership (Part I)."

7. Fukuyama, op. cit.

8. Fukuyama, "The Major Dimensions of Church Membership (Part II)."

9. Glen W. Trimble, "Some Emergent Clues to Church Effectiveness, p. 3; Tom Bennett, "Some Considerations on Helping with Change in the Local Church."

10. Potter, op. cit., pp. 33f., 45f.

11. Charles W. Estus, "Research Contributions to Christian Strategy."

Religion

Paper I

Guidelines for Evaluation of the Local Urban Church

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The work we do here, if we are successful, will replace a document that was prepared and distributed in 1953. It is worth asking ourselves, perhaps, what may be the life expectancy of anything we do and therefore for what period of time in the history of the American Presbyterian urban church we may be presumptuously offering to propose norms; is it another ten years, or less, or more, or a generation, or forever?

I have a very good recollection of the period out of which the earlier document developed, which was the final and perhaps the least productive phase of a whole generation of thought, primarily sociological thought, about the church. George Younger in his analysis describes very well the watershed between that period and this, from the time the study of the effective city church began in 1955 to the summary meeting in 1960. His summary sentence says: "Where the preparatory materials wanted to compare and measure the city church in relation to the surrounding community, those resulting from the study feel it necessary to evaluate the city church in relation to the theological definition of 'church'." He refers to the sociologists who pioneered in the understanding of urban society and to the churchmen who used this understanding to comprehend the phenomena of the urban church. The names he mentions are the men under whom I studied and worked all the earlier part of my professional life: Douglass, Kincheloe, Sanderson. We have moved, as he says, out of the era of thinking about church and community which they so ably represented, which at its best made the church understand how much it was a reflection of the secular society around it and forced it therefore, in all conscience, to try to change its society (or in less ambitious terms, "serve its community") so that church and community might move forward together toward

becoming the visible Kingdom of God here on earth -- as Americans generally assumed they were doing -- and at its worst became the kind of market research that looked at communities and said: start a church in this community, because it will flourish as an institution, but avoid this other community, because the market won't support a branch outlet for what you are merchandising unless you subsidize it.

We have moved, or are moving, as Younger says, toward an understanding of church strategy that begins with a theological dimension. We ought to pause a moment, however, to look back a full cycle of the pendulum of American church history and remember that what made Douglass and Kincheloe and Sanderson such pioneers was that their work represented a daring and radical attack against an understanding of the church that was primarily theological rather than sociological or anthropological. Their work met with "shocked and grieving piety" because it dared to be objective about the church. The theology of that day was, we would say today, poor theology and shallow theology; it was theology with a hardening of the arteries; it was a theology that seemed incapable of distinguishing American social and cultural patterns from Biblical truth; but it was theological. Every approach to the understanding of the church has its traps, and the trap in the theological approach is that once you have stated the role and purpose of the church in terms of the will and purpose of God, a criticism of this definition is a criticism of God; and after all you can't set up guidelines to evaluate the effectiveness of God. All you can do is be faithful. The catch of course is that our formulations and verbalizations of the will of God, or the structures in which we embody them, are our human creations and are inevitably imperfect and incomplete, and get more so as God's plans unfold in history. We must allow God's world and God's history to teach us the lessons they are supposed to. It seems to be generally true that a church oriented too exclusively to a specific theological formula is likely to get more and more disoriented from human reality as time passes,

and our theology must be kept under as careful review as the sociology of the parish.

I quote here from Robert Dodd: "I think we have to be very careful when we speak of the church as the Body of Christ. The image is useful and suggestive and very important. But it has also led some of us disastrously astray. When used within the community of faith, as the Apostle Paul used it, it is an evocative and helpful figure. But like any figure, it has limits. When used apologetically, it can confuse. The Church cannot be equated with the Lord. That equation is the danger I sense. The Church is not here to be worshipped or enshrined or perpetuated or absolutely loved. The Church is not the same as Jesus Christ. The Church is God's instrument for carrying on the work of Christ. This means that the Church is here to be used up, to be given away, to be broken and hurt as long as there is hurt in the world God loves... It is not here forever; it is here until the kingdom comes. And in this time between the times, God's purpose for the church is to be doing His redemptive work.... It bands together those who have tasted the love of Christ and it enables them to pour that love upon a waiting world."

There we have at least the outside limits of the period we are planning for; all our strategy and tactics about the church have to do not with absolutes and eternals, but with an interim period, the interim between now and the time when God makes some decisive change in the history within which we work -- and I don't mean by that the end of time, but any significant new era in history. Indeed, the changes are happening so rapidly right now that we do not know what they portend or where they are leading us: the revolutions in production and consumption and expectations of consumption; the growth of what has been called the "metropolity" as the basic form of social organization in this country, the emergence of dark-skinned citizens as full partners in the social process along with the denial of this in their continuing confinement in economic and residential ghettoes, the shrinking of the world, the automation of production, the prospective increase from a world of three billion to a world of six billion in four decades, the urbanization of other great sectors of the world -- all these and many other changes are among the factors that limit and condition anything we might say about the role of the church here and now, and set limits on our understanding not only of the church, but of the will of God, until we see better how man's life on this planet is going to unfold.

I think, however, we can be even more precise about the period of time for which we are proposing standards and guidelines, and we come back again to the rather fruitless discussion of the "successful" church in which I was engaged some months ago with George Younger and others. I am unreconstructed enough to believe still that when we are talking about evaluating the work of the church, the impact of the church upon the human world around it is one of the major factors to be taken into consideration, along with its self-judgment as to whether it is faithful to God's will and purpose for the church in its purer or more theological definition. What I have tried awkwardly to say in many ways I find has been said much better by Dietrich Bonhoeffer, speaking in a far different context from the American urban church. Here is his statement about success.

"OF SUCCESS"

Though success can never justify an evil deed or the use of questionable means, it is not an ethically neutral thing. All the same it remains true that historical success creates the only basis for the continuance of life, and it is still a moot point whether it is ethically more responsible to behave like Don Quixote and enter the lists against a new age, or to admit one's defeat, accept the new age and agree to serve it. In the last resort success makes history, and the Disposer of history is always bringing good out of evil over the heads of the history-makers. To ignore the ethical significance of success is to betray a superficial acquaintance with history and a defective sense of responsibility. So it is all to the good that we have been forced for once to grapple seriously with this problem of the ethics of success. All the time goodness is successful we can afford the luxury of regarding success as having no ethical significance. But the problem arises when success is achieved by evil means. It is no good then behaving as an arm-chair critic and disputing the issue, for that is to refuse to face the facts. Nor is opportunism any help, for that is to capitulate before success. We must be determined not to be outraged critics or mere opportunists. We must take our full share of responsibility for the moulding of history, whether it be as victors or vanquished. It is only by refusing to allow any event to deprive us of our responsibility for history, because we know that is a responsibility laid upon us by God, that we shall achieve a relation to the events of history far more fruitful than criticism or opportunism. To talk about going down fighting like heroes in face of certain defeat is not really heroic at all, but a failure to face up to the future. The ultimate question the man of responsibility asks is not, How can I extricate myself heroically from the affair? but, How is the coming generation to live? It is only in this way that fruitful solutions can arise, even if for the time being they are humiliating. In short it is easier by far to act on abstract principle than from concrete responsibility. The rising generation will always instinctively discern which of the two we are acting upon. For it is their future which is at stake.

From Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Prisoner For God,
The MacMillan Co., 1954, pp. 17-18.

If I have a bias in evaluating the church, as I am sure I do, this is a major part of it: that I want to see the church relevant to the times in which we live and the humanity within which it is set, in terms of their real needs and problems; I want it never to deny its call to be related to the total human situation around it; I want to see this relevancy expressed in such a way that no one in our society can evade confrontation with the questions that the gospel asks; and most particularly I am concerned about the continuance of this confrontation in our history, by preparing the coming generation both to ask and to answer the questions that are raised by the gospel of Jesus Christ for this time in history. To answer the question with which I started, this means that the time span for which we develop guidelines and standards must be at least a generation; whether or not what we do is revised ten years from now, our image of the church must certainly include a picture of the world our own children will live in, as well as we can discern its outlines, and the church must be preparing its young to live as Christians in that world, not just the world their parents know. And thus our guidelines must provide not only for a continuous review of our understanding of the will of God, that is, our theology; and of the facts of the human situation in which we live and work, that is, our sociology; they must provide also for some kind of projection into the future of what the human situation is likely to be, and what, to the best of our limited comprehension, are likely to be the tasks God will call upon our children to perform, and therefore how they should be prepared. For example, we will double our urban population and halve our working day in 40 years -- what does this mean in terms of how urban man prepares to use his leisure? Or more immediately, what does the church say to a condition where poverty no longer means drudgery, but <u>no work at all</u> -- only a relief check?

One of the best statements I have seen of the tension and interaction between our theological understanding and our sociological situation (I am using the term

"sociology" here, incidentally, as shorthand for all the disciplines that may throw insight on the human situation: socioloby, psychology, city planning etc.) is the Appendix written by Dr. Elwyn A. Smith in the recent report on "Relations between Church and State" presented to the 174th General Assembly. Speaking of the Christian ethic, for which in this conference we can substitute the term Christian strategy, he says among other things: "The ethic which gives point and direction to the witness of the church to its risen Lord is contextual in that it is meaningful to man only in terms of the concrete realities of his own time... The Christian ethic can never be understood in terms of universal principles to be applied in all situations and under all circumstances (and what does that say to guidelines and standards?). The problem implicit in the definitive task of the church is the problem of living constructively 'in the gap between the will of God, theologically understood, and the concrete human situation, pragmatically understood.' (P. Lehmann). The specifically Christian character of the activity of the new men in Christ is evident only when and where theological and pragmatic insights are perfectly blended." And thus we are cautioned against trying to produce theoretical models or norms of church behavior and function and distributing such models in a guidebook to Presbytery Strategy Committees with instructions that such-and-such a community ought to have such-and-such a type of church, for this would be form without substance; the true church must arise within the tension between our theological understanding and the reality of a particular community.

Dr. Smith makes another closely related point about the definitive task of the church. He quotes from Acts 1:6-8:

> So when they had come together, they asked him, "Lord, will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" He said to them, "It is not for you to know times or seasons which the Father has fixed by his own authority. But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth."

And he goes on to comment: "The question which the apostles ask of their risen Lord is their own immediate version of the ultimate question: Will the purpose of God for his people Israel be finally and irrevocably triumphant here and now? The response of Christ is decisive and emphatic. The question must be rejected as it stands. Even the new men in Christ may not seek that security which supposedly would come from knowing God's secrets. The unpredictability which is the essence of the future is transparent only to the Father. The new men in Christ have only the certainty of the knowledge of their risen Lord. This they do have in the midst of their "here and now" and this will suffice. Their task is (to witness)... to call the world's attention to what God has done and is doing in Jesus Christ... Thus the apostles were delivered -- out of their yearning after a knowledge they could not have, and into a mission which could only unfold in terms of Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria, the concrete realities of their own time."

So this too is a part of the bafflement to those who would prepare guidelines for urban churches; not only is there no neat set of typologies of churches we can offer as models for different types of urban communities, but the nature of the mission itself is something withheld from us until we have come to grips with a concrete human situation, until we are actually at work in Jerusalem and Judea and Samaria, and the success or effectiveness of any given ministry is something we cannot predict; we can only discover it as God discloses it in the unfolding of the particular ministry.

Now what does all this mean to the job this conference has set for itself; the development of guidelines for evaluating the church within urban society? It gives us, I think, the central focus of our task, which is not analysis or description, which have been the preoccupation of most manuals of church self-study, but <u>evaluation</u>. The question we want to help churches answer for themselves is not "What are urban churches like?" or "What are urban church members like?" or "What is urban society like?" (although all these are relevant) but this:

"Is the local church in urban society helping to fulfill the purposes of God for the particular human community in which it is set?" Is it living constructively in the gap between God's will and the concrete human situation? And the answer to this question does not derive from typologies of churches or church members or communities, useful as these may sometimes be in giving insights; the answer derives rather from having insights about God's will, knowing a particular community, and knowing the church in that community. If I may offer a parallel, our purpose here is not the study of anatomy, which is always the researcher's bias; our purpose is rather more in the nature of a medical check-up, which assumes a knowledge of anatomy and also makes assumptions about the nature of good health; but the medical check-up is not aimed except very incidentally at producing new knowledge about anatomy; rather it is measuring the living organism against an idea of what God intended that organism to be at its best, and at isolating reasons why that organism may not be fulfilling its physical potential, and then offering the best available therapeutical insights to get it back on the path of healthful development.

I have suggested that the three basic elements in evaluation are a knowledge of God's will -- that is, a theological position -- a knowledge of the particular human situation, and a knowledge of the particular church. With which of these do we start?

I am not sure which one comes first, but I have a growing conviction that in the evaluative process the study of the particular church should come last. Most of the cobwebs we have in our minds about the urban church seem to derive from the fact that we look at urban society through the eyes of the institution of the church; our objectivity is severely limited by the tendency for our people, our social group, our race, our class, our constituency to dominate the urban scene as we see it out of all proportion to their real significance, or the conditioning imposed by looking at our institutions first, so that we see everything else in terms of the welfare of these institutions. In much of our evaluative work, the

church is unconsciously set up as an end rather than as an instrument, much as we may deny it in holy tones; if we begin by studying the instrument, we almost inevitably come out with a strategy designed to do the kind of job the instrument is adapted for in its present structure, with minor modifications to make it more efficient, rather than defining the job to be done and then examining the adequacy of the instrument. I would suggest, then, that we start either with an attempt to define the will of God for the particular human community or with an analysis of the community itself.

I am on less certain ground here, but I am inclined to think that of these two the study of the community, in our evaluative process, should probably precede our theological statements about the will of God for the community. Logically, I suppose, our theologizing comes first, but we are seldom very logical animals, and it seems to me that too often our theological statements, when we are talking about man in the contemporary urban world, have already a set of built-in assumptions about what society is like. So while I would not argue too hard for the particular sequence I am suggesting, I think that in the evaluation of the urban church we ought to begin first with a study of the community; that is, an attempt to understand the particular human situation within which God wills the church to be his instrument to carry on the work of the living Lord and within which, of course, God is at work in many other ways as well.

Now -- if we accept this procedure, what boundaries do we set for our study? What is the community we examine to begin to understand the specific tasks God has set for his church, against which we are to evaluate its work? Here I would propose to you a concept that seems to be slowly emerging as churches begin to talk seriously about urban strategy: the basic unit of study for <u>urban</u> church strategy seems to be more and more the metropolitan area, the "metropolity" as John Osman calls it. This is not an arbitrary choice; I am not ignoring the importance of the neighborhood or any other social unit, but more and more the evidence seems to

pile up that the definitive and determining unit in American urban culture is and is going to be the metropolitan area; the intricately interrelated combinations of central city, suburbs, and various other satellite areas that are coming to be the foci of American culture and, if our demographers are right, are going to be the basic units of all urbanized societies. It is this social unit that troubles the planners and the civic thinkers, the mayors and governors and presidents, and it is this social unit that challenges those who seek the redemption of American society and the reconciliation of men to each other and to God. Nearly two years ago John Osman made a very persuasive case in the City Church for the church to respond to the emerging challenge of the metropolis as the social unit to which a spiritual strategy must be directed: I quote a paragraph or two from his article:

> The metropolitan region is not understood, because we have been unable to see it as a complete civic body with a mind and spirit. People are apt to see it as a monster dying of its oversize as the dinosaurs died, when the contrary is true. The metropolity ushers in urban centuries; it does not mark the end of an era. The metropolitan region is in motion toward completion as the next urban unit of a new and enlarged civic system for the United States... It is more than an economic system, more than a political concept, and it cannot be held together by the most elaborate of transportation systems. Metropolity is more than just a number of people concentrated in one place. It is more than a central city and its suburbs, a central library and bookmobiles, a central police station and precincts, a metropolitan cathedral and parish churches. Metropolity is not a synthesis of villages nor of towns nor even of cities. Metropolity is the next species of the genus city... The failure to create this new community by institutional enlargement will leave American institutions deformed and undeveloped since it is the urban context in which the next stages of development in law, in government, in university and in the church must take place. One day the civic void will be filled with virtuous institutions and order and harmony will prevail in the city. On that day a man can realize his metropolitan citizenship and at that moment the metropolity will have found its vocation... Learning to fashion the institutions and to use the modern metropolity is a task for the church above all other institutions that compose it, for there cannot be a metropolity until the metropolitan region is unified and regenerated by the spirit of God, and this is the mission of the church.

You can accept that statement or not as the emerging context of urban churchmanship; it is, of course, the statement of one who thinks in terms of broad social strategies rather than of this particular man and his brother. But whether we

accept it or not, we cannot ignore the truth that every urban church study shouts at us, that not only no man, but no parish is an island unto itself; that we live in a web of human interrelationships that bind the suburb and the slum together in a common destiny, and that most of these interrelationships occur within a metropolitan context. And thus, although we cannot postpone the evaluation of every parish until we have some concept of the Christian strategy for a metropolitan area, there is a very real sense in which we cannot completely define the role and purpose of any given parish church until we have a theory about the will of God for the metropolitan community of which it is a part. This is the weakness of almost every urban parish study I have even seen, that it pretends to a completeness that it does not have and cannot have except in a metropolitan context. The urban parish is mobile; where do the people come from and where do they go and what do they do and who ministers to them before and after and outside the parish limits? What happens to the father who is outside the parish all his working hours? Who determines whether the schools will fulfill a child's God-given potential, and who is my brother besides the human beings who live in my block? Where does the metropolis say yes to the will of God, and where does it say no, and who is responsible, and who should be? In today's city no single church can answer this by itself; we are too interrelated, and our strategies must somehow take account of this fact - not just through Presbytery committees, but in the evaluation of the life of every urban parish.

In my experience, it is the much-maligned successful church of the suburbs that seems most likely to become aware of this and to rebel against the parochialism of our strategy in a metropolitan situation. It is the sensitive suburban church member who is beginning to murmur against a churchmanship that insulates him against the urgency of the city's need in every way except through his pocketbook. More and more I find suburban churchmen saying: "What can we do besides give money to missions -- how can we give of ourselves?" In a mood of excessive bluntness I

recently said to a suburban minister in answer to this question: "There are only two things you can give me that are meaningful: money and open-occupancy housing" -- that also is too simple an answer; we cannot answer the question of the purpose of a parish church in today's metropolis unless and until we have some sense of its relation to a metropolitan strategy for fulfilling the will of God for the particular metropolis in which we are called to serve.

I am suggesting, then, that the evaluation of an urban parish must be done against a backdrop of a metropolitan strategy for the church that I suppose in our polity must be provided by a Presbytery, following guidelines set by our confession of faith, by our national church in its pronouncements and policy statements, and presumably also by the ecumenical church in its world and national and local manifestations. We have not begun really to develop guidelines of this sort. What does God want for the people of a metropolitan area? He wants, presumably, for every person here to have the chance to fulfill a destiny that is uniquely his is God's plan. He wants every child to be given the opportunity to grow in body and mind and spirit to the maximum of his God-given potential -- that means good schools and vocational opportunities and excellent guidance, among other things. He wants every man to know of His mighty acts, and that means churches that witness to what God has done and is doing, and carry their witness to every soul in this region and teach the story of His works to each new generation. He wants men to learn to live together as brothers, ignoring the superficial differences of race and class. He wants no man to exploit another or corrupt another or stand in the way of another's fulfillment. He wants this total urban society to be dedicated to the growth and fulfillment of the individual and not his stunting in mechanical patterns of conformity. He wants this city to civilize man, not to dehumanize him; he wants this elaborate social creation to deepen man's understanding, to broaden and sensitize his sympathies, to extend his capacities, to enlarge his appreciation and horizons -- all these are surely part of God's design in making the city so

central to his contemporary human creation. Howard Moody writing in a recent issue of Christianity and Crisis suggests that the city is sacramental, that is, "the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual meaning," and goes on to quote Lewis Mumford in his book The City in History.

> We must restore to the city the maternal, life-nurturing functions, the autonomous activities, the symbiotic associations that have long been neglected or suppressed. For the city should be an organ of love; and the best economy of cities is the care and culture of men.

Until, then, we have begun to understand the will of God for the city in this way, and have made it as explicit as possible for a particular metropolis in a particular time, I find it hard to see how our evaluative processes can go much deeper than they traditionally have, which is, briefly, to assess the chances for institutional survival of a particular church given a particular social setting. No unit of the church so far as I know, has done the job of specifying what it believes to be God's purpose and will for an urban community, though the ingredients are all there in sermons, in articles, in pronouncements, in acts of conscience and concern. The church needs to pull its scattered insights together, lay and clerical, and do a disciplined job of stating what a city ought to be.

I started to give you a suggested sequence for study and already I have confused it; what I meant to say was that we start by understanding the metropolitan situation of which we are a part and then bring it under the judgmental lens of theological insight. Inevitably, I suppose, the processes go on simultaneously, for as George Younger says, we always are starting in the middle; we do not see a slum without judging it, and we have opinions about urban sprawl and urban redevelopment and schools that precondition what we see and what we say about it. But what I am pleading for is that we finally break out of the pattern of church analysis that assumes the parish, geographically defined, is the basic social unit against which we appraise the church and its vocation; we no longer live in villages, and it is possible that most working urbanites spend most of their working hours

far away from the parish and its concerns, and in many urban parishes most of the important decisions that determine what life is like are made far outside the parish boundaries often by men from other churches whose ministers are giving them no more relevant guidance in making such decisions than to tell them to be honest in their work and nice to their fellow-workers and to come to church and give generously to the budget. And if our church membership rolls seem to be getting bigger and bigger, while the influence of the church seems to be getting less and less, this paradox is in no small part due to a strategy that defines the church primarily in relationship to the social units where urban man sleeps and putters and socializes, where urban woman keeps house and raises children, and where the urban child - rich or poor - is raised in artificial isolation from most of the working world. It is no wonder that the more creative young ministers head for the inner city, for there at least the enemy is visible right there in the parish and the battle is real. Our great problem is how to bring every church into the battle for the souls of men and the soul of the city, and here nothing less than a metropolitan Christian strategy can suffice, one that makes every church an active and conscious participant in an organized effort to make real the promises that we sound in our sermons and prayers and professions of faith.

Once we have begun to shape our thinking in this way, then we can really begin to evaluate the local church in urban society. For then we can see the local church not as a self-sufficient entity, but a unit of the greater body of Christ that has certain assignments. I have always heard the exegesis of the 12th Chapter of 1st Corinithians - the one body with its many members - in terms of the differentiated gifts of individuals blending into one local church. But in metropolis, we may need to read it also as the differentiated functions of local churches blending into a metropolitan church that is adequate to metropolitan society.

Now let me reformulate what I have been saying, and state it in more orderly fashion so it can be dealt with in discussion. I am proposing that if we are

going to try to set up guidelines for the evaluation of the local church, it can only be done against a framework of analysis that has these dimensions:-

First, we need a theology of urban society - that is, a clear theory as to what God's intention is for these great metropolitan complexes that are dominating the life of our nation. What are they for? To civilize man? For the care and culture of mankind as Mumford says? To be gateways to human dignity as Dan Dodson says they have been since 1910? The church needs to make some forthright assertions as to what cities are for, and not passively allow the function of cities to be stated primarily in economic terms, as is now the case.

Second, we need specific statements as to the "theology" of particular metropolitan areas -- more precisely, the role God expects a particular metropolis to play in his divine plan, as well as we can understand it, and of what blocks His will... We can make generalizations about cities, but the particularities may be even more important. Cleveland and Detroit and Chicago have their likenesses, but they also have their differences. St. Louis, like Kansas City and Cincinnati and Washington, have some special and existential reason for being in God's eyes that is related to the confrontation of the culture of the North with that of the South. Washington has obviously a unique purpose in God's eyes because of its responsibility in discovering how men govern themselves and are stewards of a nation's physical and human resources in the emerging new world. Las Vegas and Miami Beach have something special to say to us; so do Albany, New York and Springfield, Illinois. No one who has ever visited Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles could escape the obvious fact that God's purposes for these four West Coast metropolitan magnets are clearly different and unique.

It is possible that the best contribution the urban churches of America could make right now is to try to state as precisely as possible what they understand God's purposes to be for the urban centers in which they minister. No one is doing this now except the Chambers of Commerce and the city public relations officer,

a few poets, and a few novelists. I would love to have time to gather some of New York City's more perceptive thinkers and try to write the theology of New York -- what is this tremendous enterprise all about? God is trying to show us that people of all nations can live together not only in mutual respect but mutual enrichment. He wants us to discover that by appropriate division of labor training and specialization, the individual's talents and powers can be released for undreamed-of accomplishments; that this metropolitan structure can produce a wonderful variety and diversity. He is helping us discover that the imaginative use of finance can be a tremendous boon to humanity. He is telling us things about the flowering of the human spirit in art and literature and culture. He is providing a theatre here for all the governments of the planet to work together for mankind's release from all kinds of bondage. All these and much more are obviously part of God's plan for this city. And cutting darkly across His plan are all the evil and obstinate forces that resist Him, and these too are lessons the city teaches, and must be spelled out concretely for the New Yorker, as they must be for every other urbanite. Most of our American cities right now are obviously being asked by God to be gateways to dignity and fulfillment for the American Negro. What blocks His purpose here? This is the kind of statement I would like to see our urban churchmen discipline themselves to make, after the echoes of the Sunday sermon have died away.

Then there are two other parts to this framework which I want to discuss this afternoon.

Third, we need a statement of God's purpose for the particular church, set in the context of the metropolitan community, and

Fourth, we need a statement of God's purpose for the particular individual who has recognized the claim of Jesus Christ upon him and has responded by becoming part of the church.

These four dimensions may not be all -- obviously they are not. But they are the crucial four for the task we have here. They do not necessarily proceed from the general to the particular. All four examinations go on simultaneously. Nor do they proceed from the abstract theology to the concrete situation. Again I remind you -- the crucial process for the Christian is to do his analysis in the tensions of the gap between God's will and human reality.

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Before proceeding, I want to say something about the matter of how we approach the analysis of problems, and specifically about what kind of problem the urban church is. I am grateful to Jane Jacobs for the provocative insights in her book, and one thing in it I especially appreciated was her calling attention to Dr. Warren Weaver's essay on "Science and Complexity" in the 1958 Annual Report of the Rockefeller Foundation. Dr. Weaver examined the evolution of the analytical tools of science and suggested they have moved through three stages:

(1) The ability to deal with problems of simplicity, two-variable problems, such as the relation between volume and pressure in a confined gas, which was the foundation of theoretical and experimental science up to about 1900.

(2) The ability to deal with problems of disorganized complexity, such as the prediction of facilities needed by a telephone exchange, or insurance rates, or the behavior of atomic particles, or population studies -- for all of which the development of statistical theory was crucial.

(3) The ability to deal with problems of organized complexity, as represented in the life sciences, where the problem was not to define a statistical trend but to understand a sizable number of factors integrated in an organic whole, varying simultaneously and in subtly interconnected ways.

Mrs. Jacobs' point here, with which I agree, was that the city is a problem in organized complexity, and the most serious mistakes we have made in city planning derive from a tendency to deal with it as a problem in disorganized complexity, and, for example, provide large housing projects for statistically abstracted families whose subtle and interrelated needs, including neighborhood needs other than shelter, we have not taken the trouble to understand.

I would suggest, however, that our understanding of the urban church has followed a parallel line of development. Through the 19th century and the first

part of the 20th we understood the behavior of the church as a matter of simple stimulus and response: a man was exposed to the gospel, was converted, and changed into a new person, and church and society alike were a simple sum of converted and unconverted individuals. When this analysis proved too simple, particularly in the pluralistic city, we borrowed the statistical tools of the sociologist and developed our theories of the urban church as a problem in "disorganized complexity" -- progressively refined statistical groupings whose behavior we could hopefully predict, at least as groups, as we added in factors of nationality, race, class, income, occupation, education, age, marital status, and so on -- even, most recently, factors derived from psychological analysis and classification.

But in the understanding of the church, too, this approach has its limits, which are certainly reached when policy-makers begin thinking of people as statistical units and churches as types, and the tools of analysis begin to determine rather than illuminate church strategy. We are ready for a new forward step in urban church analysis which begins to examine the subtle and complex ways in which the individual relates to the local church, the church to the larger church, and the whole to family, neighborhood, metropolis and society -- and how these relationships can be the creative and redemptive ones God seems to have intended.

Thus the four "levels" of analysis I have proposed -- urbanism, the particular metropolis, the particular church, and the individual believer -- must be approached as part of a complexity of relationships we do not yet fully understand, and yet must learn how to deal with at all levels simultaneously, respecting the autonomy God has given to each level and the responsibility of each to the other. I do not pretend to have the appropriate tools of analysis or evaluation, nor can I even direct you to a textbook where they may be found, but I do believe that the minds exist within the church that can begin to look at our mission in its totality and give us the insights we need to equip us to be God's conscious instruments in today's world.

Let me turn then to the third and most familiar subject for analysis and evaluation, the local church. I have suggested that the local church must be evaluated against a definition of its particular assignments within a total metropolitan "theology," and I will try to illustrate what I mean by this. The local church uniquely has certain functions to perform that are defined geographically in terms of a particular parish that is understood to come under its care. Some of these functions are fairly universally understood and accepted in urban church strategy, as for example:

-- To maintain centers for the public worship of God, the preaching of the Word, and the administration of the sacraments, distributed so as to be accessible to all families in the metropolitan area.

-- To maintain centers for the instruction of children in the faith, also accessible to all of the homes of the metropolis, preferably within walking distance.

-- The local church, distributed widely in all neighborhoods, seems to be a rational way to make and maintain contact and communication with the people of a metropolitan area; it is the channel through which the Church can most readily become involved with all the people, because everyone sleeps somewhere.

-- Also, the local church seems to be a sensible medium for the Church to deal with those special needs centering around family and home, and with illness and other similar personal and family needs.

-- The local church, again, is the agency of the larger Church that can most readily give sacramental meaning to the major events of life: birth, marriage and death.

The foregoing are not to be understood as a complete list of functions, but rather to illustrate how the special relationship of a local church to a geographic community gives it some obvious functions within a metropolitan Christian strategy. There are other functions related to geography that seem less universally understood or accepted:

-- Public education is in general administered geographically, especially in the lower grades, so it would seem this should be a special concern of the local church.

-- Political life is also structured geographically, so that if the church is to have an effective voice in metropolitan politics, the local church would seem to have a special responsibility.

-- Neighborhood and community planning increasingly is understood to need an effective voice from the community itself, such as the local church at its best can provide, to help interpret a community and build within it a sense of identity, a common social unit to which people can feel they belong -- although sometimes the church is a divisive rather than a reconciling force among neighbors.

-- The ecumenical thrust of the church should certainly be expressed at the neighborhood level rather than being limited so much to national and world gatherings of church leaders.

Then there are other functions which we have tended to give to the local church, but for which it is an inadequate vehicle. These, I believe, we must re-examine and to some extent re-assign:

-- Stewardship, for example. Looking at this in terms of money alone, for a moment, it seems fairly evident that on the basis of our experience, using the local church as a collection agency for financing the Christian enterprise is not a sufficient answer to our need. It simply does not produce enough money, a fact we implicitly recognize every time we begin to get serious about our capital needs or about some of the problems of the social order which the church feels called on to face up to directly. In our more serious efforts we set up special gifts committees, special boards, run benefits, undertake foundation appeals, or follow the example of the many non-church groups who orient their fund-raising methods to the amount that is needed to do the job rather than adjusting their program to the funds that come in. And the funds we do produce through our local churches

are obviously spent without relation to need -- almost scandalously so, when church parking lots or pew cushions get priority over urgent need the church confronts at other points in urban society. And if we consider stewardship in terms of time and talent rather than money, I suspect our record is even worse when we count on the local church to be the agency that locates each layman in the appropriate place in the metropolitan Christian enterprise for God to make best use of his abilities. It is quite possible that the efforts of the local church to "put the layman to work" do more to confuse and fragment the work of the church in the metropolis than to make it effective.

-- Evangelism is another function that probably cannot be left so largely to the local church in urban society as has been the custom. Why is it that a New Life program deteriorates into a campaign for membership and attendance? Because the whole structure of the local parish as the basic unit of Christian strategy calls out for this; attendance and participation are the obvious and available means whereby a man may express his new life when the local church is the only visible expression of the church he has. How many of our clergy are really prepared to assist a man to think through the implications of his "new life" in the complexities of his urban profession or occupation? I have heard the comment from more than one layman that his preacher answers questions he doesn't ask and resolves problems he doesn't have. In our specialized urban life we need to think through the proper structure of the church to deal with occupational and professional and industry groups and the many other forms of human association that are not based in the neighborhood.

-- Related to this is the growing realization that the instruction of adults in the Christian faith cannot be left in its entirety to the local church. To a considerable extent city man operates through interest groupings rather than neighborhood groups, and it is one of the city's great assets that it can so readily draw out of its heterogeneity specialized groups for different interests

and different levels of understanding for exploration in depth that is not possible in less specialized groupings. The development of such activities as lay institutes is obviously a need for adults seeking answers in urban life.

-- Fellowship, the visible community of faith, the "convocatio," is supposed to be one of the primary functions of the local church. And yet, in the typical urban neighborhood, this key role of the church to proclaim the brotherhood of all men under God is denied rather than affirmed. The key fact in the Christian community is that Christ calls all men regardless of social place and origin. But the city neighborhoods which define the parish tend to deny our common humanity by structuring urban society by race and class and income, making a mockery of the pious statement our national churches like to proclaim these days, that the church is called to serve everyone in its community regardless of race or class. Here some noble experimentation is needed that can break out of the neighborhood parish and find the ways for the Christian to be related not just to his neighbor, but to his brother.

Then there are an increasing number of other functions the church must perform in the city, some localized and some not, that cannot be defined in terms of the local church. There are some familiar ones, such as chaplaincies to hospitals and prisons and ministries to university students and homeless men. There are relationships to be developed to the mass media, and to governmental and economic and planning structures. What structures does the church lack to deal with the varieties of forms of communal life that the city presents? The complicated and fluid thing that is the city almost daily presents some new kind of challenge to the church that the local church by itself is not equipped or organized to answer.

Having said all this, I must also say that I have a strong prejudice in favor of the battered old institution known as the local church, and conversely a prejudice against too many specialized ministries or noble new experiments intended to replace the conventional church. With all its inadequacies, the conventional church

has a truly remarkable capacity both for survival and for renewal, and it is still the only reliable human anchor the gospel seems to have in this stormy urban world. My bias generally is to hang as many of our specialized assignments as possible on the local church, to give it new and diversified responsibilities, perhaps more division of labor, certainly much more skill at referral, rather than to seek new forms for the work of Christ to be clothed in.

Finally, may I speak briefly to the "theology" of the individual in the framework I have been outlining; that is, the role the individual must play in trying to fulfill the purposes of God for the metropolitan community of which he is a part. I would remind you again that we could have started at this end and asked the question: What are people for in God's plan? -- for by God's grace the individual is supremely important, and is not just a cog in some great social machine. A few generations ago, in the good old "inner-directed" days, Protestants in particular had a fairly good sense of individual significance and purpose. This needs somehow to be rebuilt for this urban age, for urban man seems more to think not only of others, but even of himself, as a statistical unit directed by outside pressures. The urban church, which has its own methods of turning persons into per capitas, can readily become only another of the urban institutions that depersonalize the person by making him another of the interchangeable, mass-produced parts of the urban machine.

The Christian faith, with the support of the democratic ethic at its best, insists that each person is created as a unique entity with a unique purpose and destiny in God's plan, and that in ultimate terms, the fulfillment of the individual in the sense is not subsidiary or secondary to the fulfillment of the destiny of a church, a metropolis or a society. In a mass society, of course, it would be easier if individuals did fall into neat and mass-produced categories, it would be easier for the political leader, the industrialist, the salesman, the TV producer, the educator, the union leader, the city planner, even the clergyman and church planner.

Thus the temptation to slide over the uniqueness of the individual and concentrate on the likenesses of groups: mothers, lawyers, commuters, Presbyterians, Catholics, unemployed, and so on.

We have our likenesses, of course, and they are certainly relevant to planning and give insights about urban man in his large numbers. They have provoked the social psychologist to examine the common needs of urban humanity, as in this listing by Dan Dodson of the needs of urban man to which the church should be addressing itself:

--The need for identity, for personal identification that lifts man out of the anonymity of urban life.

--The need for perimeters around one's self, so that his multiple roles as father, worker, citizen, club member, and so on integrate urban man rather than dividing him into unconnected selves.

--The need for perspective, so that behind the obvious achievements of man in the city, urban man can see the more fundamental work of God.

--The need for historical continuity in personality, as urban man moves from place to place in the metropolis and cuts himself off not only from neighborhoods, but from family and cultural origins.

--The need for respect for the integrity of selfhood, in a situation where all urban organizations, including the church, are trying to use people to their organizational ends.

--The need for creative expression as growth in the city where everything becomes standardized.

--The need for acceptance, especially for children in those neighborhoods where every adult rejects them, including sometimes their parents.

--The need for intimacy, where urban life tends to destroy primary group relationships.

--The need for belonging, for a deep and identifiable relationship to a group (community, family, church, fellowship, etc.) of which one is a permanent member regardless of character, behavior, contribution, or any other criterion.

--The need for community, both psychological and sociological.

We are still dominated by a philosopy which says these needs are met by "services" or "programs." But there is a slowly emerging awareness of the fact that life does not become meaningful for the individual through simply adding up activities designed to "meet needs." Many an American Negro today, for example, is discovering the meaning of his individual life not by joining a club at a church or neighborhood house, but by his personal involvement in and deep commitment to the current struggle for full rights and opportunity for all Americans. In more and more troubled urban communities, individuals are finding fulfillment not by getting into adult education classes or interest groups, but by involvement in community organization or political reform groups in which citizens are beginning to take matters into their own hands and trying to determine their own destinies.

All these are lessons for the urban church. If it is serious about its own doctrines, the "programs" of the church are secondary to the fundamental task of helping the individual to discover what God calls on him to do, to be and become, whether in the home, or on the block, or in the job, or in political action, or in direct help to his neighbor. If a person accepts Jesus Christ, then his individual life should begin to make sense in relation to what Christ said he came to do in the world. For we are coming to see that people need "assignments" in the strategies of redemption (if we may use so presumptuous a term) not only because there are jobs to be done, but also because God has made us unfulfilled until our personal purposes fit into his divine purpose. And thus the church must learn how to be a competent placement agency, a referral agency, that puts each man and each woman in the job he can do best within the whole work of the metropolitan church.

√MA-fyi Religion
JT√

Challenge
to Justice
and Love

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NEWSLETTER

The Chicago Conference won its spurs during a recent racial outburst on Chicago's south side following the move-in of a Negro family in a previously all-white neighborhood. CCRR staff moved into the Englewood area and organized the local clergy into an emergency group. Protestant and Catholic clergy, both Negro and white, toured the troubled area and appealed to their parishioners to uphold law and order. During the day they made personal visits, and teams were organized for telephone campaigns appealing to the whites. Strong sermons were delivered from the pulpits on the first Sunday following the outbreak.

The extremely dangerous situation finally subsided, and the police department gave a major share of the credit to the efforts of the clergy. Plans are now underway to organize the clergy in other areas of high tension.

CCRR also authorized its executive committee to use its discretion to engage in peaceful demonstrations, to support the President's civil rights legislative program, and to participate in the march on Washington. DR. DONALD E. ZIMMERMAN, general presbyter of the Presbytery of Chicago, is heading a committee which will consider means to promote non-discrimination policies in church and synagogue building and service contracts, fair employment policies in all religious and related institutions, and a policy of depositing and investing church and synagogue funds in financial institutions with ethical and moral policies on race.

* * *

The United Church of Christ, at its recent meeting of the Fourth General Synod in Denver, voted to cut off funds to churches and institutions which still maintain segregation by July, 1964. The REV. DR. BEN M. HERBSTER, synod president, submitted the resolution.

* * *

√ Thirty one clergymen, including several Catholic, Episcopal and Methodist bishops, have offered to mediate the racial conflict which has erupted in Savannah over the issue of integrating hotels, motels, restaurants and theaters.

* * *

CONVENERS:
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches
Social Action Commission, Synagogue Council of America
Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference

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A state-wide council on religion and race has been formed in Oklahoma City following the White House visit. A statement was issued by Protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergy condemning racial discrimination.

* * *

A conference on religion and race was formed in Boston under the chairmanship of the RT. REV. JOHN M. BURGESS, suffragan bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Boston.

* * *

Many local Conferences on Religion and Race are beginning to organize action project committees rather than initiating activity by staging large public conferences. Committees are concerned with racial problems internal to the life of the religious communities, religious institutional problems; employment; housing; the use of the contract and purchasing power of the religious groups; establishing person-to-person communication via home visits, etc.

National Conference on Religion and Race staff and Follow Up Committee urges prompt organization of project committees concerned with major areas of racial discrimination and segregation. Also urged are involvement of top laymen with religious leaders, on the board of local conference, as well as on the various committees. The National Conference office will shortly issue a second memorandum on the organization of local interreligious units, based on experience since January in various parts of the country.

* * *

Members of Commission III of NCRR have decided to develop a detailed program on how to open suburbs as peacefully as possible to families of minority groups. It will be a two point program consisting of:

1. How to get all the church and synagogue groups in a suburb to enter into the program in order to develop effective action.

2. Setting up a well developed working kit of materials which would cover procedure methods.

* * *

THE REV. EUGENE CARSON BLAKE, chief executive officer of the United Presbyterian Church, and other Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders were arrested when they attempted to integrate Gwynn Oak amusement park near Baltimore in a massive demonstration on July 4. At least 36 clergy were among the 283 whites and Negroes arrested.

Other prominent churchmen rounded up by more than 50 Baltimore County Police were: BISHOP DANIEL CORRIGAN of the National Council of Protestant Episcopal Churches; the REV. RODERICK FRENCH of the World Council of Churches; and the REV. WILLIAM SLOAN COFFIN, Yale University Chaplain. Local Maryland clergy booked were: DR. FURMAN L. TEMPLETON, chairman of the National Presbyterian Interracial Council and executive director of the Baltimore Urban League; the REV. JOSEPH CONNOLLY, a Catholic priest and co-chairman of the Baltimore Interfaith Committee for Human Rights; RABBI MORRIS LIEBERMAN, co-chairman of the Interfaith Committee for Human Rights; and

MSGR. AUSTIN HEALY, pastor of St. Martin's church and director of the Baltimore Archdiocese's Inner City Program. DR. BLAKE was quoted as saying, "Our purpose is to identify the white Christian church leaders and members with active members of the Negro ministry and churches in desegregating American life." Continuing, he said, "We are hoping that in every community there will be an interracial-interfaith commission impressing upon our whole society the need of giving all Americans full status and dignity as human beings."

The demonstration also marked the first active participation of the Baltimore Archdiocese which issued a pastoral letter earlier in the year urging the removal of racial prejudice.

* * *

The National Council of Churches has organized a 25-member Commission on Religion and Race which will be responsible to the president and to the general secretary. It will be under the direction of DR. ROBERT SPIKE. The formation of the commission was part of a report which also included:

1. An invitation to Roman Catholic and Jewish leaders to join action aiding desegregation.

2. A call on individual member churches to urge "vigorously" that churchgoers involve themselves "in every phase of the struggle."

3. A call to general board members to take part personally in negotiations, demonstrations, and other "direct action."

The resolution called for Catholic and Jewish leaders to meet in Washington with Protestant and Greek Orthodox church leaders to urge congressional passage of civil rights legislation.

DR. SPIKE has reported that his commission will concentrate on three specific areas:

1. Legislation. Civil rights legislation now before Congress is a priority area. The Commission will direct a message to Congress, as well as to individual Congressmen, urging the passage of this legislation. He said that any partisan use of this legislation, including a filibuster, will be regarded "as an affront to the Christian conscience."

2. Community Action and Demonstrations. - Church officers and laymen are encouraged to take part in local direct action demonstrations sponsored by responsible human rights organizations adhering to the principle of non-violence. White Christians are unequivacally urged to join Negroes on the picket line. Bishops, other Church officers, and laymen are urged to make this kind of Christian witness at this time.

3. Desegregation in the Life of the Church. The Commission is requesting the National Council of Churches to include Negroes on its Executive Council immediately. Dr. Spike stated that the excuse for not having Negroes represented in the various top bodies has been, "We can't find qualified Negroes." He said the Commission's answer to that is, "If you can't find them, then train them."

* * *

A permanent 42-member Interreligious Committee on Race Relations has been formed in Washington, D.C. under the chairmanship of ARCHBISHOP PATRICK A. O'BOYLE. The co-chairmen serving with him are BISHOP WILLIAM F. CREIGHTON of the Washington Episcopal Diocese; BISHOP JOHN WESLEY LORD, Methodist Conference; BISHOP SMALLWOOD E. WILLIAMS, Bible Way Church Worldwide; and RABBI LEWIS A. WEINTRAUB, president of the Washington Board of Rabbis.

The following committees have been formed: steering, person-to-person communication, legal, employment, housing, welfare, education, and public relations.

The housing committee sent an appeal to the District Commissioners to issue an anti-discrimination housing order without delay.

A program of exchange visits is being planned, and a full-time executive secretary may be retained.

The ICRR plans on using the economic power of the churches which spend an estimated $40 million a year on construction in Washington.

* * *

Other conferences on religion and race are being planned in Atlanta and Kansas City.

Kansas City religious and lay leaders plan to move right with project committees in a one-day rally planned for mid September, and perhaps a larger public meeting in 1964.

The Atlanta Conference involves 50 Negro and white clergymen under the administrative leadership of DON MC AVOY, executive secretary of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Atlanta chapter.

* * *

A United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race (UPCRR) was created at the recent meeting in Des Moines, Iowa of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church.

The new group, with an appropriation of $300,000 will be patterned after such voluntary bodies as the Catholic Interracial Council, the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, and the Episcopal Society of Cultural and Racial Unity.

The UPCRR will be the denomination's focal point for concern on race relations and will serve as the liaison with other interfaith and ecumenical efforts. It will also design a single strategy for programs on racial integration already underway in the offices of the denomination's Board of Christian Education, National Missions Board, and its Ecumenical Relations Commission.

United Presbyterian congregations and institutions will be urged to drop whatever racial restrictions they still have and encouraged to support non-restrictive education and employment opportunities, housing and civil rights.

* * *

BISHOP ARTHUR LICHTENBERGER, presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A., issued a recent statement on the racial crises which are besetting the country, and called for Americans to undertake three actions.

".... I would ask you to involve yourselves. The crisis in communities North and South in such matters as housing, employment, public accommodations, and schools is steadily mounting. It is the duty of every Christian citizen to know fully what is happening in his own community, and actively to support efforts to meet the problems he encounters."

"I would also ask you to give money as an expression of our unity and as a sign of our support for the end of racial injustice in this land. The struggle of Negro Americans for their rights is costly, both in terms of personal sacrifice and of money, and they need help."

"I would ask you to take action. Discrimination within the Body of the Church itself is an intolerable scandal. Every congregation has a continuing need to examine its own life and to renew those efforts necessary to insure its inclusiveness fully. Diocesan and church-related agencies, schools and other institutions also have a considerable distance to go in bringing their practices up to the standard of the clear position of the Church on race...."

* * *

The recent convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Washington has taken firm action and has directed all diocesan-related institutions to eliminate any discriminatory practices within six months. It further requested the Bishop and Executive Council to take steps necessary to disassociate such diocesan and parish-related institutions from any financial and moral support if these practices are not eliminated in the specified time.

* * *

One of the first interracial home visits ever held in a southern state was conducted by 650 people, representing 170 families, visiting Negro homes in Blount and Knox counties in eastern Tennessee.

Spearheading the project were MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM CALDWELL of the Christian Family Movement (Catholic) and DR. MERRILL PROUDFOOT of the United Presbyterian Church of Knoxville, Tennessee.

The visit, called Project Friendship, was conducted by a group of 50 persons from 24 churches and synagogues. The Caldwell's and Dr. Proudfoot were delegates to the National Conference and began organizing Project Friendship immediately following their return.

In a recent presidential news conference President Kennedy was queried about Project Friendship by a reporter, and was asked whether he thought it would be in the public interest for him to encourage such visits nationally. The President replied that, "I think it would be very helpful, and you can start right here in Washington where this is greatly needed."

* * *

Interracial home visits, pioneered by Friendship House in Chicago, were started in 1955 .... and have since been held in over 40 cities. The cities where such visits have been held are: Akron, O; Aurora, Ill; Boston, Mass; Buffalo, N.Y; Cedar Rapids, Ia; Champaign, Ill; Chicago, Ill; Cleveland, O; College Park, Md; Columbus, O; Covington, Ky; Davenport, Ia; Dayton, O; Des Moines, Ia; Downers Grove, Ill; Fort Wayne, Ind; Franklin, Pa; Gary, Ind; Glencoe, Ill; Harvey, Ill; Joliet, Ill; Kansas City, Mo; Kokomo, Ind; Leavenworth, Kans; Los Angeles, Cal; Louisville, Ky; Milwaukee, Wisc; Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn; Napa, Cal; New York, N. Y; Omaha, Neb; Peoria, Ill; Providence, R.I; Rockford, Ill; San Diego, Cal; South Bend, Ind; Terra Haute, Ind; Warren, O; Washington, D.C; and Waukegan, Illinois.

* * *

The North Carolina Council on Religion and Race was formed in Charlotte under the temporary chairmanship of DR. W. R. GRIGG, secretary of the Department of Interracial Cooperation for the Baptist State Convention.

This is believed to be the first organization in the state to cross the three faith lines on the matter of race relations.

* * *

Recent developments in anti-discrimination campaigns in Milwaukee have led the committee to advance the date of its conference on religion and race from January, 1964 to mid-September. EPISCOPAL BISHOP DONALD H. V. HALLOCK said the committee wants to convene the conference before ARCHBISHOP WILLIAM E. COUSINS leaves September 22 for the ecumenical council sessions at the Vatican.

BISHOP HALLOCK said the committee will concentrate on local problems with local speakers, emphasizing equal rights in housing and employment.

* * *

A conference on religion and race will be held in Peoria, Illinois in mid-January with leaders of the three major faiths. The executive committee consists of THE MOST REV. JOHN B. FRANZ, Bishop of Peoria Diocese of the Catholic Church; RABBI JOSEPH GINSBERG; RABBI JULIUS HYATT; THE REV. FRANCIS W. LICKFIELD, Episcopal Bishop of the Quincy Diocese; and the REV. JOHN STORY, pastor of Immanuel Evangelical and Reformed Church.

* * *

JOSEPH CARDINAL RITTER charged in St. Louis that "the weapons of segregation, discrimination and economic oppression can be every bit as cruel as gas chambers and concentration camps."

Dismissing the doctrine of racial superiority as "insane," the Archbishop of St. Louis urged citizens to unite in a "holy discontent" at instances of race prejudice.

The Cardinal said racism is being practiced in St. Louis as in other parts of the country. He particularly singled out housing discrimination for condemnation and said it is estimated that 70 percent of all Negro homes in St. Louis are in "blighted" areas.

Outlining the approach of the Church to such problems as racial discrimination, he commented:

"The Church is not and should not be a power bloc, capable of forcing compliance with directives of its leadership. Rather, it is for the Church to enunciate principles and their application to modern problems clearly and without equivocation, leaving it to men of the Church as free citizens to devise the most effective means of applying them to concrete situations."

DR. W. SHERMAN SKINNER, president of the St. Louis Metropolitan Church Federation, told the meeting that members of the major faiths have a "bad conscience" on the race issue, because they have failed to carry out the teaching of the churches.

He described segregation as "a moral and religious issue" and said it "defies the basic tenets of Biblical faith--the oneness of God, the Fatherhood of God, the nature of man as made in the image of God."

Dr. Skinner warned that discrimination "damages the offender as deeply and tragically as any other immoral act."

"No people can live a moral lie and long survive in strength, " he said.

RABBI EPHRAIM EPSTEIN, president of the St. Louis Rabbinical Association, criticized churches for failing to take adequate action on the race problem.

"The religious communities of America have been too silent and too reluctant to raise the voice of protest against the forces of evil who sow discord, disharmony and inequality in our land," he said.

* * *

The three major faiths are reluctant to put out the welcoming mat unconditionally for Negroes, according to a Negro pastor who was an "added" speaker at the St. Louis Conference on Religion and Race.

"That I appear here tonight as a Negro suggests that neither of these faiths can adequately speak for the Negro," said the REV. AMOS RYCE, pastor of Lane Tabernacle. "It suggests that we are not completely welcomed by either of the three faiths."

Rev. Ryce was added to the conference list of speakers after at least one segment of the Negro community had threatened to boycott the session because of lack of more Negro representation on the program.

Rev. Ryce said that Judaism, "by its historical nature, has remained a closed society" as far as Negroes are concerned.

Of Catholicism, he had this to say:

"While the Catholic houses of worship have remained in the Negro ghetto, the flight of their once white membership to suburbia has left a membership of blacks presided over by white priests, predominantly white nuns, and other white hierarchy."

"The thoughtful Negro is bewildered that the Catholic Church, with all of its ancient paraphernalia for discipline, has not been able to bring into leadership more Negro priests, more nuns and, with its increasingly large Negro constituency, has not found it necessary to bring more Negroes into its policy-making levels."

"Structurally, therefore, it is felt that the Catholic Church cannot speak for the Negro."

Rev. Ryce was equally hard on Protestantism, saying that Protestant churches "remained so aloof and pervasively purist" on the Negro problem because "white Protestantism has, with few exceptions, forsaken the inner city." He accused his fellow Protestants of wishing "that the Negro would stay in his 'proverbial place'."

He said a Negro ghetto has been established religiously, intellectually and socially--"the difference being that the Negroes are confined to their ghetto without choice" while members of the Jewish, Catholic and white Protestant ghettoes "may move about."

"The movement of one Negro in certain neighborhoods can chase a thousand whites; and two Negroes can put 10,000 to flight," he asserted.

* * *

REV. ARTHUR E. WALMSLEY, chairman of the NCRR follow-up committee, said that "racism is making gains because of the silence and apathy of the well-meaning white moderate."

He also said that "Negro leadership has just about given up" in regard to what gains can be made quietly and comfortably, and that "it will take a massive effort to make a dent now."

The St. Louis Conference on Religion and Race resolved to set up a permanent organization to carry on interracial work through the combined efforts of the three major faiths.

The resolution proposed that the organization have a chairman, with the "three titular leaders of our major religious communities and a representative of the Negro religious community" as co-chairmen.

It was proposed that the organization have a full-time executive secretary and that it be financed jointly by the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious communities.

* * *

Religious bodies aren't doing a good job in the field of interracial relations, a Protestant, a Catholic and a Jew agreed at a recent symposium in Portland, Oregon. The symposium was sponsored by the University of Portland in cooperation with the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Greater Portland Council of Churches and the Oregon Board of Rabbis.

"The basic pattern of most churches down to this day is indifference on racial issues," said DR. GORDON W. LOVEJOY of Greensboro, N.C., program consultant on religion and race for the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

"Changes in race relations usually have been dictated either by economics or by the courts, not by moral right," he stated. "Regardless of doctrine, the church has ducked and equivocated on race. On race, we are more worried about the judgment of our neighbors than the judgment of God."

* * *

DR. JOHN J. O'CONNOR, professor of history at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., and vice chairman of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, described Catholic action in race relations as "high altitude whirling, never getting down to where it affects people."

"The Negro has had it -- the Negro is going to stand and fight," he said. "He looks toward the Church. If we let him down now, no matter what we do, no one will pay any attention."

RABBI MARTIN FREEDMAN of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, Paterson, N. J., cited the Black Muslim movement and its rejection of Christianity "as a white man's religion" as an example of "the church's failure on race."

While "every major church group in the U.S. is against discrimination," he said, "the struggle is in the local church and the diocese."

* * *

The Communal Affairs Committee of the American Jewish Committee (AJC) under the chairmanship of ARTHUR M. OPPENHEIMER, met with JOHN MC DERMOTT, executive director of the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race to discuss committee action on one of the possible projects: Elimination of social discrimination in clubs; expanding employment opportunities for minorities in religious institutions; and promotion of intergroup education in Jewish religious

At another meeting of this committee, RABBI MARC TANNENBAUM, director of Interreligious Affairs for the AJC, suggested the committee undertake a study of textbooks to see how they depict religious and racial groups.

* * *

The clergymen of Menomonee Falls, Wisconsin, a suburb of Milwaukee with a population of 22,000 residents, has formulated a plan to prepare the community for integration.

The REV. MICHAEL HOWARD, assistant pastor of the Good Shepherd Roman Catholic Parish, said approximately 2,000 Negro families are expected to be displaced within the next few years in Milwaukee by expressways and urban redevelopment. Many Negroes will probably move to Menomonee Falls, which is only twelve miles northwest of Milwaukee.

The plan will: Organize groups of laymen to discuss and promote feelings of racial justice; urge church members to pledge themselves to open occupancy, setting the stage for a community-wide legal guarantee; encourage sermons on race questions, followed by assessments of congregation attitudes; promote non-discriminatory clauses in church contracts for supplies and building construction, and to promote equal employment opportunity.

The churches already backing the plan are Catholic, United Church of Christ, Presbyterian, Methodist, Lutheran, Episcopalian, and Evangelical United Brethren..

* * *

The General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association adopted a resolution at its recent meeting which called for the appointment of a seven-man Commission on Religion and Race whose purpose would be to "explore, develop, stimulate, and implement programs and actions to promote the complete integration of Negroes and other minority persons into our congregations, denominational life, ministry, and into the community."

* * *

MATHEW AHMANN, executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice (NCCIJ) has been appointed field secretary to the National Conference on Religion and Race. Ahmann, who will continue as executive director of NCCIJ, assumed his new post July 1.

He will continue to operate out of 21 W. Superior Street in Chicago. The NCCIJ recently concluded an all-day emergency meeting of its 57 Catholic Interracial Councils at which it endorsed all out support of the administration's legislative program, approved of participation in peaceful demonstrations, and passed a resolution to participate in the march on Washington on August 28.

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Religion
Materials
(statement)

COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
of the
Fourth General Synod of the United Church of Christ

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE COMMITTED

In response to the summons of the Fourth General Synod, calling the members of the United Church of Christ to commit themselves before God and the nation to racial justice now,

I COMMIT MYSELF AS A CHRISTIAN:

- To work now for inclusive membership in my church;
- To seek now the enactment of appropriate civil rights legislation in the areas of education, employment, housing, public accomodations, and voting; at every level of government, and to protest the evasion of such laws;
- To engage now in persuasion, in negotiation, in reconciliation and in non-violent responsible demonstrations when such actions are necessary for racial justice;
- To establish now at least one friendship across racial and cultural lines;
- To fortify myself and deepen my commitment to racial unity and justice now by daily prayer, by study, and by sharing my experiences with others.

Application Form

I desire to enroll in the FELLOWSHIP OF THE COMMITTED.

Name: _____ Church: _____

Address: _____

Please return the above application to the Committee for Racial Justice Now, United Church of Christ, 289 Park Avenue South, New York 10, New York.

REPORT COMMITTEE, COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION

In the face of the enormous and complex issues which mankind faces, an intensive and far-reaching program of social action was never so much needed as today. Endeavoring to be "servants in the service of men," Christians must seek and must do the will of God wherever the powers of evil, so flagrantly challenging in our time, must be met, in order that justice, peace and love may prevail.

It is to help the churches meet the issues of such a time that the Council for Christian Social Action exists, established by the United Church of Christ to make "the implications of the Gospel effective in society."

The Report Committee recognizes that there exists difference of opinion respecting the kind of program which the CCSA has developed. Since the CCSA functions in controversial areas of witness, such differences are inevitable. The committee has received three memoranda involving criticism: (1) from an unofficial group of laymen in Southern California, (2) from the deacons and trustees of a church in New Jersey, and (3) from one individual. The Report Committee has given attention to these criticisms, but feels that their point of view does not reflect the will of the United Church of Christ in these crucial testing times. It is the conviction of the Report Committee that the CCSA has competently and creatively served our churches.

We recognize that in developing and promoting "a program of social education and action," errors and mis-judgments may be made by the CCSA. The CCSA should not be held in its own mind or in the mind of its supporters as infallible. Criticisms are welcomed. We are confident that the CCSA gives respectful attention to such criticisms. The Report Committee expresses its confidence in the CCSA and its staff; believes that they serve our churches well; and thus we strongly encourage full support of the CCSA among our churches.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. General Synod commends the CCSA for the statement in Advance Reports pp. 125-127 on the mission of the Church and the functions of the CCSA with respect to implementing this mission.

2. General Synod, believing that the program of social action needs to be established primarily in the local church, encourages the CCSA to develop more extensive field services, as budget permits, and suggests that the Conferences endeavor to provide trained leadership in social action on their staffs as a service to their churches.

3. General Synod approves the preparation of study papers by the CCSA in which varying points of view are presented and questions raised for study and discussion.

4. General Synod recognizes validity and value in the issuance by the CCSA of statements as useful guidance to churches and individuals with respect to decisions on social issues. We believe that the expression of views by the CCSA on specific issues provides necessary leadership. We

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commend the procedures outlined in Advance Reports p. 127 which have been designed to assure competent judgments. These procedures should be conscientiously followed. We encourage even fuller consultation with local church groups and with authorities expert in particular fields to ensure the greatest possible care in preparing a final statement or a study paper.

5. General Synod commends the CCSA for its educational program with respect to the United Nations, and urges expansion of this program. It recommends that the CCSA explore ways of securing financial support through Conferences and Associations to send delegates to UN seminars, and suggests that individual Conferences explore the feasibility of sponsoring a UN seminar for their own churches. It makes appreciative note that the International Relations Office of the CCSA is now housed, for more effective service to the churches, in the new Church Center for the United Nations adjacent to the UN.

6. General Synod approves the "Resolution on Nuclear Testing," commending it to the churches for study and discussion and directing that the required actions be taken by the officers of the General Synod and the CCSA.

Resolution on Nuclear Testing

WHEREAS, The Second General Synod in its "Call to Christian Action in Society" said: "We therefore call upon our churches and their members to pray and work: ... for effective international control and reduction of all national armaments, including the testing of nuclear weapons." and

WHEREAS, The Third General Synod in its Pronouncement on "National Responsibility and International Relations" said: "We welcome the increased attention now being given by both government and private organizations to plan for the reduction, control, and eventual elimination of national armaments. We also urge the United States to persist in the effort to reach multilateral agreement on the cessation of all kinds of nuclear weapons testing," and

WHEREAS, the government of the United States is working toward this goal, as evidenced by repeated Presidential statements, by persistence in negotiations with other nuclear powers, by the announced intention to engage in new discussions in Moscow in July of this year, following the failure of the Geneva Conference to reach agreement, and by the decision to conduct no further tests in the atmosphere so long as other states do not do so, and

WHEREAS, by providing a first step in the reduction and control of armaments, by eliminating future fallout, and by helping to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, a test-ban treaty is in the interests of American security, as well as in the interest of general human well-being,

BE IT RESOLVED that the Fourth General Synod of the United Church of Christ, meeting in Denver, Colorado, July 4-11, 1963, commend and support the continuous and now renewed effort by our government to reach agreement by the principal nuclear powers on the permanent cessation of nuclear weapons testing; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the General Synod, in pursuance of its previous pronouncements, urge all our churches and all their members to communicate to the President and to their United States Senators their support of this effort, and be it further

RESOLVED, that if a test-ban treaty is agreed upon by the negotiating powers, and assuming that such treaty will carry safeguards for the security of the United States and of the free world, the Council for Christian Social Action is authorized and requested, by communications to our churches and by testimony in the United States Senate, to work for its favorable consideration by the Senate.

RESOLVED, that copies be sent to the President, Secretary of State, chairmen of Committees of Congress, the press, and others (approximated language)

7. General Synod, in line with its earlier actions on the issue of racial justice, supports the following resolution on "Fair Employment Practices and Civil Rights Legislation":

Fair Employment Practices and Civil Rights Legislation

The Fourth General Synod urges all instrumentalities, conferences, associations, churches and church-related institutions:

1. To review their current employment policies in respect to the calling of ministers, the employment of professional personnel and other staff, and to take affirmative steps to implement fair employment practices, and

2. To further fair employment practices by including non-discriminating provisions in all contracts and agreements, and

3. To purchase services from and, in the investment of funds, to give preference to those firms which follow fair employment practices.

4. To advocate, demonstrate and involve themselves in support of the principles of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1963 and the legislation providing for federal fair employment practices and to urge their Senators and Representatives to support such legislation on a non-partisan basis in this session of Congress.

The Fourth General Synod approves the authorization of a committee by the Executive Council to evaluate the policies and practices in the United Church of Christ in respect to fair employment, to initiate procedures for prompt and effective achievement of fair employment policies and practices, to give attention to: ~~(to be edited)~~

a) location of specific job opportunities,
b) use of personnel records with the churches,
c) special emphasis on locating qualified persons regardless of race in recruitment of personnel,
d) initiation of in-service training for purposes of promotion,
e) discovery of potential existing leadership,
f) development and training of leadership,

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g) promotion and upgrading of personnel on the basis of ability, and
h) transmittal of information about non-discriminatory practices and procedures to agencies used for recruitment of personnel,

and expects the committee to report periodically to the Executive Council of the General Synod.

The Fourth General Synod instructs the Council for Christian Social Action to present testimony in support of Civil Rights and fair employment practices legislation before committees of Congress.

8. General Synod declares its policy to be to contribute funds only to institutions and churches which as of July 1, 1964, have a policy of openness without respect to race, national background or ethnic origin, and further urges the instrumentalities, conferences and churches to adopt and pursue such a policy in respect to contributions.

9. General Synod urges ministers and local churches to study the findings of the National Conference on Religion and Race and to cooperate in inter-faith action on race in their communities.

10. General Synod commends the CCSA for its statement on Tax Exemption for Churches (Appendix B. pp. 142-143) and encourages further study of this question by the CCSA, instrumentalities, conferences, and churches.

11. General Synod endorses the decision of the CCSA to appoint an Economic Life secretary when budget permits, to serve as a specialist in the relationship of the Gospel to such matters as automation, tax policy, poverty, labor-management problems, agriculture, and business and vocational ethics.

12. General Synod values the services performed by the Washington Office of the CCSA, as described in Advance Reports pp. 138-139. This provision of a staff resource person in the area of governmental issues is deemed an appropriate church program.

13. General Synod commends the staff of the CCSA for leadership given in cooperative programs on an interdenominational and national level, as noted in Advance Reports pp. 133-135.

14. General Synod in connection with the emphasis on urbanization within the United Church of Christ requests the churches to consider the interdenominational emphasis for 1963-64 on "Christians in a Rapidly Changing Economy" as an integral part of the urban emphasis.

15. General Synod notes the difficulty faced by the CCSA, due to financial limitations, in fulfilling the expectations of churches, and requests the Budget Committee in the next budget allocations to provide funds commensurate with the responsibilities and needs in this field.

(Editing to be added)

(#2217)

GENERAL SYNOD ACTION FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW

WHEREAS, the racial crisis in this summer of 1963 is a sign of God's action in the history of the United States, the Church must now become radically committed at particular times and places to the struggle of our fellowman:

to get the best job for which he is qualified and not be told, "Come back later";

to work at the top jobs and not just those in the lowest-paid categories;

to establish fair employment practices guaranteed by law on the federal and all other levels of government, since discrimination in employment robs a man of daily bread for himself and his family;

to expose the cant and hypocrisy which keep him down even among those supposed to be his friends, whether they be churches, labor unions, management or political organizations;

to live where he pleases without paying the double-standard dollar;

to get the best schooling possible even if desegregation upsets educational traditions;

to gain acceptance as a person of worth who may marry whomever he loves and whoever loves him;

to secure public accommodations freely and without insult;

to exercise his God-given rights to protest injustice without suffering the intolerable penalties that we regularly read of in the newspapers.

to gain a larger share in the ownership and use of capital;

to receive equal protection under the law and equal justice in the courts;

to obtain crash programs of special assistance in such critical areas as health, education, welfare, citizenship, housing, and employment, enabling victims of racial discrimination to achieve equality-in-fact;

to push for all that is due here and now without heeding those who counsel patience, moderation, and gradualism;

to register, vote, and run for office without fear of retaliation, either overt or subtle;

THEREFORE, the General Synod, in session in Denver, Colorado, seeking to bring the light of the Christian gospel to bear on the present crisis in race relations confronting our country and the world and thankfully

OVER

recalling the long established positions of the Congregational Christian Churches and the Evangelical and Reformed Church and now the United Church of Christ in the field of relations between the races, on July 5, 1963 takes the following actions:

1. The General Synod calls upon the members of the United Church of Christ to uproot intolerance, bigotry, and prejudice within our own lives and to replace them with good will and the determination to strike down immediately the barriers which divide men on account of race. The General Synod calls upon all members to make it plain to all the people with whom we live and work that the Church and the members thereof stand for brotherhood.

2. The General Synod believes that the United Church of Christ must free itself of segregation.

(a) To this end, and understanding that the decision must be made for itself by each local congregation, the General Synod urges the churches to declare officially and publicly that their fellowship is open to all who qualify for membership without any restrictions as to race, class, or ethnic background. The General Synod also urges the churches to declare officially and publicly a policy of calling pastors and employing church staff members without any restrictions as to race, class or ethnic background. When these actions are taken, the General Synod askes that a report be made to the Secretary of the Church.

(b) The General Synod urges the conferences and the associations of the United Church of Christ to become fully integrated "with utmost dispatch."

(c) The General Synod promises to utilize to the full the contribution that its Negro members and other racial and minority groups can make to the life and work of the United Church, giving these persons their share of leadership opportunities and responsibilities.

(d) The General Synod calls upon institutions related to the Church to desegregate forthwith.

3. The General Synod proposes to mobilize the manpower and means of the Church for racial justice.

(a) To this end, the General Synod requests the President of the Church, after consultation, to appoint a committee consisting of eleven non-national-staff persons, including in its membership both white and Negro persons who are trusted throughout the Church and have competence in the field of race relations. The life of this Committee shall extend until the next meeting of the General Synod.

(b) The General Synod votes to give to that committee the power to decide how the resources of the Church contributed for

this purpose will be used in the effort to secure racial equality and social justice both at home and abroad.

(c) The General Synod accepts the offer of the Council for Christian Social Action and the Division of the Church Extension of the Board for Homeland Ministries to provide the services of Dr. S. Garry Oniki; approves Dr. Oniki's appointment as Executive Coordinator of this effort; and suggests that the work and program of this committee normally be implemented by committing it to one of the existing agencies so that money can be conserved for actual program needs. In other cases, the committee would be authorized to borrow on a temporary basis experienced staff from the Instrumentalities.

(d) The program which this committee shall project could include but need not be limited to:

a. Mobilizing the whole membership of the Church, to join where possible with our Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish brethren, on a community basis, to meet the need of the situation on the local level;

b. Providing of bail bonds for those who are arrested as they demand social justice;

c. Providing legal defense for such persons;

d. Providing economic aid to persons who lose their jobs because of their participation in activities in behalf of racial equality;

e. Providing financial aid for institutions whose support is threatened by those who oppose an "open policy" of service;

f. Mobilizing the United Church of Christ, its individual members, congregations, associations and conferences to press for the adoption of legislation to guarantee civil rights;

g. Supporting and commending those church members who successfully begin the integration of their own immediate neighborhoods;

h. Extending the program of voter registration;

i. Urging Christians to give all possible assistance to small businesses in making the transition to non-segregation;

j. Providing other emergency or long-term help, the need for which only the future will reveal.

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NOTE: All this work, where at all possible shall be undertaken in cooperation with the National Council of Churches, State and Local Councils of Churches, the National Conference on Religion and Race, and other interreligious and community groups.

4. (a) The General Synod challenges the people of the United Church of Christ to bring an emergency special offering of funds to cover the cost of this program. The General Synod votes that the first of these offerings will be received this fall. The setting of the date for the second offering is left to the Executive Council.

(b) The General Synod commits the responsibility for raising these funds to each congregation and to each member of the Church under the direction of the Stewardship Council.

(c) The General Synod also authorizes the officers of the Church to borrow against these offerings to be received to the extent of $100,000. in order to begin the work immediately.

(d) The General Synod votes to receive an offering at the coming Sunday night ecumenical service here at the General Synod as the beginning of this fund, and suggests that congregations and individuals that wish to add to this fund before next fall will be able to do this by sending their contributions to the Treasurer of the United Church of Christ, 297 Park Avenue South, New York 10010, New York.

5. The General Synod calls upon the members of the United Church of Christ to pray that justice and good will shall prevail and then to work in order to make the fulfillment of that prayer possible.

(#2216)

Religion

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CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

RE-2-5417 233 Broadway, NYC

NEWS SERVICE

The following news story was sent out this week by the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service to all Catholic papers and Magazines).

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1963

EFFORT TO WIN RIGHTS LEGISLATION
'IMPORTANT FIGHT' CATHOLIC LEADER
SAYS AFTER WHITE HOUSE MEETING

WASHINGTON, June 24--A Catholic civil rights leader, one of nearly 30 who met with President Kennedy and other top administration figures on the current racial crisis, summed up the meeting's tone in these words:

"We are in a very important fight and we must exert ourselves to the utmost."

This evaluation was given by George K. Hunton, one of the founders of the New York Catholic Interracial Council and currently a consultant to the Council, after he and 28 other civil rights leaders met (June 22) at the White House with the President, Vice President Lyndon Johnston, and Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy.

The nearly two-hour meeting was one of a series President Kennedy has been holding with national leaders to discuss the racial crisis and rally support for his civil rights program. It was held only hours before he was to leave on his European visit.

Hunton said the President in his remarks to the civil rights leaders "left an impression that the administration is doing everything it possibly can to secure enactment of the whole package" of civil rights legislation it backs. The President asked for help in getting his legislative program through Congress.

The administration's civil rights package contains legislation designed to end racial discrimination in education, public accommodations, employment and voting.

Hunton said there was an "air of hopefulness" during the White House meeting regarding the chances for congressional action on the civil rights package.

"The picture is brighter than it ever has been for civil rights legislation," he said.

But, he added, all those at the meeting recognized that there is a "tough fight" ahead and room for "no complacency, no letup."

Among the leaders attending the meeting were the Rev. Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; editor Ralph McGill of Atlanta, Ga.; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther; and Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Catholic leaders there, beside Hunton, were Father John F. Cronin, assistant director of the Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference; and Mathew Ahmann, executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

Vice President Johnson and Atty. Gen. Kennedy also spoke during the two-hour gathering, as did several of the civil rights leaders, Hunton said. He said Johnson and Kennedy both urged the leaders to work to get backing for the administration rights package.

Hunton described the meeting as "very earnest and dedicated." He expressed the belief that the administration civil rights program had the "universal approval" of those attending.

He said the administration civil rights package would be "good for the country," and added: "Negroes are primarily benefited, but what is at stake is the prestige of democracy and the social and economic well being of all Americans."

Religion

Religious Freedom and Public Affairs
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
43 West 57 Street New York 19, N. Y.

THE SUNDAY CLOSING ISSUE IN MINNESOTA

A report authorized and approved
by the Department of Christian
Social Relations of the Minnesota
Council of Churches

The legislation of Sunday closing laws and Sabbatarian exemption within such laws are issues that have challenged citizens across the country, frequently pitting one religious community against another. The issues, however, are complex, raising questions of Constitutionality, religious freedom, public welfare and interreligious understanding.

It is necessary, therefore, for citizens to be aware of the best arguments on all sides, and to be exposed to the many-faceted aspects of the question. In this report a council of churches makes such an effort to help its constituencies understand the issue as objectively as possible. Needless to say, advocates of either side will have more to add.

The project, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs, believes it constructive to reprint this report: to demonstrate how one state council of churches sought to explore an admittedly complex problem; and to provide some background material for other communities facing decision on such an issue.

Arthur Gilbert

Staff Consultant

Project, Religious Freedom and
Public Affairs

The project Religious Freedom and Public Affairs is designed to raise the general level of public understanding and discussion on issues of public concern about which religious groups differ. The main objectives of this project are: to analyze the practical and theoretical problems involving political action and religious freedom; to effectuate a greater understanding of the significance of those religious commitments that affect public policy; and to lessen needless conflict created by different religious approaches to social problems.

THE SUNDAY CLOSING ISSUE IN MINNESOTA

I. INTRODUCTION

It is anticipated that the 1963 Minnesota legislature will deal with some type of Sunday closing legislation in order to bring current Sunday business practices within the state into a pattern of uniformity.

Events of the past year, including recent Supreme Court decisions, local ordinances in the Twin Cities area, and the economic and social pressures exerted by the burgeoning of suburban discount stores, have high-lighted this issue across the country and in Minnesota.

Legislative action on Sunday opening will obviously depend upon the temper of the people as regards the issues. Interestingly, the issues cut across political party lines, economic groupings, and religious affiliations.

The following report is presented, as impartially as possible, in order that church and community leaders in our state may have readily available pertinent data on an issue at hand. Its purpose might be called "Forethink," since it is designed to anticipate concern rather than to reflect upon a problem after the issue has been temporarily settled.

II. A SUMMARY HISTORY

Sunday laws are often called "blue laws." The origin of this term is not known. According to one theory, it dates from the 1780's and derives from the fact that the lawbooks of Connecticut, including its Sunday restrictions, were bound in blue.

The historian Abram Lewis has written:

> "All Sunday legislation is the product of pagan Rome. The Saxon laws were the product of Middle Age legislation of the Holy Roman Empire. The English laws were the expansion of the Saxon, and the American are the transcript of the English."

The Emperor Constantine appears to have set up the first compulsory Sunday law. In 321 A.D., he decreed that "all judges and city people and the craftsmen shall rest upon the venerable Day of the Sun." Constantine, also, simultaneously proclaimed the first Sunday-law exemption when he decreed that even though it was Sunday, "Country people may freely attend to the cultivation of the fields, because it frequently happens that no other days are better adapted for planting the grain in the furrows or the vines in the trenches."

The first Sunday law in America, known as the Virginia Law, was passed in 1610, just three years after Virginia was colonized by Captain John Smith.

The Constitution of the United States recognizes the uniqueness of Sunday in Article 1 (Sec. 7, paragraph 2) describing it as a day of rest for the President and, by implication, for the people.

As early as 1782, the Massachusetts Sunday Law, which had an unmistakable religious origin, experienced a change in its Preamble with the addition of the words,

> "Whereas the observance of the Lord's Day is highly promotive of the welfare of the community, by affording necessary season for relaxation from labor and cares of business, for moral reflections and conversations on the duties and the frequent errors of human conduct..."

In 1885, the United States Supreme Court concluded that Sunday laws were welfare measures, stating:

> "Laws setting aside Sunday as a day of rest are not upheld from any right of the government to legislate for the promotion of religious observance, but from its right to protect all persons from the physical and moral debasement which comes from uninterrupted labor. Such laws have always been deemed beneficent and merciful laws, especially to the poor and dependent, to the laborers in our factories and workshops, and in the heated rooms in our cities, and their validity has been sustained by the highest courts of the States."

Sunday statutes fall generally into two main categories--those that restrict labor and those that require the halting of commercial activity through the closing of stores and places of entertainment. Most such laws date back at least 100 years and many had their origin in pre-Revolutionary days.

An analysis of state Sunday laws, as reported by Richard Cohen, "Sunday in the Sixties," shows that only 13 states have no provision which would restrain either labor or the sale of merchandise on Sunday. The remaining 37 states restrict commerce on Sunday although most allow "works of charity or necessity" and permit the sale of specific types of goods presumed important for health or comfort--medicines, tobacco, newspapers, gasoline, etc.

Mr. Cohen also indicates that 31 of these states restrict work or labor on Sunday. In 21 states, exemptions are granted to persons who observe another day as the Sabbath, although eight of these states require that the permitted Sunday activity "not disturb others." Moreover, these exemptions in Massachusetts, New York and elsewhere have been interpreted by the courts as not including retail selling.

Punishment for violating Sunday laws may range from a $1 fine in Nebraska to the penalties in Texas' 1961 law which call for a $100 fine for the first offense and a $500 fine or six months in jail, or both, for subsequent offenses.

III. THE 1961 U.S. SUPREME COURT DECISIONS

When the U.S. Supreme Court heard four cases in December, 1960 on the constitutionality of Sunday laws, it marked the first time in this century that the Court had even agreed to accept such a case for argument.

On May 29, 1961, the Court handed down decisions in four cases upholding the validity of the compulsory Sunday closing laws in Maryland, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. Two of the cases (McGowan v. Maryland and Two Guys from Harrison-Allentown, Inc. v. McGinley) concerned owners of highway discount department stores which were open for business seven days a week. The other two involved Orthodox Jewish owners of a kosher supermarket in Springfield, Mass. (Gallagher v. Crown Kosher Supermarket) and small retail stores in Philadelphia (Braunfeld v. Brown).

The statutes were attacked on three principal grounds: (1) that Sunday laws violate the constitutional prohibition against establishment of religion; (2) that they violate the constitutional protection of religious liberty; and (3) that they deny the equal protection of the laws in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

In all four cases the prevailing opinions were written by Chief Justice Warren. In meeting the attack based upon the principle of separation of church and state he said that if the present purpose and effect of a Sunday law is to use the State's coercive power to aid religion it would be unconstitutional. There was no question, he said, that historically these Sunday laws were enacted during colonial times as religious laws whose purpose was to insure the observance of the Christian Sabbath as a religious obligation. However, he held, the religious origin of these statutes did not require that they be held invalid today if, in fact, the religious purpose was no longer in effect. The laws before the court were felt to be social welfare laws whose purpose was to create a day of benefit to all. Justice Douglas was the only dissenter to this conclusion.

The Court conceded that Sabbath observers had a right to assert that compulsory Sunday closing laws were a violation of their religious freedom, since the operation of such laws imposed upon them an economic hardship, but, nevertheless, six of the nine justices held that the statutes were constitutional.

The freedom to hold religious beliefs and opinions, the Chief Justice said, is absolute. However, he continued, what was involved in the present cases is not freedom to hold religious beliefs or opinions but freedom to act, and such freedom, even when motivated by religious

convictions, is not totally free from legislative restrictions. The restriction on religious freedom is merely indirect and consequential and the Court should not strike down what it found to be a law for the general welfare of the population merely because of this indirect burden on the exercise of religion.

The third ground upon which the Sunday law was challenged in all the cases was that the crazy-quilt pattern of exclusions, exceptions and exemptions in the various statutes bears no semblance of reason and, being arbitrary, constituted denial of due process and of the equal protection of the laws (and, therefore, in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment).

All of the Justices, with the exception of Justice Douglas, considered this challenge and rejected it. The majority opinion, here, reflects the almost unbroken practice of the Supreme Court since the Roosevelt Court reform in 1937, not to interfere with state social welfare legislation on the ground of deprivation of property without due process of law unless there is no conceivable rational basis for it. Once the Court determined that Sunday laws are not religious laws but social welfare laws, it was almost inevitable that it would not interfere with the legislature's discretion on which practices should be prohibited and which permitted in these laws. The court found that the legislative distinctions were not arbitrary.

Justices Brennan and Stewart dissented only in the two Sabbatarian cases, and then only on the ground that the statutes unconstitutionally infringed upon the religious liberty of the Sabbatarians. Acknowledging that the Sunday laws were in fact social welfare statutes, they contended nevertheless that they unnecessarily infringed upon the constitutional rights of persons who observe a day other than Sunday as their day of rest.

IV. MINNESOTA DEVELOPMENTS

The development of Sunday closing laws is not new in the cities or the state of Minnesota.

In Minneapolis, there is an ordinance that prohibits the operation of commercial pool and billiard parlors, which was adopted in 1877. Another Minneapolis ordinance requires the suspension of Sunday business at the city's public market. And still another prohibition was approved in 1957 permitting automobile dealers to provide only emergency garage service.

The state law prohibits on Sunday "all trades, manufacturers, and mechanical employments, except works of necessity performed in an orderly manner so as not to interfere with the repose and religious liberty of the community; all public selling or offering for sale of property, and all other labor except works of necessity and charity are prohibited on the Sabbath."

Naturally, the state statute includes more than the above. It, for example, originally permitted only the sport of baseball on Sunday and that when played "in a quiet and orderly manner." The bill was amended to clear the way for the Minnesota Vikings.

The current problem of Sunday openings in Minnesota began in 1959 with opening of new discount stores by GEM and Atlantic Mills, out-of-state corporations.

An article in the Minneapolis Star of Dec. 19, 1961, by Gwen Jones, staff writer, highlights some of the problems which were facing city or village councils in the Twin Cities area in late 1961 and early 1962. Among the points she made are the following: (1) Since there was no statewide regulation, with any force, the city and village councils endeavored to establish some sort of a uniform ordinance which could at least serve as a "stop-gap" measure until such a time as the legislature in 1963 might consider a statewide regulation; (2) "The ordinances are aimed...at the discount houses which have sprung up in the suburbs in the last few years, and which often stay open on Sundays."

In addition to the many other problems, attorneys for the St. Paul City Council and Hennepin County were concerned to avoid conflicts with the Federal Supreme Court. One basic question appears to have been related to whether the allowing of businesses which were closed on Saturdays to open on Sundays might not interject religion into the issue and thus jeopardize the constitutionality of the ordinances. It has been stated that this was a strong factor in deliberations of the St. Paul City Council which passed a Sunday Closing Ordinance, effective Feb. 4, 1962, which contained no provision for alternate Saturday closing.

Nor did the Sunday closing ordinance, vetoed by Mayor Naftalin of Minneapolis, have a Saturday exemption. When the Minneapolis City Council overrode Mayor Naftalin's veto, however, on Feb. 23, 1962 it adopted an amendment to permit stores closed on Saturday to be open on Sunday. Mayor Naftalin allowed the Saturday option amendment to become law without his signature. The Minneapolis Sunday closing ordinances went into effect March 4, 1962.

V. ARGUMENTS FOR SUNDAY CLOSING LEGISLATION

1. Needed to protect the individual from exploitation -

The need and propriety of such laws are underscored by the memorable reasoning of Justice Mitchell of the Minnesota State Supreme Court in State versus Pettit:

> "The legislation proceeds upon the theory...that the physical, intellectual and moral welfare of mankind requires a periodical day of rest from labor and, as some particular day must be fixed, the one most naturally selected is that which is regarded as sacred by the greatest number of citizens...as this causes the least interference with business or existing customs...all men are

not in fact independent and at liberty to work when they choose. Labor is in a great degree dependent upon capital and unless the exercise of power which capital affords is restrained, those who are obliged to labor will not possess the freedom for rest which they would otherwise exercise. The object of the law is not so much to protect those who can rest at pleasure as to afford rest to those who need it, and who from conditions of society, could not otherwise obtain it. Moreover, if the law was not obligatory upon all, and those who desired to do so were permitted to engage in their usual vocation on Sunday, others engaged in the same kind of labor or business might, against their wishes, be compelled, by the laws of competition in business to do likewise."

Dr. A. Reuben Gornitzka, senior pastor of Central Lutheran Church, Minneapolis, underscores evils of Sunday commercialization:

> "The additional problems that will be created in terms of the division of homes, the separation of the family, and the breakdown of a pattern of life which has been common to our society for all of our years cannot but make a very real difference to the total welfare of our community."

2. Necessary to promote the general welfare of society -

These points were made by the special committee on the Church and State in the May 1962 report on "Relations between Church and State" to the 174th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in America:

> "The United States Supreme Court has ruled that Sunday closing laws of three states primarily protect social and humanitarian, rather than ecclesiastical, pursuits and therefore do not violate the Federal Constitution... The church itself bears sole and vital responsibility for securing from its members a voluntary observance of the Lord's Day. The church should not seek...the coercive power of the state in order to facilitate Christians' observance of the Lord's Day."

In an article in the Catholic magazine, America, in 1959, a leading Catholic legal authority on church-state issues, Father Robert Drinan, S.J., dean of the Boston College Law School, made the following points:

> "The Catholic community seems to feel that the pressure to modify legislation is another application of the secularistic concept that the government may not encourage religion or promote public morality. There is, moreover, the fear among Catholics and

many other opponents of concessions to Sabbatarians that frightful competitive practices and Sunday 'bargain days' may tend further to dispel that sense of quiet reverence which law and society have always attached to Sunday."

3. Can prevent damage to the business community -

In an amicus curiae brief presented to the U.S. Supreme Court, the National Retail Merchants Association stated:

> "Obviously retail stores now open on Sunday enjoy a temporary advantage over stores which remain closed on that day. If Sunday closing statutes are set aside, however, competition in the retail industry will force most other retail stores to open on Sunday. But the sales volume of each store will return to normal, and the initial advantage of the present Sunday operators will disappear. The significant fact is that there will be no increase in the volume of sales by reason of the additional shopping day, but there will be additional overhead expense, particularly by reason of increased payroll expense."

One Minnesota business leader said:

> "Sunday openings do not add to greater total sales volume in the area. You merely divide the pie into seven parts rather than six."

Some leaders also hold that if stores open in a concentrated area such as department stores, banks, parking lots, and other related services, this would run up extra costs for additional personnel and taxes for additional police and clean-up crews. This would inevitably be reflected in higher prices to the consumer.

Small stores would especially suffer from seven day openings. If small store operators must open on Sunday to meet their larger competitor on that day, many would find it impossible to stagger supervisory staff as the larger competitor can. This means that they would need to work seven days a week, an intolerable burden on the small independent businessman.

4. Assists in protecting standards of organized labor -

Labor officials claim that Sunday openings encourage the securing of extra work through "moonlighting" i.e. workers holding down more than a 40-hour per week job. This is detrimental to the health and safety of the worker and cuts down on the number of available jobs. Such extra work is also harmful to the worker's family, labor leaders argue, because of a lack of opportunity to carry out responsibilities as a spouse or parent.

One local labor leader said:

> "Our fear is that if we permit Sunday operation to continue, our town will be turned into a jungle with a dog-eat-dog philosophy. If stores are to be kept open seven days, the seven-day work week may be spread to organized labor, and we certainly do not want that to happen."

Many labor leaders and merchants also say that Sunday openings force employees to work unwillingly on Sunday. They claim that as more stores open on Sunday, employee relations will deteriorate as an increasing number of people are put to work on that day. Employee surveys indicate that the large "rank and file" of retail employees do not want to work on Sunday.

VI. ARGUMENTS AGAINST SUNDAY CLOSING

1. Penalizes those adhering to a different day of rest -

A substantial block of Jewish opinion is expressed by the amicus curiae brief prepared for the Supreme Court test of Sunday laws by the American Jewish Congress. The brief reads in part:

> "Enforcement of compulsory Sunday observance laws against "Sabbatarians" constitutes, in our view, a serious infringement of their civil, religious and economic rights and imposes a heavy burden upon their adherence to their religious beliefs. However, our concern extends beyond the interests of the particular parties to this litigation....It is our position that the principle of religious liberty is impaired if any person is penalized for adhering to his religious beliefs, or for not adhering to any religious belief, so long as he does not interfere with the rights of others or endanger the public peace or security."

2. Interference with individual freedom -

Mayor Naftalin did not object to the City Council ordinance for religious reasons, but rather for reasons of freedom. He said:

> "I cannot escape the conclusion that the proposed ordinance is an unwarranted interference with the personal freedom of our citizens, that it has the effect of discriminating against individuals who observe a day other than Sunday as their Sabbath, and that it seeks to impose a law by pattern of social and economic behavior that should be shaped not by government but by the free choices and the voluntary associations of the people themselves."

3. Hampers the complete freedom of economic forces -

Opponents hold that Sunday laws are an unwarranted governmental interference with the liberties of some merchants and with the liberties of the public to shop when and where it chooses. The point is further made that such statutes are based upon a combination of religious preferences and the preferences of a particular group of merchandisers to be free of unwelcome competition -- both improper bases for general legislation.

The Suburban Merchants Association of New Jersey insisted to Business Week that the Sunday closing issue was an economic one which had nothing to do either with the sensibilities of the religious majority or the way people have gotten used to working, worshipping, or spending their time on Sunday. One discounter told the magazine: "We stay open on Sundays because that's when people want to shop." This latter statement is one which is frequently emphasized by discount stores. Many hold that the American system of free enterprise requires that all political curbs upon our economic life be eliminated.

4. Sunday openings provide needed employment opportunities -

In answer to the charge that Sunday openings force employees to work unwillingly on Sunday, some discounters reply that recruiting is not a problem and that many Sunday workers are part-timers working their way through school or persons who need extra cash. Sunday openings, therefore, help to reduce unemployment.

VII. SATURDAY OPTION COMMENTS

A "Saturday option" provision in a Sunday closing law would allow a business to open Sunday if it closed Saturday. This would eliminate the difficulties of which Sabbatarians complain. Many feel that this would be a loophole through which some merchants would take advantage of the lack of competition on Sunday to open on that day. Others feel that the experience of states, which have enacted options only for religious observors, has not shown this to be a loophole and that such a Saturday option provision may be carefully drafted to avoid any undermining of Sunday closing. In his comments in the Appendix to this report Professor Jesse Choper believes that such an option provision would be constitutional.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

The existing Minnesota laws on Sunday closing are outmoded and should be revised at the 1963 session of the legislature. Such legislation is especially needed in view of the present widespread differences practiced frequently by adjoining communities.

Because of strongly-held and conflicting opinions on these laws, widespread serious and temperate public discussion is needed. Understanding is especially urgent if the community wishes to control the changes in its pattern of life as new forms of retail trade press for heavy Sunday shopping.

We call upon Minnesota church and community leaders to urge their legislators to adopt and pass an effective Sunday Closing Law which would provide a Saturday option for those persons who abstain from work on that day because of religious convictions. We believe a common day marked by the cessation of work for the whole community contributes greatly to the welfare of the individual and the family, as well as the total health of our society. It is becoming increasingly clear that such a day in the week is more urgently needed as our society becomes highly mechanized and industrialized. Governments properly serve men by controlling impersonal economic forces which work against man's best interests.

As American citizens we are concerned about the rights of our minorities, and we feel that their rights are adequately protected by the Saturday option. In this respect, we believe that such legislation will contribute to the total well-being, not only to the majority of our citizens, but to the minorities as well. It is our considered judgment that Sunday closing legislation, should provide for a Saturday option (for those who hold to a Saturday day of rest), and this would help to protect the rights of our citizen minorities. Such legislation should be carefully drafted so as to exempt only religious observers and not provide a loophole for others.

With these principles in mind, we urge our legislators to responsibly frame the kind of a law which will bring the greatest benefits to the total community.

Finally, we believe that the conclusions of our study lay a very special responsibility upon Minnesota's religious, educational and business leaders concerning Sunday buying. If our society is to benefit from a less-commercialized day of rest, should not the churches, schools, advertisers and mass communications media of our state be responsible for educating our citizens at every age-level on the need to confine their purchases to the six business days of the week so that commercial transactions on a day of rest may be reduced to the minimum necessities for life and health? In our opinion this is a mandatory obligation if Sunday is to be truly a day of renewal for our citizens.

IX. APPENDIX

Comments on constitutionality of Sunday Closing Laws by Professor Jesse Choper, University of Minnesota

1. Sunday Option Opinion -

If the Minnesota legislature sees fit to fashion an exemption for Sabbatarians on the ground that they should be relieved from the burdens of this particular legislation, it would seem to me that this is clearly not contrary to the Federal Constitution, despite statements from some people otherwise. The U.S. Supreme Court struggled with the question as to whether or not the Sunday closing laws were constitutional as applied to Sabbatarians. The Court held that failure on the state's part to exempt these people is not unconstitutional. But the Court clearly indicated that as a matter of legislative wisdom if the State were to make an exemption for Sabbatarians this would not be contrary to the Constitution.

2. Constitutionality as Relates to Due Process -

In regard to the general constitutionality of Sunday closing laws, it is necessary to consider both the federal and the state constitutions. The first general point as far as both constitutions are concerned, is whether or not the legislation violates due process or equal protection of the laws. The U.S. Supreme Court has clearly held that so long as it is determined that the purpose and effect of the legislation is not religious but rather is cultural and is intended to provide a day of rest for all persons, then no violation of due process occurred. (McGowan case - the U.S. Supreme Court. The Minnesota Supreme Court seems to have held likewise in the case, State vs. Petit, 1898).

So far as the equal protection clause is concerned, the charge made has been that the various exemptions fashioned by the Legislature were arbitrary and without any rational basis, and therefore the entire Statute is unconstitutional.

The Supreme Court of the United States has given legislatures wide discretion in fashioning exemptions from the application of certain legislation. It found in the crazy-quilt statutes of Maryland, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts that had been before it, that all of the exemptions were based on some rational basis and therefor did not violate equal protection of the laws.

The Minnesota Supreme Court would seem to follow the same course as indicated by the decision in State vs. Petit.

3. Constitutionality as Relates to Religious Freedom -

The more important considerations involve religious freedom. One charge made against the Sunday closing laws in the U.S. Supreme Court was that they violated the provision of the Constitution which forbids states from passing a law respecting an establishment of religion.

The court here held that Sunday closing laws, although perhaps originally of a religious nature, were currently secular laws; and that despite the fact that they gave some aid to religion, this aid was incidental to the major purposes of the legislation which was cultural - that is, to provide a day of rest for all citizens.

The Minnesota Supreme Court seems to agree with this proposition in a series of cases over the years.

The other religious liberty contention is that the Sunday closing laws, when applied to people whose religious convictions demand that they refrain from work on Saturday, might constitutionally infringe on their religious liberty.

The U.S. Supreme Court rejected this contention on the grounds that the statute did not make unlawful any practice demanded by the sabbatarian religions, nor did they make unlawful the holding of any particular religious beliefs.

Rather the statute simply made the practice of religion more expensive and the Court held that a state legislature could find that despite this indirect infringement on religious exercise, the alternative courses available were so unsatisfactory that the state would be permitted to say that everyone must close his business on Sunday.

The Minnesota Supreme Court, State vs. Weiss, (1906), appears to take the same tack.

Again, I would like to make it clear that neither the Supreme Court of the United States nor the Minnesota Supreme Court has at any time indicated that if the legislature saw fit to exempt Sabbatarians, this would in any way be unconstitutional.

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Earl B. Schwulst
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RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Introduction:

The National Conference of Christians and Jews has inaugurated a new program entitled, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs. This project will bring together on a national and regional level, priests, ministers and rabbis across the country for the purpose of discussing those issues in the public order about which religious groups differ. Complex and knotty questions such as public funds for the church school, religious practices in the public school, the distribution of birth control devices and Sunday closing laws are on the agenda.

Recently the project, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs, called together thirty five editors of Catholic, Jewish and Protestant publications. For the first time these editors of church and synagogue magazines and newspapers confronted each other in frank and honest discussion. Participating in this symposium held during the Editors' Institute are: Rabbi Joseph Klein, Editor of the C.C.A.R. Journal, and Mr. Victor Bovee, Editor of the Unitarian Universalist Register Leader and Rabbi Arthur Gilbert of the N.C.C.J. The topic for discussion: "Religious Practices in the Public Schools."

This is an edited transcription of their remarks.

Arthur Gilbert: If my memory stands me correctly, Mr. Bovee, Unitarian parents were involved in the litigation that brought to the Supreme Court the case that led to the famous prayer decision where the Supreme Court ruled that a state may not compose or sanction a prayer for children in the public school. Unitarian parents are also involved in the case now pending before the Supreme Court dealing with devotional Bible reading exercises in Pennsylvania public schools. What is this concern of Unitarians for these religious practices in the public schools? Why are they engaged in litigation at this time?

Victor Bovee: It will help to know that the Unitarian-Universalist Association requires of its members no adherence to any particular theological

doctrine or precept. As a result a Unitarian or a Universalist may be a Christian, a theist, a humanist; he may be an agnostic or he may be by his own profession an atheist. He is still welcome within the Fellowship. Because of this wide range of diversity - and it is a wider range than in any other denomination - Unitarians and Universalists are greatly concerned that no religious practice be imposed upon any of their members; or particularly, in these cases, upon the children of members who wish to teach their own religious values.

Arthur Gilbert: Are you suggesting that these Unitarian parents have been engaged in such litigation as individuals but that the church itself, as church, has not been actively involved in pressing this cause?

Victor Bovee: This is partly correct, at least, and in these particular cases it is correct. These actions were brought by individual Unitarians and in some of the cases in conjunction with people of other faiths; but they were not instituted by the Unitarian-Universalist Association, or by any Unitarian-Universalist agency.

Arthur Gilbert: In contrast, Rabbi Klein, I believe the Reform Jewish movement of which you are a leader has actually involved itself in testimony in Congressional hearings and as a "friend of the court" in the recent suit dealing with Bible reading in the public schools and in the prayer case. What accounts for this seemingly paradoxical position on the part of the religious Jewish community to oppose prayer and Bible reading in the public schools of the United States?

Rabbi Klein: Well, first we ought to point out that the Jewish community, the religious Jewish community, that is, believes very strongly in prayer. The Jewish prayer book is a very lengthy one, as you well know, and we

do not minimize prayer and worship, nor do we regard it as something unimportant. The fact of the matter is that we try in every way possible in all our groups to encourage prayer not only in the synagogue, but in the home as well. However, we believe very ardently also, in the First Amendment to the Constitution which makes it very clear that the state may make no law which established religion in any form or which abridges religious freedom. We believe that when prayer is imposed upon children in a public school classroom it is denial of their religious freedom. It, in effect, becomes an establishment of religion in the classroom. In most instances, the kind of prayer that is recited in the classroom is sectarian in character, as for example, "The Lord's Prayer" which is distinctly in its context a Christian prayer. Similarly, the Bible Reading ordinances do not always specify what kind of Bible reading it must be; and passages may be selected from the Bible which are not in accord with the feelings of parents of the Jewish faith.

Arthur Gilbert: Would Jewish parents accept those religious practices, however, that are non-sectarian or that do not violate Jewish conscience? If a prayer were a non-sectarian prayer or the Bible reading taken from the Jewish Publication Society version of the Bible and only from the Old Testament, would Jewish religious leadership still oppose such practices in the school?

Rabbi Klein: There are some Jews who would favor this, but they represent a minority. I believe that the majority of Jews take the position that there should be no religious practice of any kind in the classroom for the simple reason that the State would have to legislate such religious practice into being and it would definitely establish, even if only in a partial sense, religion in the public school or in the classroom. The general feeling in the Jewish community is that there should be a complete wall of separation between Church and State. The State should not meddle in the affairs of the Church. The Church

should not involve itself in the affairs of the State.

Arthur Gilbert: Mr. Bovee, Rabbi Klein has indicated that his constituency would consider it a violation of their religious freedom were the state to impose prayer or Bible reading or other religious exercises upon their children. You, too, have indicated that Unitarian parents are opposed to such an imposition of religious exercises in which they cannot participate in full conscience. Yet both Rabbi Klein and you represent religious groups that are in a minority in this country. How would you respond to a person who questions the right of this minority to infringe upon the freedom of the overwhelming majority to maintain customs and traditions that have been part of the long heritage of this country,i.e., the acknowledgement of the existence of this nation "under God," the role of the Bible as an important symbol and the use of prayer as a means of sanctifying important occasions in the national life of this country? How would you answer a person who questions whether or not under these judicial rulings a minority is not seeking to impose its will on the majority?

Mr. Bovee: If there is anything clear from a study of the Constitution and of the Constitutional Convention which created it, it is that certain areas of our lives, should not be determined by majority rule. These appear in the Bill of Rights and among them is the First Amendment to which Rabbi Klein referred. In other words, the inclusion of the First Amendment and the ban upon the establishment of religion by government fiat was an effort to set aside this issue of religious freedom as something that should not be determined by majority rule, something that should not be imposed by a majority upon a minority.

Arthur Gilbert: This evidently was the point of view of one of the Justices of the Supreme Court during the course of the recent hearings with regard to the Bible reading case. He asked the attorneys for the state whether they

would be willing to accept a situation where in each community the majority could decide which prayers would be recited. He pointed to the fact that in Hawaii Buddhists are of a considerable size. Might it not be conceivable, he asked, that all Christian children would have to engage in a prayer in the name of Buddha? Of course when the issue is posed in this fashion it gives us pause. It helps us to understand that we cannot so freely by majority rule decide what prayers or what religious exercises all individuals must participate in as a mark of their citizenship.

I think Rabbi Klein and Mr. Bovee that you are on good historical ground when you indicate that minorities use litigation as a means of attaining an adjudication of their rights. In the long course of American history this has been the case. At one time, little more than 100 years ago, for example, Catholics brought to the courts of the United States similar cases dealing with Bible reading and Protestant prayer in the public schools. Some 20 years ago Jehovah Witnesses brought to the Supreme Court cases dealing with their right to abstain from the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag of the U.S. on religious grounds. Now it would appear that Unitarians and members of the Ethical Culture community and Jews have been involved in litigation over these religious practices in the public school.

Could you perhaps add a word explaining why litigation has been resorted to by your communities? Does it reflect the fact that you have been unsuccessful in efforts at dialogue or education or accomodation to achieve satisfaction of your rights?

Rabbi Klein: Generally, when one finds that a state has enacted a law that makes prayer or Bible reading compulsory, he can presume that such action has been taken through the influence and the pressure of religious groups. A state

legislature does not enact a law of this type unless there is pressure put on it to do so. Minority groups, under these circumstances, have very little voice in determining what the policy of the state will be. But feeling very strongly that the Bill of Rights in the Constitution was meant primarily to protect minority groups they have resorted to litigation before the courts; and in most instances, the courts have sustained their point of view, indicating that this was the original intent in the minds of the framers of the Constitution. I am not afraid that our society will become a "Godless" society merely because prayers are not included in the public schools. As a matter of fact I think that religion becomes weakened when it uses the State as a crutch, and tries to get the state to help it carry out a program that really belongs to the church and the home. I believe that our country will benefit greatly when religious institutions do not rely upon our states to help them carry out their religious programs.

Mr. Bovee: I would like to add one thing to what Rabbi Klein has said. It should be made quite clear that Unitarians and Universalists do not oppose prayer as such, nor do they oppose Bible reading as such. They practice these things, in fact, in their own churches and in their own homes. The essential element here is the determination by the state of what an individual's religious practices ought be. In the public school system, where our children are a captive audience of the state, we do not believe that we can permit the government to determine those religious exercises.

Arthur Gilbert: Do you not believe, Rabbi Klein, that there is some danger that if any reference to God or use of prayer is removed from the public school we will create a public school - by virtue of the absence of religion - that will, in effect, teach our children that God is of no meaning or importance in life? Is there not some danger that in removing God from the public school we

permit a form of secular humanism to enter into the vacuum; and that this is a competing religion that ought give religious individuals some concern?

Rabbi Klein: No, I'm not worried about that at all. This really gives me no concern. Again, I say that it is the business of the home and the church and synagogue to teach religious concepts and to make God meaningful in the life of the child. The word God itself becomes a meaningless term unless there is some understanding given to the child as to what is meant by God. Catholic, Protestant and Jewish interpretations of God differ even within their own respective groups. There are broad differences in theological belief. To try to give to children a God concept within the public school without any explanation makes of the concept something meaningless. I have a feeling in my own mind that because religion becomes so limited when dealt with by the public school that we actually create a situation wherein the school achieves disrespect for religious concepts rather than an enhancement of them.

Arthur Gilbert: Thank you, Rabbi Klein, and Victor Bovee. Both of you are representatives of religious communities. By your discussion, you have indicated that there are men of religion for whom God is important who will, nevertheless, for the reasons you have suggested, oppose religious practices in the public school. It is evident, of course, that there are Catholics and Protestants who will differ sharply with the views presented by Rabbi Klein and Mr. Bovee. It is the conviction of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, however, that such issues need be aired and that religious leaders holding these opposing points of view have an obligation to sit together and to discuss their points of view in order to better understand each other. This is the purpose of the Project and for such reason were these editors called together.

10-13-58
Resist. Grps. Misc.
1963

High Court's 'Arrogance' Is Viewed By Northerner

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A letter to the President

By CARLETON PUTNAM

Carleton Putnam, who wrote the following to President Eisenhower, is a member of the famous New England Putnam family, a native of New York City, a graduate of Princeton and Columbia, founder and president of Chicago and Southern Airlines (1933-1948), and is on the board of Delta Airlines. He recently published a widely-praised biography of Theodore Roosevelt.

70979

Washington, D. C.
Oct. 13, 1958

The Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower
President of the United States
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.
My dear Mr. President:

A few days ago I was reading over Justice Frankfurter's opinion in the recent Little Rock case. Three sentences in it tempt me to write you this letter.

I am a Northerner, but I have spent a large part of my life as a business executive in the South. I have a law degree, but I am now engaged in historical writing.

From this observation post I risk the presumption of a comment.

The sentences I wish to examine are these: "Local customs, however hardened by time, are not decreed in heaven. Habits and feelings they engender may be counteracted and moderated. Experience attests that such local habits and feelings will yield, gradually though this be, to law and education."

* * *

IT IS MY PERSONAL CONVICTION that the local customs in this case were "hardened by time" for a very good reason, and that while they may not, as Frankfurter says, have been decreed in heaven, they come closer to it than the current view of the Supreme Court.

I was particularly puzzled by Frankfurter's remark that "the Constitution is not the formulation of the merely personal views of the members of this court."

Five minutes before the court's desegregation decision, the Constitution meant one thing; five minutes later, it meant something else. Only one thing intervened, namely, an expression of the personal views of the members of the court.

* * *

IT IS NOT my purpose to dispute the point with which the greater part of Frankfurter's opinion is concerned. The law must be obeyed. But I think the original desegregation decision was wrong, that it ought to be reversed, and that meanwhile every legal means should be found, not to disobey it, but to avoid it. Failing this, the situation should be corrected by constitutional amendment.

* * *

I CANNOT AGREE that this is a matter involving "a few states" as Frankfurter suggests. The picture in reality is of a court, by one sudden edict, forcing upon the entire South a view, and a way of life, with which the great majority of the population are in complete disagreement.

Although not from the legal, in fact from the practical, standpoint the North, which does not have the problem, is presuming to tell the South, which does have the problem, what to do.

To me there is a frightening arrogance in this performance. Neither the North, nor the court, has any holy mandate inherent in the trend of the times or the progress of liberalism to reform society in the South.

In the matter of schools, rights to equal education are inseparably bound up with rights to freedom of association and, in the South at least, may require that both be considered simultaneously. (In using the word "association" here I mean the right to associate with whom you please, and the right not to associate with whom you please.)

In any case the crux of this issue would seem obvious: Social status has to be earned.

Personally I feel only affection for the Negro. But there are facts that have to be faced. Any man with two eyes in his head can observe a Negro settlement in the Congo, can study the pure-blooded African in his native habitat as he exists when left on his own resources, can compare this settlement with London or Paris, and can draw his own conclusions regarding relative levels of character and intelligence—or that combination of character and intelligence which is civilization.

Finally he can inquire as to the number of pure-blooded blacks who have made contributions to great literature or engineering or medicine or philosophy or abstract science.

We were all in caves or trees originally. The progress which the pure-blooded black has made when left to himself, with a minimum of white help or hindrance, genetically or otherwise, can be measured today in the Congo.

Lord Bryce, a distinguished impartial foreign observer, presented the situation accurately in his American Commonwealth when he wrote in 1880:

> **"History is a record of the progress toward civilization of races originally barbarous. But that progress has in all cases been slow and gradual . . . Utterly dissimilar is the case of the African Negro, caught up in and whirled along with the swift movement of the American democracy. In it we have a singular juxtaposition of the most primitive and the most recent, the most rudimentary and the most highly developed, types of culture . . . A body of savages is violently carried across the ocean and set to work as slaves on the plantations of masters who are three or four thousands years in advance of them in mental capacity and moral force . . . Suddenly, even more suddenly than they were torn from Africa, they find themselves, not only free, but made full citizens and active members of the most popular gov-**

ernment the world has seen, treated as fit to bear an equal part in ruling, not only themselves, but also their recent masters."

One does not telescope three or four thousand years into the 70 years since Bryce wrote.

* * *

I WOULD EMPHATICALLY support improvement of education in Negro schools, if and where it is inferior.

Equality of opportunity and equality before the law, when not strained to cover other situations, are acceptable ideals because they provide the chance to earn and to progress—and consequently should be enforced by legal fiat as far as is humanly possible.

Throughout this controversy there has been frequent mention of the equality of man as a broad social objective. No proposition in recent years has been characterized by more loose thinking. Few of us would care to enter a poetry contest with a top-ranking poet. And few would care to play chess with the champion.

* * *

PIN DOWN THE MAN who uses the word "equality," and at once the evasions and qualifications begin. As I recall, you, yourself, in a recent statement used some phrase to the effect that men were "equal in the sight of God."

I would be interested to know where in the Bible you get your authority for this conception. There is doubtless authority in Scripture for the concept of potential equality in the sight of God—after earning that status, and with various further qualifications—but where is the authority for the sort of ipso facto equality suggested by your context? The whole idea contradicts the basic tenet of the Christian and Jewish religions that status is earned through righteousness and is not an automatic matter.

* * *

FRANKFURTER closes his opinion with a quotation from Abraham Lincoln, to whom the Negro owes more than to any other man. I, too, would like to quote from Lincoln. At Charleston, Ill., in September, 1858, in a debate with Douglas, Lincoln said:

"I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes nor qualifying them to hold office . . . I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And in as much as they cannot so live, while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

The extent to which Lincoln would have modified these views today, or may have modified them before his death, is a moot question, but it is clear on its face that he would not have been in sympathy with the Supreme Court's position on desegregation.

* * *

PERHAPS the most discouraging spectacle is the spectacle of Northern newspapers dwelling with pleasure upon the predicament of the Southern parent who is forced to choose between desegregation and no school at all for his child.

It does not seem to occur to the papers that this is the cruelest sort of blackmail; that the North is virtually putting a pistol at the head of the Southern parent in a gesture which every Northerner must contemplate with shame.

Indeed, there now seems little doubt that the court's recent decision has set back the cause of the Negro in the South by a generation.

He may force his way into white schools, but will not force his way into white hearts nor earn the respect he seeks.

What evolution was slowly and wisely achieving, revolution has now arrested, and the trail of bitterness will lead far.

Sincerely yours,
CARLETON PUTNAM

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

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3-16-59

Resist Grp. Misc
1963

Second Putnam Letter Cuts Root of Integration Fallacy

A Letter To
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
of
THE UNITED STATES

By CARLETON PUTNAM

Carleton Putnam is a member of the famous New England Putnam family, a native of New York City, a graduate of Princeton and Columbia, founder and president of Chicago and Southern Airlines (1933-1948), and is on the board of Delta Airlines. He recently published a widely-praised biography of Theodore Roosevelt.

71444

March 16, 1959

The Honorable William P. Rogers
Attorney General of the United States
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Attorney General:

Following my correspondence with your Department in December, I have had a chance to review your briefs in the school desegregation cases and also to scan, as carefully as time permitted, the nine relevant volumes of the *Supreme Court's Records and Briefs.* I hesitate to impose further upon your kindness, but my survey has left one question in my mind upon which the record does not appear to touch, and which you may be able to answer.

I turn to you for the reason that, as a non-adversary party to these proceedings, I understand you to have represented the people of the United States. Since a majority of the population of the South are obviously against integration, and since the Gallup Poll for September 24, 1958, indicates that 58% of the white population of the North would not put their children in schools where more than half the enrollment is Negro, it becomes a close question whether the decision of the Supreme Court in these cases was not in fact contrary to the wishes of a national majority. While I recognize that this would in no way affect the validity of the decision, it would seem to have placed a peculiar responsibility upon you.

The matter which I find curious is the omission in your briefs of any challenge to the authorities cited by the Court in Footnote 11 to their opinion of May 17, 1954. I assume there must have been some indication, in argument or elsewhere, that these authorities were to be used. They appear, in large measure, to form the foundation of the decision. They reflect a point of view rooted in what I may call modern equalitarian an-

thropology — a school which holds that all races are currently equal in their capacity for culture, and that existing inequalities of status are due solely to inequalities of opportunity. While the briefs for the State of Virginia touch upon the qualifications of some of the individual psychologists who testified in the lower courts, they contain no examination of the underlying anthropological theory. It seems to me that such an examination should have been made. I have a science degree, I have read with some diligence in the field of anthropology and I have discussed the subject with competent anthropologists. It is my considered opinion that two generations of Americans have been victimized by a psuedo-scientific hoax in this field, that this hoax is part of an equalitarian propaganda typical of the left-wing overdrift of our times, and that it will not stand an informed judicial test. I do not believe that ever before has science been more warped by a self-serving few to the deception and injury of so many. On this subject there may be disagreement. But it is clear to me the Court should have been invited to examine the question.

Allow me to give my reasons for this opinion. The Court says in Footnote 11 "see generally Myrdal, *An American Dilemma,*" and I start with this book. I need hardly dwell upon the highly socialistic bias of its foreign author, and the startling remarks with which his text is peppered, such as his comment that the American Constitution "is in many respects impractical and ill-suited for modern conditions," that the Constitutional Convention of 1787 "was nearly a plot against the common people" and that in the conflict between liberty and equality in the United States, "equality is slowly winning." A foreign socialist could not, perhaps, have realized that Jefferson's statement "all men are created equal" was a corruption from the Virginia Declaration of Rights, where the

original wording read "all men are created equally free," nor that if equality (in any sense other than equality of opportunity and equality before the law) is defeating liberty in the United States, then everything America has stood for is in jeopardy, but certainly it was essential that these matters be called to the Court's attention in evaluating Myrdal's book.

I hasten, however, to the basic hypothesis underlying Myrdal's 1400 pages. On pages 90-91 he introduces the doctrines of Franz Boas, a foreign-born Columbia University professor who arrived in the United States in 1886, who was himself a member of a racial minority group, and who may be called the father of equalitarian anthropology in America. From these pages forward, Myrdal's *Dilemma* is founded upon the philosophy of Boas and his disciples. Thereafter, one constantly finds in Myrdal such sentences as these:

> "The last two or three decades have seen a veritable revolution in scientific thought on the racial characteristics of the Negro. . . . By inventing and applying ingenious specialized research methods, the popular race dogma (that races are not by nature equal in their capacity for culture) is being victoriously pursued into every corner and effectively exposed as fallacious or at least unsubstantiated. . . . It is now becoming difficult for even popular writers to express other views than the ones of racial equalitarianism and still retain intellectual respect."

If you have not already read him, I invite you to a thorough and impartial study of Boas. I am confident you will find his views wholly unconvincing, his doctrines more "unsubstantiated" than those he attacks, and his approach so saturated with wishful thinking as to be pathetic. In even the most superficial analysis of the subject, Boas

should have been challenged and his more obvious errors exposed. Boas, for example, may have been convinced that the average African's improvident indifference to "tomorrow" is just a healthy "optimism", but I dare say the proverbial reasonable man on a jury would think of it less charitably.

If the deceptions of the Boas school were unconscious, they were nevertheless serious. People, for instance, were induced to believe that because early anthropologists put emphasis on brain pan size in their studies of race, and brain pan size was later proved to be an invalid criterion, this automatically made all races equal. No one took the time to point out that not only is brain pan size not a final test of intelligence, but that, even if it were, equal brain size would not prove equal capacity for civilization. The character-intelligence index — the combination of intelligence with all the qualities that go under the name of character, including especially the willingness to resist rather than to appease evil — forms the only possible index of the capacity for civilization as Western Europeans know it, and there is no test for this index save in observing the native culture in which it results. Such observation does not sustain the doctrine of equality.

Indeed, the entire foundation of the Boas theory rests on sand. It is based on the assumption that present day cultural differences between the Negro and other races are due, not to any natural limitations, but to isolation and historical accident. This theme has been taken up again and again by later anthropologists, such as Kluckhohn of Harvard, and repeated as established scientific fact. I may illustrate the argument by comparing the condition of the white tribes of Northern Europe just before the fall of Rome with the Negro tribes in the Congo. Both were primitive and barbaric, both were isolated from civilization. With the conquest of Rome by the white barbarians, the north-

ern tribes were brought in contact with the ancient Greco-Roman civilization and gradually absorbed its culture. The Negro, on the other hand, lacked such a contact and therefore remained in *statu quo.*

This was Boas' historical accident, and his explanation of the Negro's present level of civilization in Africa. Boas had various additional points and refinements of his thesis, such as the advantage the white barbarians enjoyed in contiguity of habitat and the more moderate differences in modes of manufacture in earlier times, which made it easier for backward peoples in those days to compete commercially with more advanced cultures than was the case in later centuries when our white civilization invaded Africa, but these arguments hang on the first point. In other words, had the Negroes shown the enterprise and initiative of the white barbarians, the Negroes themselves would have established a contiguity of habitat and had the advantage of more moderate differences in modes of manufacture.

As far as isolation is concerned, it hardly seems necessary to point out that the Alps did not keep the white barbarians out of Italy, and that the Nile Valley was open to the Negroes into Egypt. One observer, recently returned from an intensive tour of Africa and himself apparently a racial equalitarian, nevertheless feels compelled to include these sentences in his report:

> "Why, when in China, India, Mesopotamia and on the Mediterranean coasts and islands, men isolated almost completely from one another, during some 5,000 years independently developed writing and metal tools, invented compasses, built temples and bridges, formulated philosophies, wrote books and poems — why, then, did similar progress not occur in Africa?
>
> "I posed the question to many Africans. Their answer: the desert, the heat, dis-

ease, isolation — and always these words: 'For centuries our most vigorous young men were taken off as slaves.'

"The answer falls short. China has a desert; India's climate is as hot and as unhealthy; Mesopotamia indeed is hotter — and was surrounded by deserts. As for the slave trade, why were the Africans not making slaves of the Portuguese and the Arabs?"

This report, prepared by the assistant to the publisher of "Time" magazine, goes on to seek justification for the equalitarian viewpoint in the modern intelligence test and the modern performance of the exceptional Negro, answers which fall as far short as the others. The field of the intelligence test, like the field of Boas' anthropology, is filled with wishful thinking, with comparisons of the better Negroes and the poorer whites, with studies of mulattoes whose successes are largely proportionate to the admixture of white genes, and with similar avoidance of the essential point, namely, that in matters of race either the average of one must be compared with the average of the other, or the best of one must be compared with the best of the other.

If we are to compare averages, there is probably no better laboratory than the rural area around Chatham, Ontario, Canada. Chatham is a town at the northern end of the pre-Civil War "underground railroad" where a community of the descendants of escaped slaves has existed for 100 years. The social and economic situation of Negroes and whites in the rural area around Chatham is approximately equal. The schools have always been integrated, yet the tests of Negroes in these rural schools show them, after 100 years, to be as far below the whites in the same schools as the Negroes in the schools of the South are below the whites in the schools of the South. Dr. H. A. Tanser, now Superintendent of Schools at Chatham, published a study of

this matter in 1939. The study is never mentioned by the modern school of equalitarian anthropology, but you will find it in the Library of Congress. Did your Department give it consideration?

In this connection, you are perhaps aware that Dr. Audrey M. Shuey, Chairman of the Department of Psychology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, published a report in 1958 surveying and summarizing the results of 40 years of intelligence tests involving whites and Negroes. Dr. Shuey took her B. A. at the University of Illinois, her M. A. at Wellesley, and her Ph. D. at Columbia. Her book contains a foreword by Dr. Henry E. Garrett who was formerly president of the American Psychological Association, the Eastern Psychological Association, the New York State Association of Applied Psychology and the Psychomatic Society. In his foreword, Dr. Garrett says:

> "Dr. Shuey finds that at several age levels and under a variety of conditions, Negroes regularly score below whites. There is, to be sure, an overlapping of scores, a number of Negroes scoring above the white medians. This overlap means that many individual Negroes achieve high scores on the tests. But the mean differences persist. Dr. Shuey concludes that the regularity and consistency of the results strongly imply a racial basis for these differences. I believe that the weight of evidence supports her conclusion."

Dr. Shuey states that "the remarkable consistency of test results . . . all point to the presence of some native differences between Negroes and whites determined by intelligence tests", and she adds the significant comment: "The tendency for the IQ's of colored children to become progressively lower with increase in age has been reported by a number of investigators who tested Negro children. . . . One is confronted with the

probability of a continuance during adolescence of what seems to be a widening gap between the races." I recognize that Dr. Shuey's report was not extant at the time of the Brown decision, but a large part of her material was available, and in my opinion should have been submitted to the Court. I repeat that I do not consider the intelligence test decisive, as I believe character to be more important than intelligence, but in answer to those who use the intelligence test to support theories of racial equality, surely Tanser's and Shuey's material belonged in the record.

If, on the other hand, we compare the best with the best, the discrepancies are even clearer. I had occasion to ask Kluckhohn a question with respect to a statement in his *Mirror for Man* at page 126. This statement reads: "It is true that the total richness of Negro civilizations is *at least quantitatively* less impressive than that of Western or Chinese civilization." (Emphasis mine.) I asked Kluckhohn if he would mind defining in what respects he found it *qualitatively* as impressive. I told him I was curious as to one poem equal to Milton's *Paradise Lost,* one history equal to Gibbon's *Decline and Fall,* one novel equal to Dicken's *David Copperfield,* one playwright equal to Shakespeare, one philosopher equal to Aristotle, one medical discovery equal to Salk's polio vaccine, one military leader equal to Napoleon, one inventor equal to Edison, one physicist equal to Einstein, one pioneer equal to Columbus, one statesman equal to Lincoln, one composer equal to Beethoven, one painter equal to Rembrandt. I have received no reply, but Kluckhohn's "at least quantitatively" seems to me typical of the deceptive words used by our modern equalitarian anthropology. The Court should not have been left in the dark on this tendency. Although they do not specifically cite Kluckhohn, he is one of the leaders of the modern school on which Myrdal rests his case.

I have found that a favorite method used by Boas and Kluckhohn for throwing dust in the eyes of the public is to create an impression that there is really no such thing as race. Although Kluckhohn begins the third paragraph of the fifth chapter of his *Mirror for Man* with the sentence "There are undoubtedly human races," he nevertheless entitles this chapter "Race: A Modern Myth." His thesis is that culture, not race, is what makes human beings what they are. Yet nowhere is the obvious fact examined that culture is absorbed, refined and advanced in proportion to racial capacity. There are, of course, certain modifying variables, among the chief of which are climate and economic conditions. The white culture of New England differs from the white culture of the Deep South, but not as much as the white culture of Southern Florida differs from the black culture of Haiti, where the climate is approximately the same. That is to say, the effect of the variables is clearly less decisive than the fundamental difference in race.

Undoubtedly an individual or group, taken out of the cultural environment of their own race and brought up in that of another, will sometimes absorb some features of the culture of the new environment, but in such instances they become parasites upon the culture of the second race. They are carried up, or carried down, as the case may be, by the overwhelming impact of the environment of the second race. Their own capacity to contribute to, and to sustain, a culture can only be judged by the performance of their own race in its native habitat. And if that capacity is low, then too many of them, too freely integrated, must inevitably in the long run lower the culture of the second race.

There have, not unnaturally, been situations in which a race has captured the spark of culture in one habitat but not in another. In the case of the fall of the Roman Empire,

the barbarians were, broadly speaking, members of the same race as the conquered. Here we find two branches of the white race, one of which had produced a culture while the other had not, and here the Boas theory of historical accident is tenable. Similarity of tinder permitted passage of the spark. It was still the white race that absorbed, and eventually carried forward, the Roman culture.

The essential question in this whole controversy is whether the Negro, given every conceivable help regardless of cost to the whites, is capable of full adaptation to our white civilization within a matter of a few generations, or whether the record indicates such adaptation cannot be expected save in terms of many hundreds, if not thousands, of years, and that complete integration of these races, especially in the heavy black belts of the South, can result only in a parasitic deterioration of white culture, with or without genocide. I am certain neither you nor the Court, nor any significant number of Northerners would knowingly shackle upon their racial brothers in the South against their will a system which would produce either of the latter results. The sin of Cain would pale by comparison.

Yet to my mind it seems obvious that all the facts, and a preponderance of theory, are against Myrdal and his authorities. I would go so far as to say that in the last fifty years anthropology has been drafted to serve the demi-Goddess of Equalitarianism instead of the Goddess of Truth, and the modern school in this field has a stern judgment to face, both at the bar of American public opinion and at the hands of two generations of youth whose thinking has been corrupted by it. One does not build a healthy society on error. One faces the truth, and deals with it as best one can.

I pass now from Myrdal, and the sources upon which his more general assumptions rest, to the remaining authorities cited in

Footnote 11. All of these deal primarily with the adverse psychological effect of segregation upon Negroes and only secondarily with its alleged adverse effect upon white children. Nowhere is any study cited of a third question, namely, of the quite possible adverse effect of *integration* upon whites in schools with large percentages of Negroes. Was any such study made and presented to the Court?

The third question was well put by William Polk in his book *Southern Accent:* "If the Negro is entitled to lift himself up by enforced association with the white man, why should not the white man be entitled to prevent himself from being pulled down by enforced association with the Negro?" This question seems particularly important in view of the patent partiality of the authorities cited in favor of integration. The majority of these appear either to belong to Negro or other minority groups, or to have prepared their studies under the auspices of such groups. To expect these groups to present impartial reports on the subject of racial discrimination is like expecting a saloon keeper to prepare an impartial study on prohibition or a meat packer to pass an unbiased judgment on the Humane Slaughter Bill. Their point of view is important and deserves consideration. Many of them are brilliant and consecrated men. But to permit them to provide the overwhelming preponderance of the evidence is manifestly not justice. If this is compounded by an absence of any consideration of the damaging effect of integration upon white children, it becomes doubly serious. While the brief for the State of Virginia touches upon the subject, it seems to me that the people of the United States, whom you represented, had a particular interest in seeing it more fully developed. I would appreciate your directing me to such a study, if one was made, and also your providing me with some explanation as to why the evidence on damage

to the Negro was from such partisan sources.

Any American worthy of the name feels an obligation of kindness and justice toward his fellow man. He is willing to give every individual his chance, whatever his race, but in those circumstances where a race must be dealt with as a race, he realizes that the level of the average must be controlling, and that the relatively minor handicap upon the superior individual of the segregated race, if it be a handicap at all, must be accepted until the average has reached the point where the desire for association is mutual.

This leads me to my final query, I will be frank to say that I was startled at the uncritical manner in which the Supreme Court was allowed to accept one phrase in the language of the lower court, to-wit: "A sense of inferiority (produced by segregation) affects the motivation of a child to learn." Did neither you nor counsel for any of the appellees take occasion to point out that if a child is by nature inferior, enforced association with his superiors will increase his realization of his inferiority, while if he is by nature not inferior, any implication of inferiority in segregation, if such there be, will only serve as a spur to greater effort? Throughout history,, challenges of this sort, acting upon individuals, groups and races of natural capacity, have proved a whip to achievement, times without number. The point was one of the legal hinges on which the case turned. In fact without it the decision falls apart, for there is no other even remotely arguable excuse why separate facilities cannot be made equal within any possible stretch of the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. Consequently, I would have thought it imperative that you raise it.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Carleton Putnam

cc: The President
The Members of the Supreme Court

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1959

ECONOMIC COUNCIL LETTER

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June 1, 1959 1930—1959 Letter No. 456

The Senator Didn't Want The Evidence

ON May 13 Merwin K. Hart, President of the National Economic Council, by request of Senator Talmadge appeared before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in support of Senator Talmadge's Senate Joint Resolution 32, a proposed constitutional amendment which would vest sole control of public schools in the States. Senator Kefauver of Tennessee presided. Mr. Hart's statement follows:

THE National Economic Council strongly supports S.J. Res. 32, and urges this Committee to report it to the Senate, and hopes it will be adopted by the necessary two-thirds in both Houses of Congress.

Only a few years ago it would have seemed strange, indeed, if any Member of either House had thought it necessary to introduce such a Resolution as this. For, during roughly a century and a half of our national history, all Americans believed that under the wording and spirit of the Constitution, the control of education was exclusively a matter for the States and localities. It was assumed that Article X of the Bill of Rights, which reads as follows, meant just what it said:

> "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

Certainly any power over education was never delegated to the Federal Government by the Constitution, nor prohibited by the Constitution to the States. Education is in its very essence a State and local affair.

BUT while the American people apparently were taking for granted that their liberties would always be with them, cunning socialist and communist mischief-makers from other lands had infiltrated this country and, by the aid of certain of our intellectuals and many of our educational institutions, had undertaken to put their ideas into effect.

Unquestionably, these alien-minded individuals, with their American converts, were responsible for the integration decision of the Supreme Court of May 17, 1954. That decision did not even pretend to be on legal and Constitutional grounds. One of the authorities most relied on was the Swedish socialist, Gunnar Myrdal, who, after a brief stay in this country, attacked the Constitution of the United States as "nearly a conspiracy against the common people." There is little doubt that the integration decision was an important part of the campaign of the Soviet leaders to conquer the world, especially the United States.

One Israel Cohen, a leading communist in England in 1912, wrote a book entitled "A Racial Program for the Twentieth Century." In that book he set forth the communist policy. The following extract from this book was included on page 7633 of the Record as printed *daily* (page 8559 of Vol. 103, Part 7 of the *bound volumes*) of the Congressional Record for June 7, 1957:

> "We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension. By propounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can mould them to the program of the Communist Party.
> "In America, we will aim for subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavour to instil in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. We will aid the Negroes to rise in prominence in every walk of life, in the professions and in the world of sports and entertainment.
> "With this prestige the Negro will be able to intermarry with the whites and begin a process which will deliver America to our cause."

Since the integration Supreme Court decision of 1954, the Supreme Court, having assumed legislative power—if not the power to amend the Constitution itself—has extended its anti-segregation policy to many other fields, including playgrounds, swimming pools, transportation, and so forth. But we, of course, are concerned here only with education.

Thus it would appear that communism is the author of the scheme underlying the integration decision whereby the Federal government is taking away the control of our schools from the States and localities. An English communist appears to have contributed the idea and a Swedish socialist was, as it were, an important consultant.

Alien infiltration is the cause of the evil which the Talmadge Resolution seeks to cure.

THERE are several reasons why the Talmadge Resolution should be adopted.

1. Because, with respect to the schools, it would com-

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pletely undo the communist grab for power by way of the Supreme Court through the assumption of control over our schools. For so long as our schools remain independent, and under State and local control, the ambitions of the communists for conquest of the United States will have a considerable setback.

2. Conditions vary in different parts of the country. From the American standpoint, though not from the communist nor socialist standpoint, what is taught in one section of the country would not necessarily be taught in the same way in another part of the country. Education is tied up in the minds of American citizens with the very heart of their liberties. If they lose control of their education, they will lose control of their children. And part of the very lifeblood of successful Americans has been that, by and large, the children have had the benefit of parental care and discipline and the parents have had the general control over the schools in which their children are taught.

3. Concentration in the Federal government of control over any public activity always costs more than when it is handled locally. As the powers and duties of government increase arithmetically, the cost of them, and the number of personnel required tend to increase almost geometrically.

4. If this new rule established by the Supreme Court in 1954, by which the Court has undertaken to assume control of the schools, is to continue in effect, it will be just one more concentration of power in the Federal government—one more Federal control. Furthermore it will be just so much support for the current movement toward world government through "world law." The State Department has said that there is now no difference between local and national issues.

The backers of "world law" and world government, believe we should assign to the World Court and the United Nations the right to decide which questions are domestic and which international.

The Senate, in all probability, would never have ratified the Charter of the United Nations had it not been for Section 7 of Article II of the Charter, which says that:

> "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. . . ."

Yet it is Section 7 of Article II that the world government people and the "world law" people wish to reverse.

If we Americans are to keep our liberties, we must preserve the distinction between local and national issues, and between national and international issues. For if we don't we will be helping along the movement to establish a "world law," under which all our liberties are certain to disappear.

Hence, S.J. Res. 32 is of vital importance, not only because of the single subject with which it deals, namely education; but because, if passed, it will be notice to the Administration and the Supreme Court, as well as to other governments, that the people of the United States intend to remain free.

Naturally, every communist- and socialist-infiltrated organization in the United States—and that includes most of the means of communication: press, radio and TV—will oppose this Resolution.

But in our opinion, this Committee has not had a more important measure before it in a long time. [End]

The New York Times of May 14, contained the following account of the Hearing:

U. S. PRESS CALLED RED-INFILTRATED

Merwin Hart Makes Charge at a Senate Hearing—Kefauver Disagrees

WASHINGTON, May 13 (AP) — Senator Estes Kefauver, chairman of a Senate Judiciary subcommittee, challenged today a witness' assertion that the country's press, radio and television were Communist-infiltrated.

Mr. Kefauver, Democrat of Tennessee, said he found the assertion "repulsive."

The witness was Merwin K. Hart of New York, president of the National Economic Council. He testified in support of a proposed constitutional amendment that would specify that the states have exclusive control of their schools.

Mr. Hart said the proposal would serve notice that the people of the United States intended to remain free. He went on:

"Naturally, every Communist and Socialist-infiltrated organization in the United States—and that includes most of the means of communication: press, radio and TV—will oppose this resolution."

Kefauver Dissents

Senator Kefauver asked Mr. Hart if he had really intended to suggest that the press, radio and television were Communist-infiltrated. Mr. Hart said yes.

"I want to register my dissent," Senator Kefauver said.

Mr. Hart then declared that of the 1,200 daily newspapers in the nation only about thirty were "independent" and the rest were Communist-infiltrated.

At another point, Mr. Hart said that the newspapers had sought to say that the Supreme Court decision banning school segregation was the law of the land when it was merely the law of the case. He mentioned The New York Times and the Washington Post and Times Herald.

Mr. Kefauver asked Mr. Hart if he were suggesting that The The New York Times and The Washington Post were Communist-infiltrated.

"Yes," Mr. Hart replied, "I think they are Communist-infiltrated."

"I'm sorry to hear you make the statement," Mr. Kefauver said. "It is repulsive to me. These papers are trying to do a good job in the public interest. I want no more testimony of this nature."

Both papers said they had no comment to make on Mr. Hart's testimony.

N. Y. Times, May 14, 1959

As a matter of fact, when Senator Kefauver said he found Mr. Hart's assertion about the communist infiltration into this country's means of communication "incredible," and "repulsive," Mr. Hart asked permission to be allowed three days in which to file a bill of particulars to support his statement. Senator Kefauver refused. He didn't want the record cluttered up with the facts.

We give below some of the evidence that might have been included in such a bill of particulars:

In early January 1956 a subcommittee of the Senate Internal Security Committee, under the chairmanship of Senator Eastland of Mississippi, held three days of Hearings in Washington to investigate infiltration in the New York City press corps. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* of January 5, 1956 in an article by Willard Edwards reported in part:

> "A Senate exploration of subversive influences in the New York City press corps today brought admissions of past Communist Party membership from two newspaper men. Four others refused to answer questions about communist connections, pleading possible self-incrimination.
>
> "The six witnesses summoned by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee included three employed by *The New York Times*. The others, employed in past periods by the *Times*, are working for the *New York Post* and the *National Guardian*, a leftist weekly."

AN editorial in the *New York Daily News* of January 10, 1956, said in part:

"*The New York Times* turned out to have had 14 present or past employes who had had communist leanings. Most of these clammed up on Fifth Amendment or other grounds.

"*The News* was found to have one employe who refused to answer questions regarding communist connections, and was promptly fired.

"Midway in the Hearings, the *Times* published an editorial saying it felt Eastland was persecuting the paper for having attacked him on various occasions; that his probe menaced the freedom of the press; and that no Congressional committee could dictate *Times'* editorial or hiring policies."

ONE of the men who testified at these January Hearings was James Glaser. An editorial in the *New York Journal American* of January 6, 1956, said in part:

"On Wednesday last, one James Glaser testified before the Eastland Committee.

"Glaser had resigned from *The New York Times* in 1934, to become Managing Editor until 1936 of the *Daily Worker*, the official organ of both the Communist party (USA) and the Communist International.

"Glaser testified that he wrote a pamphlet entitled, 'Hearst—Labor's No. One Enemy,' as part of his job. He did so, he testified, on orders from Gerhart Eisler, who was Moscow's top agent at Red headquarters in New York. Eisler, who is now an official in Communist East Germany, was really the head of the communist conspiratorial activities in this country."

JOHN O'DONNELL, the internationally known columnist of the New York *Daily News*, in his column of January 9, 1956, wrote in part as follows:

"The first lesson to be drawn from these opening three days of public hearings before Senator James O. Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee is the sharp distinction between the reaction of the New York *Daily News* and the *New York Mirror*, which promptly fired editorial employes who refused to answer questions regarding their personal communist activities on New York newspapers and the identity of their Commie 'cell' co-conspirators, and the jittery pomposity of the pious *New York Times* which editorially started to repair hastily the embarrassing split in the seat of their striped journalistic trousers, even before all *The New York Times'* evidence had been put into the record."

THE well known independent writer, Joseph P. Kamp, published in 1954 a pamphlet entitled "How *The New York Times* Betrayed its Readers on 'McCarthyism'." Mr. Kamp, who has been fighting communism since 1920, and who is one of the greatest authorities in the country on the subject, was jailed for four months some years ago because he refused to disclose the names of certain of his supporters. We have yet to find anything Mr. Kamp has written that is inaccurate. We give below certain quotations from the pamphlet:

"The public press has a public trust. Having been granted access to the public eye and mind it is obligated to truthful and balanced news reporting and editorial commentary. It is this public trust which *The New York Times* has betrayed.

"At its masthead *The New York Times* flies the legend: 'All the News That's Fit to Print.' With respect to Senator Joe McCarthy, however, it only prints whatever fits. That is, whatever fits the vendetta which *The Times* has waged against the Wisconsin legislator since his debut on the national scene as an anti-communist.

"*The Times* has pursued Joe McCarthy with a hysteria of invective far out-doing the statesman whom it falsely brands as master of the smear. This is a familiar communist technique, whether *The Times* knows it or not. At the Nuremberg trial, Soviet judges and prosecutors had no scruples in demanding the death penalty for persons accused of the very crimes which the Reds themselves, at the same moment, were perpetrating nearby in captured German prison camps."

Mr. Kamp describes Mr. Arthur H. Sulzberger as:

"A befuddled 'Liberal' . . . 'occupied' as thoroughly as if he had been Hungary or Rumania—by his own journal's Red fifth column . . . a communist cell that supplied the Red *Daily Worker* with a managing editor and which was so large that it had its own official newspaper, which it had the effrontery to call *The New Times*."

Mr. Kamp further said:

"In blasting the anti-communism film 'My Son John,' Bosley Crowther, drama section editor [of *The New York Times*] referred scornfully to 'the Legionnaire's stubborn bigotry,' likened him to a Nazi and, with a sneer, called him a 'ranting, song-singing patriot.' "

Mr. Kamp also said:

"In another piece entitled 'Facing a Real Dilemma,' April 13, 1952, he [Bosley Crowther] slaps at the American Legion, the Catholic War Veterans and the Committee on Un-American Activities for being critical of communists and communist influence in Hollywood, because, he writes, 'the likelihood of even a few subversives—real subversives—in the studios is remote.'

"Yet, within a few months, the Committee on Un-American Activities began hearing a hundred witnesses who had been part of the communist apparatus in the film colony."

AN editorial in the New York *Daily News* of January 10, 1956, referring to the three-day Hearings by the Eastland Committee in Washington, said in part:

"It is common knowledge that the Kremlin strives without cease to worm its agents into all communications systems of the non-communist nations. The object is to turn those countries' newspapers, magazines, movies, and radio and television setups into hypodermic needles for injection of communist poison into people's minds.

"A Congressional investigation of this criminal conspiracy as we see it, is aimed at preserving all Americans' freedoms."

Professional Bigot

YET Senator Kefauver found Mr. Hart's assertion that most of the press was communist-infiltrated "repulsive." It is easy to see why he refused to let Mr. Hart file a bill of particulars.

The Council has been flooded with telephone calls and letters from both members and non-members, some from Senator Kefauver's home State of Tennessee, commending Mr. Hart's stand before the Kefauver Committee.

Correction

The Council Letter for May 15 was erroneously numbered 454, the same as the Letter of May 1, instead of 455.

Persons ordering additional copies of either Letter should take care to give the date.

Miss A. Margaret Schmid

On June 10, 1959, Miss Schmid will have been 50 years in the employ of Merwin K. Hart, and since 1930, of the National Economic Council. For some years a Vice President of the Council, she is in charge of the Utica office.

Miss Schmid participated in the organization of the Economic Council in 1930. She has been a faithful and dedicated staff member and official.

She has been active in civic groups, notably the Zonta Club of Utica, N. Y., of which she is a Past President.

We salute Miss Schmid on this 50th anniversary of her active life and wish her many more useful years.

A distinguished lawyer in the Middle West, who is also a member of the National Economic Council, has just returned from an extended trip to Australia. He makes these comments to us:

"You hear of Australia as being a socialistic country. Actually, in many respects they have not nearly gone to the extent that we have, especially tax-wise. The taxes are much more reasonable; the standards of living are high; the wage rates are approximately one-third of those in this country; the country is underpopulated—they have only ten million people in a continent the size of the United States, and half of those live in four cities. It does have tremendous potentialities—Americans are very popular—MacArthur is regarded as a national hero, and one Australian told me that Churchill would not dare to come to Australia. As a matter of fact, I felt much more at home in Australia than I have in any English speaking country I have been in, and that includes Canada. I was tremendously impressed with the country. I saw considerable of it, and that not from a hotel window. I was out in the rural districts, and in Brisbane, Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide. Actually, their political situation is just about the same as ours. As in this country between the Democrats and the Republicans, so in Australia there is little difference between the Liberals and the Labor Party. They are, however, very industrially minded, and there is tremendous competition to build Australia and populate it.

"I was asked to give several talks while in Australia, and I stressed the fact that that country was in a pioneer stage and *would* develop in the event they had sense enough to permit free enterprise; permit young people to retain the fruits of their efforts, and cut out all this nonsense about social security, short workweeks, etc.

"Of course, as you know, Australia is another illustration of where this country has been priced out of the market. It is impossible for American goods to compete with goods from the U.K. and other European countries, or those produced in Australia (which are comparatively few). We are rapidly getting in the same shape as France, and I notice now that labor's idea of protecting American industry and employees is a tariff barrier, similar to the procedure used in France which, of course, was a terrific economic failure. We are going the same road and, frankly, while I think you are doing a wonderful piece of work I do not think that there is any possibility of stemming this tide. The American people will have to learn the hard way."

This Council Letter may be quoted in whole or part provided due credit is given to the National Economic Council, Inc., Empire State Building, New York 1, N. Y., and quotation is specified to be from Economic Council Letter 456, June 1, 1959.

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COMMITTEE FOR SEGREGATION
P. O. Box 1062

News Release August 19, 1963

Race-mixing is Communistic and contrary to the laws and covenants of God!

The Holy Bible has countless passages showing that God from the beginning of the creation of man separated the races, established the boundaries of the nations, and forbade intermingling or intermarriage between the races.

There is nothing in the Bible to support these ministers that state it is un-Christian not to race-mix. These false prophets, knowing that the Bible condemns this action, have made and are continuing every effort to rewrite the Bible to their own false teachings. A great number of these pied-pipers have refuted the Word of God as outlined in the Holy Scriptures. Beware of these people! They are preaching the false gospel!

Read the Bible yourself and verify the foregoing statements. Some of the passages from the Holy Bible, King James edition, showing that God established segregation and forbade race-mixing are as follows:

Genesis: 11, 20-21; 24-25: God created all living creatures and plants and commanded that they bring forth after their kind.

Interracial marriages caused the flood. Genesis 6: 1-7: that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair and they took them wives of all that they chose, and Jehovah saw that the wickedness of man was great.

Origin and separation of races: Genesis 9: After the flood, Noah's sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth fathered three racial groups which migrated to different continents " - - and by these were the nations divided after the flood."

Negro made the Servant Race by Divine decree.

Genesis 9: 24-27 (Upon on Ham's wrong doing) "-- cursed be Canaan (Ham's son) a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren."

Separation by languages: Genesis 11: 1-9. "God confoundeth the tongues at the town of Babel and separated the people into separate nations.

Mixed Races incompatible: Genesis 12-25: Abraham's Egyptian handmaiden Hager gave birth to Ishmael; Sarah, his wife, a pure-blood woman gave birth to Isaac. The boys of different lineage were incompatible. God had Abraham send Hager away with Ishmael to form a separate people (Arab), without inheritance with Abraham's seed.

Racial purity sought for God's Covenant People: Genesis: 24; 3-4: Wife for Isaac "thou shalt not take a wife unto my son of the daughter of the Canaanites (black), among whom I dwell; but thou shalt go unto my country and to my kindred and take a wife unto my son."

Genesis 28: 2: Wife for Jacob - "Arise, go to -- the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father, and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban."

Separate and Different People's Predetermined: Genesis 25: 23: "Two nations are in thy womb (Esau and Jacob), and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels."

Mixing of Strain Forbidden: Leviticus 19: 19: " - - thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind; thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed."

Deuteronomy 22; 9-11: "-- thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together --"

This is another way of God's directing that man should keep his strain pure, and not to interbreed with other races.

Marry Only Your Own People: Numbers 36: 5-12: "This is the thing, which Jehovah doth command concerning the daughters of Zelophehad, saying, "Let them be married to whom they think best; only unto the family of the tribe of their father shall they be married --"

Pedigrees of Families Decreed: Numbers 1: 18: "And they assembled all the congregation together on the first day of the second month, and they declared their pedigrees after their families by the house of their fathers."

Leviticus 21: 14: "A widow, or a divorced woman, is profane, is an harlot, these shall he not take, but he shall take a virgin of his own people to wife."

Intermarriage Forbidden: Deuteronomy 7: 13; "Neither shalt thou make marriage with them (Canaanites) --" Joshua 23: 12-13; "If ye -- cleave unto -- these nations -- and make marriage -- God will no more drive out any of these nations from before you

Ezra 10: 2: "--We have trespassed against God, and have taken strange wives."

Ezra 6:21, chs. 9-16: Nehemiah 10: 28, 30; 13: 23-30: Ezra and Nehemiah settled the race problem of their day by segregation and severe punishment for mixing.

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Intermarriage Weakens Nations. Ezra 9:12 "--give not your daughtera unto their sons, neither take their daughters unto your sons -- that ye may be strong."

Negro's Characteristics Unchangeable. Jeremiah 13:23; "Can the Ethiopian change his skin or the leopard his spots?"

God created man and the several races and intended them to remain as He had decreed.

Separation by Geographical Bounds. Acts: 17; 26: "And God hath made of one blood all nations of men -- and hath determined -- the bounds of their habitations". This means each nation was of one race as shown in earlier quotations and that God had established the boundaries of each nation.

Separation. II Corinthians 6: 14-17; "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers -- wherefore come ye out from among them and be ye separate."

Brotherhood Defined. Mark 3: 33-35; "Whosoever shall do the Will of God, the same is my brother." John 1; 12; "But as many as receive Him, to them gave He power to become sons of God, even to them that believe on His name; which were born not of - flesh - but born again of God." (See Roman 8:10). Scriptural brotherhood is a mystical union of born-again believers. Universal fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man, as you can see here, is not scriptural.

One in Christ is via the Cross. Galatians 3:26-38: "there is neither Jew nor Greek -- bond nor free -- male nor female -- for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." This refers to spiritual unity of these that believe upon Jesus Christ and God and who confess Jesus Christ as their Saviour; they thus become brothers in Christ spiritually, but not of the flesh.

These are the laws and covenants of God, and God had this to say about the keeping of his covenants:

Leviticus 18: 2-5; "-- Mine ordinances shall ye do, and my statutes shall ye keep to walk therein, I am Jehovah Your God!"

Do not be misled by these false prophets who preach that race-mixing is Christian. As you can see from the foregoing excerpts from the Bible, race-mixing is disobeying God.

It is because the Bible reflects the social gospel of these equalitarians, socialist and communists that they are attempting to rewrite the Bible and refute the Word of God therein.

Do not be duped! Read and abide by the Holy Bible, King James edition, not the revised Bible which was written not by men of God, but rather His enemies. You either believe every word of the Holy Scriptures or you believe none at all. Man cannot select portions of the Bible to believe and other portions to refute; to do so is doing the work of the Devil.

Obey God's ordinances! Do not race-mix or support those that do. Do not buy or eat with those that insist upon denying God by race-mixing.

Remember God made the white man, and God made the negro, but man, not God, made the mulattoe.

Show this to your friends. For additional copies, write P. O. Box 1062, Atlanta.

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ESTABLISHED 1936

South

The News Magazine of DIXIE

DECEMBER 10, 1962
VOL. 27, NO. 25

Drop The Sham

WE ARE STRONGLY in favor of able educators running our educational systems. We are *not* in favor of professional educators sitting in the role of judges on cases deriving strictly from political considerations.

Such is the case of the University of Mississippi, target of a federal political attack. Members of Southern Association of Colleges and Schools saw fit to place Ole Miss on "trial" on a charge of political interference. They finally decreed tenuous relief from threat of disaccrediation but left the club of professional ouster handy.

What strikes this journal as wholly incongruous in this affair has been succinctly expressed by Alabama Gov.-elect George Wallace, who observed, "Educators are quick to intimidate and threaten. . . . Yet educators themselves do not hesitate in the least to lobby and bring political pressure to bear on legislative bodies when it comes to demanding more taxes. It's a case of the tail wagging the dog."

We would not challenge for a moment the absolute need for certain common educational standards which lay a foundation for free interchange of facilities between fellow schools. There has been no question raised of Ole Miss' continued adherence to fixed standards of professional quality. Until that unlikely day arrives, educators should educate and not attempt to adjudicate.

Back With The Wind

IT IS WITH MORE than just casual interest we read that Atlanta's board of aldermen will be asked to name that city's new $3 million incinerator for Mayor Emeritus William B. Hartsfield. This historic event may well have been officially recorded in the folklore of the history-filled Georgia capital city ere we go to press.

We can think of no more fitting tribute to Mayor Emeritus Hartsfield's peculiar brand of politics than his civic memorial be a garbage facility. On a clear day, when the wind is just right, thousands of Atlantans who did not exactly share his approach to certain issues may well be reminded of the changes he helped create during his record-breaking tenure. They may be reminded too, that they really haven't lost a mayor but have gained an incinerator.

We are willing to stand corrected, but insofar as we know no other high official or ex-official of a major American city has reaped the same two honors bestowed upon Mayor Emeritus Hartsfield.

While still in office admirers named an ape at the zoo "Willie B."

It's Up To Congress

POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY once more has overruled rights, reason and law. In issuing his so-called "executive order" on housing President Kennedy has flown directly in the face of the expressed wishes of Congress which repeatedly has refused to make itself a party to an invasion of individual privacy.

The fact that the President hesitated for almost two years to sign such an "order," and only then acting after a critical national election was behind, is proof enough he seriously questioned the wisdom of arbitrary action.

There's danger enough to the rights of individual citizens on the face of the clearly unconstitutional order alone. But underlying this latest usurpation of presidential power is the very real threat that, if permitted to stand without effective challenge, it can be twisted in other directions by executive whim.

The President long since has clearly demonstrated that he is wholly subject to minority pressures and highly vocal groups. He has exerted unprecedented economic blackmail against business. He has traded his endorsement of labor bossism's push for more power for votes. He has blackjacked an American state with armed force and taken half-loaf action against foreign threats.

There's simply no question the recent executive encroachment will result in a heavy blow at the building industry – and employment. All reliable samplings indicate the damage may be greater than originally expected. Certainly it will be much more severe than the President's casual "temporary adjustment" forecast. Sensible builders – North or South – aren't disposed to mix sound business with precarious theory. They haven't in the past. They won't now.

This journal has expressed its opposition repeatedly to government invading the fields of private enterprise. We shall shed no tears if the entire housing industry is turned back to its private function. The recent housing order is the surest way to accomplish just that.

As a matter of constitutional principle, however, it's up to Congress to put a brake on executive audaciousness. Under existing circumstances the President has intruded his toe into too many private front doors. It's time for a firm understanding of the separation of powers between the executive and legislative branches. It's time to bruise some toes.

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These are the Guilty

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Address

Delivered by

CARLETON PUTNAM

Before the

WASHINGTON PUTNAM LETTERS CLUB

February 12, 1963

Printed and Distributed as a Public Service

by the

NATIONAL PUTNAM LETTERS COMMITTEE

On Lincoln's birthday the Putnam Letters Club of Washington, D.C., an affiliate of the National Putnam Letters Committee, sponsored a dinner for its members and guests in the grand ballroom of the Willard Hotel. Clifford Newell, president of the club, presided.

In spite of adverse weather conditions throughout the Virginia-Maryland area, the ballroom was crowded to overflowing and many late arrivals were forced to eat in adjoining rooms.

After the presentation of the colors and an invocation by the Chaplain of the United States Senate, Mr. Putnam addressed the gathering.

NATIONAL PUTNAM LETTERS COMMITTEE
P. O. Box 3518, Grand Central Station
New York 17, New York
MARK H. GERMAN, ***Director***

These are the Guilty

Address

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Carleton Putnam

Before the

Washington Putnam Letters Club

February 12, 1963

Mr. Chairman, Mr. German, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Let me begin by acknowledging a debt—a debt of gratitude and appreciation to Clifford Newell and Mark German for arranging this impressive meeting tonight. An attendance of over 600 is more than any of us expected, especially in the face of an ice storm in Maryland and Virginia. I'm proud and grateful to your committee for inviting me to speak here, and I'm proud and grateful to *you* for coming.

It's true that about two years ago I wrote a short book—hardly more than a monograph—called *Race and Reason* which has caused some controversy. A few attacks have even been made on it. Therefore, every now and then, friends of mine, here and there, have been good enough to give me a platform—like this one tonight—from which to answer those attacks.

So far it hasn't been an overwhelming task. I won't say that I expected a somewhat higher caliber of opposition, for that might be discourteous to our opponents. But there are only a few loose ends to clean up this evening, and then, ladies and gentlemen, I propose to launch an attack of my own. If I were a lay preacher I would take as my text the sixteenth chapter of Paul's epistle to the Romans: "Now I beseech you, brethren, mark those who cause divisions and offenses in opposition to the doctrine which you

have learned. . . . For such persons . . . by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple."

I propose to suggest to you tonight, in this world of rising racial tensions, just who they are who have caused divisions and—however sincere their motives and beliefs—have deceived the hearts of the simple. And in view of the fact that the last time I made a speech one of the press services complained because I referred to a certain individual "whom I did not name", tonight I intend to name names—not all, indeed, because large organizations are involved—but enough to satisfy the press. And I intend to say to you, and to them: these are the guilty.

But first let's go back to where it all began. I suppose nobody in this room doubts that the crusade for racial integration and the claim that races are all alike has its roots in the same soil in which most of the left-wing movements of our time originated. The socialism of Saint-Simon in France, of Marx in England and Germany, of Lenin in Russia, the Fabian Society of Bernard Shaw and the Webbs in England, all were, at least in part, an attempt to meet a horrifying problem among those who worked primarily with their muscles and their hands. They all had one valid common denominator among their objectives—improving the condition of the poor.

I will go so far as to say that many of us here, facing the situation that reformers found in England in the eighteen fifties and sixties, would have thought and felt exactly as they did. Here is the death notice in the London papers of Mary Anne Walkley, 20 years old, who in June of 1863 after sewing in a dressmaking establishment an average day of 16½ hours—during the season often 30 hours at a stretch—simply died of overwork. The doctor's words at the inquest were: "Mary Anne Walkley died from long hours of work in an overcrowded room . . ." Because she could not stop for Death, Death kindly stopped for her.

As for the food the poor ate, their bread was bought mostly from what were called the undersellers and was adulterated with alum, soap, pearl ashes, chalk and Derbyshire stone-dust. Here is a description taken from official reports concerning conditions in the baking trade: "He [the poor man] had to eat daily in his bread a certain quantity of human perspiration mixed with the discharge of abscesses, cobwebs, dead black-beetles, and putrid German yeast, without counting alum and sand." Of course, many of the poor simply starved. It wasn't until well along in the next century that the government stopped publishing statistics of deaths from starvation in London for lack of casualties.

Forgive this repetition of what will be to many of you an old story, but it seemed wise to refresh our recollections concerning the origin of today's left-wing ideologies. In those times and in those conditions were born all sorts of emotional attitudes and intellectual concepts, as well as practical schemes. Some of them succeeded and some of them did not, but progress was certainly made. The radical of 1963 inherits a legacy which we must understand. A year or so ago a reporter for *Time* magazine interviewed me on the race question and it wasn't until our talk was practically over that I finally managed to make him give me *his* view on the subject. He was from the South and he was an integrationist. As he spoke, tears welled up in his eyes. But I could tell from what he said that those tears didn't have their source in the Negro problem, which he hadn't really thought through. They were part of the old legacy. They went back much further than Mary Anne Walkley.

There is no reason to doubt the humanitarian purpose of many of the welfare movements of those earlier days or to question their considerable accomplishments. Much poverty has been relieved. The problem now is to keep the floor under misery and failure without slapping a ceil-

ing on everybody else—and to winnow out the large company of those who use the cry of humanity and brotherly love as an excuse for creating legal ways to break the Eighth Commandment. But that is a topic for a different forum from ours tonight.

I want to touch on only one aspect of that problem which leads us directly into our own field. Implicit in much left-wing theory and rhetoric, because it seemed to make existing conditions all the more reprehensible and in need of correction, was the doctrine of the equality of man. Few socialists ever took the doctrine seriously in practice, I doubt if the Fabians ever took it seriously in theory, but we have all heard the slogans of the French revolution and the Declaration of Independence.

I shan't go over again here what the evidence clearly shows regarding Jefferson's meaning—both as to the word "men" and as to the word "equal" in the phrase "all men are created equal"—nor need I repeat Hamilton's recognition that liberty and equality are mutually exclusive. It is obvious the founding fathers had no illusions about the equality of men in any sense except in equal rights to justice, and the Negro was not included even in that. But in America as the years went on, helped by the controversial Franz Boas, the notion of a Utopian social, economic and even biological equality persisted as a sort of demagogic fetish until things reached the point where the Swedish socialist Myrdal actually dared to write in his *American Dilemma* that in the conflict between liberty and equality in the United States "equality is slowly winning", and Handlin, the Harvard professor, could bring himself to declare: "There is no evidence of any inborn differences of temperament, personality, character, or intelligence among races."

This last remark lands us finally in the middle of our subject with a splash. For the benefit

of the press I give the full name, Oscar Handlin, Professor of History at Harvard University, and while again I do not impugn his motives or sincerity, I assert that in my opinion Handlin's declaration is one of the most groundless and dangerously misleading statements to be found in print today.

Let us quickly review the evidence. All that we need is contained in that short, concise little book, *The Biology of the Race Problem,* which I shall cite hereafter simply as the George Report. In spite of the example of the equalitarians, a thousand pages are not required to come to the point on this subject.

If you will consult Section IV of the George Report you will note the findings of Bean, Connolly and Vint on the differences in frequencies of occurrence of certain features of White and Negro brains. The importance of these differences is plainly set out in quotations and citations from and to Penfield, Halstead, Brodmann and Herrick. I repeat: you will find it all in the space of ten pages in Section IV. If you want more data, I can refer you to the leading article in the *Mankind Quarterly,* Vol. 2, No. 4, which amplifies and still further documents Dr. George's material. The differences in question are physical and hereditary. That they account for differences in temperament, behavior and intelligence between the two races is beyond doubt. That these differences make the amalgamation of the races undesirable is just as clear. All the other sections of the George Report confirm these facts.

There isn't time enough tonight to discuss the full report. But I will call your attention to something on which Dr. George does not touch: In 1940 the illegitimacy rate for Negroes throughout the United States was eight and a half times the rate for Whites. Nineteen years later, nineteen years in which Americans have struggled hard to raise Negro standards, the rate is ten times that for Whites. In other words, as their environment

has been improved, their performance has gone down. Taking the single state of Virginia in the twenty years between 1938 and 1958, the White illegitimacy rate declined slightly from 2.6 to 2.3 per cent. In this same period which witnessed astonishing gains in Negro education, Negro housing, Negro income and Negro job opportunities, the rate of Negro illegitimacy increased from 19.5 to 22.9 per cent. This is difficult to explain if the Negro's limitations are due solely to his environment.

Speaking of explanations, it's going to be still more difficult for the professors to evade Bean, Connolly and Vint. They've already begun to say: "Oh, but the samplings aren't adequate." [These samplings varied from 30 brains in some cases to 165 in others.] Well, I have a question to ask these professors and all those who criticize the George Report on this most vital point. If you don't like the samplings of Bean, Connolly and Vint, why have you never produced anything better? You have most of the money, you have the captive foundations—they have hundreds of millions—and there are plenty of other sources anxious to help you. Yet to the best of my knowledge you haven't even *tried* to assemble any contrary evidence. Don't tell us that you can't be bothered or that this isn't important. This is the most important point in the whole controversy. Either the Negro's limitations are innate or they're not, and this evidence settles the matter. So I ask again, why have you never even tried to produce any other samplings?

The answer is simple. You haven't tried because you don't dare. You know well enough what the results would be, provided you had an objective study and included a Dr. George or two on the panel. I suggest that you now make such a study—a series of any size you like of average West African Negro brains, because there you get the least diluted essence of the Negro, against a series of average White brains—the

study to be jointly run by scientists on both sides of the question. Meanwhile we have Bean, Connolly and Vint, Penfield, Halstead, Brodmann and Herrick. I dislike being rude to amiable Harvard professors but I must say to Oscar Handlin (and I'm going to say it to several others this evening): the time has come to put up or shut up. Either answer Bean, Connolly and Vint or explain to the public why you can't.

While I'm on the subject of the George Report I have another suggestion to offer. The press quotes George F. Carter, a professor of geography at Johns Hopkins University, as having said about this report: "The arguments they put up in that booklet are Swiss cheese—full of holes." It so happens that early last fall a mutual acquaintance communicated to me Carter's complaints about the George Report—this acquaintance listed fifty of them, acting as a sort of agent for Carter. I considered these fifty points carefully, and then I submitted them to Dr. George. Thereafter they were submitted to scholars in New York. All of this occurred before the Putnam Committee undertook the distribution of the report, and it was unanimously decided that, apart from three or four points about which some shadow of argument might be made but which did not bear on any essentials, the fifty points were without any substance whatsoever.

There was one item which Carter considered to be a quotation out of context and which we corrected with an erratum sheet. Jerry Doolittle of the Washington *Post* made much out of this correction in the *Post* for December 9. So I have a question to ask Doolittle: Assuming Carter is right in his statement that differing climates had identical effects in the way they "sharpened the wits" of all mankind, can either you or Carter honestly believe that the climate of the tropics and the climate of northern Europe over tens of thousands of years had identical effects on the development of those special qualities of the civi-

lized forebrain, namely, foresight and long-range planning? Carter's dwelling on one aspect of molding does not exclude the existence of other aspects. If Doolittle thinks it does, he had better consult someone else besides a geographer. He will find experts on *that* subject in other sections of the George Report.

But let me come to Carter's fifty points and give you two examples: On page 27 of his report, Dr. George cites the work of Bean which was published in 1906. On this Carter remarks: "Reference from Bean is nearly sixty years old. Haven't there been any developments or thoughts in this long period?" If Carter had read the Report with any attention he would have found that Connolly's work was published in 1950 and Penfield's in 1957. This brings Bean right up to date. But are we in some sort of competition here on dates? Does its date make Newton's law of gravitation invalid?

Secondly on page 68 Dr. George writes: "If there were more Negroes with talents for civilization, we would have no race problem or it would be a very different one." To which Carter remarks: "Again nonsense. Boston had a race problem with the Irish. Many people have a Jewish race problem even though these races have talents for civilization". Well, ladies and gentlemen, is not this what Dr. George has already just said? He has just said, "or it would be a very different one." And that is precisely what the Irish and Jewish problems were, "very different ones".

I leave you to judge where the nonsense lies in these two examples, and I invite Carter to publish in the newspapers all of his fifty criticisms of the George Report, just as he has seen fit to publish his Swiss cheese. I have a science degree but I am not a professional scientist and I do not debate with professsional scientists. However, I dare say scientists can be found who will answer Carter—also in the press. I simply suggest to

Carter that he prepare better criticisms than the ones our mutual acquaintance submitted to me, unless he wants to lose the game by a score of fifty to nothing. And I warn him that before he can walk with Alice in the Wonderland of unbridled environmentalism he must first get by the narrow gate of Bean, Connolly, Vint and Penfield. I could have sat next to Caruso for dinner every night for a lifetime and never sung as Caruso sang. No amount of cultural contact, no amount of integration would have made the slightest difference, except that if I had tried to sing with Caruso I would have spoiled the opera. And what is true of the vocal chords is true of the frontal lobes.

Out at the University of Chicago, there is another professor who thinks he can brush Dr. George aside. For the benefit of the press, let me name him, Manning Nash, Associate Professor of Anthropology. Nash had begun by attacking *Race and Reason* in a long article in *Current Anthropology* last June which was answered by me in a few short sentences on Bean, Connolly and Vint which I put in a letter I sent to Sol Tax, editor of the magazine. Thereupon Nash wrote me saying he doubted if my letter would ever be published so he was going to answer me right off privately. He proceeded to ignore all the substantive issues by calling Dr. George, who is considerably above him in academic status, "unscientific", and then he urged me to read the Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation so that I might learn something about the legal equality of all human beings.

To Nash I answered: "Regarding your paragraph on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, you appear never really to have read *Race and Reason,* or much American history. Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration, refutes you on page 62, lines 4-8, of *Race and Reason;* Lincoln refutes you on pages 8-9. It so happens that

Lincoln was a lawyer and you are not. Until the aberration of the 1954 Supreme Court decision no competent lawyer supposed that there was any 'legal' right on the part of the federal government to force Negroes into White schools. And that Court reached its decision on sociological and pseudo-scientific rather than legal grounds."

But to get back to the George Report, when this report was first issued there appeared in many newspapers throughout the South, by some sort of spontaneous combustion, an answer from a man named Charles C. Perkins, Chairman of the Department of Psychology at Emory University in Atlanta. Perkins was very patronizing, very sure that no even moderately reputable psychologist would come up with findings such as the report contained, quite forgetting Dr. Garrett, for fifteen years head of the Department of Psychology at Columbia and a past president of the American Psychological Association. Perkins then went on to remark that while there "just aren't many facts that allow positive conclusions" and while he didn't want even his rebuttal evidence to be taken too seriously, nevertheless "Alpha examinations given World War I soldiers indicated the average northern Negro was smarter than the average southern White man."

It is difficult to understand Perkins' willingness to use this material even with apologies. This is the well known and long discredited Klineburg Twist, and for the benefit of the press I am referring to Otto Klineburg, Professor of Psychology at Columbia University. What Klineburg did in this case was to take the four Southern states where the White averages were *lowest* and compare them with the four Northern states where the Negro averages were *highest*. If we take the Whites in the same Northern states as the Negroes, these Whites scored far above the Negroes. It's an old equalitarian trick to compare the best of one group with the worst of another and, of course, such a procedure has no validity whatever. If you

take an above-average Negro and give him a lot of advantages he will do better than a below-average White man who has had very few. Wherever you have overlapping statistical distributions, the top of one will always exceed the bottom of the other. This is not the problem under discussion. The thing we are interested in is what the average Negro will do when compared with the average White man under like conditions. Anyone interested in the latter question will find decisive answers in the George Report. This is the only issue, and it is the issue Perkins is clouding and confusing. I urge you in dealing with these people to keep them to the point. Their specialty is irrelevance.

I might say that I think the championship in this respect goes this year to a man up at the University of Connecticut. I refer to one Donald C. Simmons who is listed as a member of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. It would hardly seem proper to take your time with this 36-year old assistant professor were it not for the fact that *The New Republic* magazine has seen fit on two separate occasions to publish his attacks which now include both *Race and Reason* and the George Report.

My first brush with Simmons occurred last summer when *The New Republic* printed a review by him of *Race and Reason* in which he accused me of quoting scientists out of context. When I asked him for one example he was able to give none. Perhaps he was basing his criticism on hearsay from an article by Howard Margolis of *Science* magazine. Margolis made the same accusation, and when asked to provide an example gave my quotation from Kluckhohn on page 51 of *Race and Reason.* I answered this accusation in a letter which *Science* published. I also answered it in a speech in New Orleans a year ago. I have heard nothing from Margolis since. And I doubt if I hear any more on this subject from Simmons either.

Simmons' most recent effort appeared in *The New Republic* for January 5 and is of a somewhat more specific nature. He begins by referring to the George Report and the measurement of intelligence by brain size. Simmons mentions a group of male Negro brains which he says were found to weigh more than a certain group of female White brains. You will remember that on page 61 of the George Report there is a footnote which reads in part as follows: "The essential point here is that, *other things being equal,* [such as sulcification and microscopic structure of the cortex] and considering higher animals in general perspective the larger the brain relative to body size, the greater the intelligence." Note the phrase "relative to body size". Among other factors, the average body size of women is notably smaller than that of men. Thus their brain size would be expected to be smaller without lessening of intelligence. Apparently we have another case here of a man who hasn't read with any attention what he's attacking.

Next Simmons dances the Klineburg Twist, about which no more need be said, and then he gives us a quotation from the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues which reads as follows: ". . . the more comparable the background of White and Negro groups, the less the difference in intelligence." However, if you will turn to the *American Psychologist* magazine for May of 1962 you will find that Dr. Garrett answered that statement by showing that there have been six studies on the subject and *all* of them contradict the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.

Our Connecticut friend then moves on to comment about some experiments in Baltimore purporting to show that no difference can be found between White and Negro infants up to 40 weeks, and that differences thereafter must be due to socio-economic factors. But the lower centers of the brain and nervous system, in human

beings and in animals, are the ones which mature first; the higher centers mature last. Therefore similarity of performance in the early stages of life signifies nothing as to adult potentiality.

Finally Simmons remarks on what he calls the racist accusation that the Negro never invented an alphabet and points out that many other races didn't either. But if he will read the *Biology of the Race Problem* he will see that George makes no such accusation. George says that the Negro never invented *a system of writing*. It is true that alphabets are rare. Systems of writing are not. The Negro never invented either. I shan't weary you further with Simmons. My only comment must be one of surprise at the acceptance of this sort of material for the second time by *The New Republic*.

Well, we've had a look at Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Chicago, Emory and the University of Connecticut. Let's return to Harvard for a moment, the university where the FBI had to arrest Zborowski, a research associate in the Department of Anthropology. I do not mention this in any criticism of the department at Harvard. It might have happened anywhere. I cite it as an example of how important the communists consider it to be to corrupt the minds of our young people in this field.

The New York *Times* on December 9, 1962, ran a review of Dr. Carleton Coon's book, *The Origin of Races*. This review was written by Professor William W. Howells, Chairman of the Department of Anthropology at Harvard. Up until the last two paragraphs Howells sticks to his subject and I have no comments to make. However, in the last two paragraphs he launches a thinly veiled attack upon my pamphlet, *Evolution and Race: New Evidence*. He opens the first of these paragraphs with the remark that certain parts of Coon's book have been "pounced on with delight by the present cohort of racists". This opening gambit is the usual introduction used

by these people in order to arouse anger rather than reason in their readers. If a man acknowledges the facts of race, he's a racist. I suppose if he acknowledges the facts of sex he's a sexist.

But I move on. Howells next says that *even if Coon is correct,* it is not possible to use his hypothesis to measure modern racial differences. Let's think about that for a moment. If Coon is correct, the Caucasian race passed the threshold of evolutionary development in brain structure from *Homo erectus* to *Homo sapiens* 200,000 years ahead of the Negro. This matter of brain structure is biological, inherent, hereditary. Evolution is a continuing process. If one race has a head start of 200,000 years over another, does Howells mean to suggest that this head start has no significance—does he see no possible relation between it and the differences found by Bean, Connolly and Vint in White and Negro brains, or the results of intelligence tests, or the figures on crime and illegitimacy, or the level of civilization in Haiti, or the stability of governments in the Congo? Nobody is trying to take a pair of calipers and declare what is the exact measure of difference in the two races today. But I will tell Howells it makes *enough* difference to the Southern mother when she puts her girls in school.

This amiable Harvard professor, furthermore, is not above playing a guessing game in these final paragraphs. At one place he refers to a passage from page ix of the introduction to Coon's book which reads as follows: "It is a fair inference . . . that the subspecies which crossed the evolutionary threshold into the category of *Homo Sapiens* the earliest have evolved the most and that the obvious correlation between the length of time a subspecies has been in the *sapiens* state and the levels of civilization attained by some of its populations may be related phenomena." On this passage Howells makes the comment in parenthesis: "Those who are so tickled

with page ix of the introduction might try continuing to page 661."

Of course the average reader of Howells' review will not have at hand a copy of *The Origin of Races* and hence will not be able to evaluate the parenthesis because he will have no access to page 661. Does Howells intend to leave the implication of some contradiction? Page 661 deals both with selection and with the tendency to eventual resegregation of genetic characters in racial interbreeding. I wonder if Howells supposes this to be compensation to Southern society which, after many generations of chaos, might look forward to such an eventuality. Thereafter the chaos would start all over again.

And while we're jumping about from page to page I might call Howells' attention to page 336. I shan't keep you in the dark about what is on that page. Here Coon refers to "the great variability of twentieth century human beings, *in evolutionary grades* [emphasis mine] as well as in racial lines". Coon calls these differences important. He also says that from the perspective of life as a whole, they are slight. Obviously if you run the gamut from the amoeba to man they *are* slight. But what a whale of a difference a few brain cells make! You can find *that* discussed in the George Report at page 34.

Finally our amiable Harvard professor sums up his view of my pamphlet in this extraordinarily penetrating remark: "Anyhow I see no way of using such arguments [the 200,000 year evolutionary lag] to disprove the Constitution of the United States." Would anyone in the audience care to tell me where the Constitution mentions the integration of schools? If we look at the Fourteenth Amendment, do we see any reference to schools? Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to share with you a not very well kept secret. The people who put the integration of schools into the Constitution were Howells and his kind, the equalitarian anthropologists and sociologists who mis-

led the Supreme Court and the American people with their mess of half-truths and slanted evidence.

I say now to Howells and all his crowd: You have not only misled the Supreme Court and the American people, you have fooled the Negro about himself. You have poisoned his mind with expectations that cannot be realized and inflamed him with an arrogance that has no justification. You have set him against the White man. You have made him think he has a grudge against the White race when the truth is he owes the White race a greater debt than he can ever repay. Offer a few Negroes one-way tickets to Africa, where they can enjoy the culture of their own race, and see how many takers you get.

I tell you without fear of contradiction that the American people are as kindly a people as any in the world, that nowhere else in the world would Negroes in such numbers have found a better haven. Yet James Baldwin and these much publicized "angry black men" writing books and long articles for the *New Yorker* magazine damn the White American. Baldwin writes pityingly about his ancestor who was dragged to America in chains. But I say to Baldwin that if his ancestor had not been brought here in chains, he would have died a far more terrible death as a slave in Africa. Baldwin is lucky to be here.

And I say to Leopold Stokowski that I revere him as a musician but when he appears on David Susskind's "Open End" TV program and declares that the White man owes the Negro an apology he is guilty of a groundless and inflammatory statement on a subject about which he is incorrectly informed. He is encouraging the Negro to violence and revenge against a race to which the Negro owes an infinite debt.

In this matter Susskind and Stokowski and other public figures across the nation run blindly with the pack. Yet standing here tonight it is not primarily these that I indict, nor *The New Republic* nor even the Supreme Court. Least of

all is it the average Negro. I indict the men who have fooled and goaded the Negro—the men who have made it necessary for the rest of us to point out truths which the Negro might otherwise have been spared the telling. I indict the Howells, the Nashes, the Perkins, the Carters, the Klinebergs, the Handlins, the Herskovitses, the Simmonses, and the Sol Taxes who have spawned our racial tension here and abroad.

And I indict their associations. These men indeed run in packs. They have provided the basis for this whole house of cards that is starting to fall around their heads. If White settlers are being dispossessed and murdered in Kenya, if nuns are being raped in the Congo, if White men and girls are being slugged on the streets of our Northern cities, if the Supreme Court has to warn its employees about going home at night, look to the source. "Mark those who cause divisions and offenses . . . and deceive the hearts of the simple."

Here I would like to incorporate by reference what I said a year ago in New Orleans (in "The Road to Reversal") about my exchange of correspondence with the president of the American Anthropological Association, Sherwood Washburn. Then I would like to ask: Have I now given you enough cases to demonstrate the utter lack of facts on the equalitarian side of this controversy and the poverty of their arguments? Out of all these universities and the resolutions of these associations not one iota of evidence or one shred of argument has come that cannot be exploded in thirty seconds. It is all as stale and empty as the notion that the sun revolves around the earth.

Have I also provided enough illustrations of the way these scientists operate? Because, if not, I could go on. I could mention the fact that on one occasion when a certain scientific association was about to pass a resolution condemning *Race and Reason* there was a pause in the proceed-

ings. And someone asked for a show of hands on how many had read the book. In a room full of people how many do you suppose had read it? Three. And yet they were about to pass, and did pass, a resolution damning something they'd never read. Does that episode need any further comment from me?

Listen to what the man who was for fifteen years head of the Department of Psychology at Columbia University (he was a member of the faculty for thirty years) has to say about these political resolutions by scientists. I quote you Henry Garrett in a letter to me last October:

"I knew Franz Boas personally. I was able to observe the influence of Boas as founder of the science of anthropology in America and to evaluate the extent to which Boas' socialistic ideology dominated his thinking and permeated the teaching of his disciples, first at Columbia and later at other universities fed from the Boas cult. I was also able to observe the increasing degree of control exercised by this cult over students and younger professors until fear of loss of jobs or status became common in the field of anthropology unless conformity to the racial equality dogma was maintained.

"I will go so far as to assert that the supporters of the equality dogma in science in America today fall into three classes—those who are intimidated, those who are driven by left-wing political motives and those who are honest but mistaken humanitarians. I can testify from repeated personal observation to the intimidation and to the pall of suppression which has fallen upon the academic world in the area of which I speak. It encompasses not only anthropology but certain other related sciences. In the light of this situation the resolutions are not surprising."

Dr. Robert Gayre has told me that not since the days of Galileo has science seen anything like it. When Simmons reviewed *Race and Reason,* he asked if I were looking for an "apostate" anthropologist. You know what that word means. An apostate is one who departs from a dogma. Here, in other words, is one of the younger generation who doesn't even realize his self-betrayal

—who has never learned that science is a matter of research and facts, not dogma.

In the face of this grotesque state of affairs I'd like to ask the Kennedy brothers a question. Next to population control, the race problem is undoubtedly the most urgent in the world today; it is basic to everything else, even to the cold war. Do you, or do you not, consider it desirable that you inform yourselves on both sides of this matter? All your lives you have been listening to political propaganda masquerading under the name of science. It would take you less than an hour to read Section IV of the George Report and the article in the *Mankind Quarterly,* less than an hour to talk to Dr. George or Dr. Garrett. Have you done either?

The decision of the Supreme Court does not relieve you from studying the subject. You've seen what that decision has done to the nation. You are not President and Attorney General solely for the Negro population or the Northern or Western radicals. You also happen to be serving millions of people who believe the decision was viciously wrong and who know more about the matter firsthand than you'll ever know. Why have you never given a hearing to the scientists on their side? Are you afraid of losing some votes? Are you afraid of the Catholic Church? I have been told that this is the case, but I refuse to believe it. Any man who buys a vote by doing the wrong thing, or the ignorant thing, in a job like yours is on the skids of history, and you're smart enough to know it. And as for the Supreme Court, it would switch fast enough if you discovered the truth and went out and told it on the mountain. The American majority would respond with a roar and these minority-group arguments would vanish like last year's snow.

Stop and think for a minute. You have the record of the centuries and of today in Africa, you have the facts in certain countries of South America and you have them in Haiti. In the

United States you have crime records and you have illegitimacy records. You also have forty years of intelligence tests. All these point in one direction, namely, that the Negro has created his history and environment (not vice versa) and will create it again wherever he's allowed to. Next you have the microscopic studies of Vint, the morphology of Bean, Connolly, Halstead and Penfield, and the recent evidence presented by Dr. Coon, president of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists. You have pages of other evidence in the George Report. Finally you know the background of the equalitarian school, you know who started it and the political and social views of most of its leaders. All of *this* points in one direction.

For each of the above items some far-fetched excuse might be conceived. Any one of them might possibly be debated. But consider them all together.

Let me suggest a parallel. You are walking along a hotel corridor and as you pass a bedroom door you hear loud, angry voices. Then you hear one of the voices say, "Take that, you dirty dog!" and you hear two shots and the sound of a body falling. So you open the door and you find one man standing with a smoking gun in his hand, looking down at another man with two bullets in his heart.

After some personal risk and minor injuries you manage to capture the man with the gun and, at the trial, the following facts develop. The dead man was shortly to have married his childhood sweetheart and was said by several witnesses to have been joyful over this, having courted her long and earnestly. Further it appears that the dead man, the week before, had inherited a million dollars, after taxes, from an uncle he had never seen. The accused, on the other hand, according to reliable testimony, had coveted the dead man's sweetheart and had been repulsed by her. In fact, he had several times sworn he would kill the

deceased. The gun is found to have been the property of the accused.

The defense pleads that the death is a suicide. The point is made that the dead man might just conceivably have changed his mind about his fiancée and have become depressed at the thought of marriage. As for the million dollars, after taxes, this might not have been enough to compensate for the death of the uncle he had never seen. Regarding the remark, "Take that, you dirty dog!", this may have been the deceased talking to himself. Upon your telling the court that you knew the voice of the dead man with whom you had been associated for many years and that the voice was not his, the defense replies that the deceased was only 30 years old and his voice may have been changing.

Concerning the gun, which turns out to be a Smith and Wesson, the defense proposes that this might just possibly have been stolen by the deceased from the accused because, although the deceased had a Colt of his own in the bottom of his suitcase, he preferred suicide with a Smith and Wesson. Finally, in regard to the threats of the accused, these might by a remote chance have been unrelated to the shooting and due instead to cultural deprivation on the part of the accused.

On the basis of this evidence, the Court takes the case away from the jury and directs a verdict in favor of the accused. Although the accused has threatened to kill two other men in the community, his gun is returned to him and he is complimented and set free. The newspapers are loud in their praise of this verdict. A few weeks later you read in one of them that the other men who were threatened have indeed died under mysterious circumstances thought by the staff writer for this paper to be suicide. On the following Sunday you turn on your TV and you see and hear certain prominent men apologize to the accused for the inconvenience the community has caused him. In the press that same Sunday appear edi-

torials bitterly attacking the prosecuting attorney in the case. Clearly the whole tragedy, according to these papers, was a matter of cultural deprivation on the part of the dead man. As a matter of fact, you read in the news section that the prosecuting attorney has lost his job and is on relief.

At this point you might be forgiven if you put down your paper with a sigh, particularly after hearing on the radio that counsel for the defense was a fraternity brother of the judge.

A man with a weak, confused mind might perhaps be persuaded that some one or two of the following things were true, namely, that the deceased was depressed at the thought of marrying his childhood sweetheart, *or* that he could not bear the loss of the uncle he had never seen in spite of the million dollars after taxes, *or* that he preferred to steal a Smith and Wesson rather than kill himself with his own Colt, *or* that his voice was changing at the age of 30, *or* that the threats against him were due solely to cultural deprivation—but a man who could believe all these things ought to be in a mental institution.

By the same token, anybody who can believe that the Negro's limitations are solely environmental in the face of African history, *and* of Haitian history, *and* of U. S. crime records, *and* of U. S. illegitimacy records, *and* of forty years of intelligence tests, *and* of the microscopic studies of Vint, *and* of the morphology of Bean, Connolly, Penfield and Halstead, *and* of the latest synthesis of Carleton Coon, *and* of the other evidence in the George Report, *and* of the unmasking of the infiltration of the life sciences by political dogma —any person, I say, who can believe the Negro is the product of his history and environment (instead of vice versa) in the face of all those facts may not belong in a mental institution, but I dread the thought of his teaching any child of mine.

I must warn you that on the equalitarian side of this controversy there is great cleverness and great

evasiveness. Do not let yourself be distracted from the point. There is just one issue, and I will put it in this way: In one group you have masses of brains which, *on the average,* are at a certain evolutionary level. In a separate group you have other masses of brains which, *on the average,* are at a different evolutionary level. Is it wise to adopt public policies which will encourage the biological mixing of those two groups of brains?

You must not be confused by the mulatto red herring, or the overlap red herring, or the religious red herring, or the legal red herring or the civil rights red herring, or the red herring of American democracy. These matters are all of the greatest importance but they have nothing to do with the fundamental issue. If the mixing is wrong, then public policies leading toward it cannot be Christian, they cannot be American, they cannot be civil rights—and they ought not to be legal.

Cleaning up the situation is going to require inspection of the evidence by intelligent public leaders, it is going to require listening to both sides and studying both sides. It is going to require going down to the end of the road on each item—statement and answer, rejoinder and surrejoinder, rebuttal and surrebuttal, until neither side has anything left to say. But I assure the President and the Attorney General: if you will investigate this matter and hear both sides impartially and to a conclusion, there is no doubt what that conclusion will be. You ought to have done it long ago. Eisenhower ought to have done it in 1954.

With particular reference to the Supreme Court, do you realize that most of the material we've been discussing tonight never was put before it? The whole record in the school cases is a scientific travesty. What is needed now—and has been needed since 1954—is executive leadership in channeling a new case based on new evidence up to the Court. I suggest to the President and the Attorney General that, having satisfied themselves as to the facts, they throw their weight behind get-

ting a new case heard, instead of blindly talking about their duty to enforce a judicial decision which is a nightmare scientifically, legally and morally.

Let me add one last remark about my hotel drama. Any similarity between that episode and the groups in our racial controversy is purely a coincidence. Actually and in all seriousness I intend no parallel whatever between the Negro and the accused. I leave you to judge how I feel about counsel for the defense and the other characters in the story.

The time has come for me to draw these comments to a close. Today we have celebrated the birthday of a great man. He was not only an American hero. He was beloved throughout the world. He was a devout Christian, a man of wide compassion and sensitive tenderness. We know what he thought and said about the Negro and I shan't quote him on that subject again. We know that in 1858 he made it clear that he did not favor in any way the social or political equality of the White and Black races. We also know that in 1864, when his days were nearly done, he wrote a letter to the governor of Louisiana "barely suggesting" his hope that some "very intelligent" Negroes might be admitted to the franchise—of course under the control, and at the discretion, of the states. Surely with this we may agree.

However, I think we may be equally sure that Lincoln would have had nothing but contempt for these latter-day reconstructionists sitting here in Washington and elsewhere who at bayonet point would force the Negro into schools and other social situations with White children against the wishes of their parents. He would have had nothing but contempt for a welfare agency which farms out helpless White orphans to a Negro foster home. He would not have blamed the Negro for this. If ever there was a leader who would have cleansed the temple with a lash on the backs of the real culprits, Lincoln was the man.

But Lincoln was kind. I think he would have liked Dr. Garrett's way of expressing the difference between the White and Negro races. Dr. Garrett prefers to speak less of inferiority than of racial immaturity, and I have changed this slightly so that I speak now of racial youth. Indeed I have tried to make it clear wherever I have used the word inferiority that I am referring solely to limitations in adaptability to our specific Western culture. But watch the scientists and the equalitarian press—they will always drag out the phrase "Negro inferiority charged" and put it in headlines when they attack us. Like the word racist, it is a badge of their demagoguery.

Lincoln was kind, too, in his attitude toward the South. Had he lived he would have bound up the South's wounds as well as the North's. There would have been no Reconstruction Period. And although the Fourteenth Amendment was passed after Lincoln's death, I will go so far as to say that if he could see the manner in which that Amendment is being abused today, and hurled against the South, he would turn in his grave.

So tonight I am not going to end this talk with a quotation from Lincoln about the Negro. I am going to end it with a different quotation from Lincoln which I recommend to the meditations of the two anthropological associations, and of the Supreme Court and of John F. Kennedy and of Dwight Eisenhower: "You can fool all of the people some of the time, and some of the people all of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time."

I might add that you can't fool nature any of the time. Genetic racial differences in intelligence, character and behavior are the basic reality of life. As Dr. Coon has said, there is great variability in the evolutionary status of human populations all over the earth. This is the fundamental fact in the world today. National or international policy built on any other foundation is a house built on sand.

Copies of this address, "These are the Guilty"
may be obtained at the following prices:

1 to 2 copies - free
3 to 99 copies - 18¢ each
100 or more copies - 15¢ each

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COMMITTEE FOR SEGREGATION
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NEWS RELEASE

September 5, 1963

The marriage of Charlayne Hunter, a Negress, and Walter Stovall, a white man, both recent students at the University of Georgia was recently announced.

This inter-racial marriage is the result of integration in the schools, where they first met, and the integrated theatres and restaurants in Atlanta, where they courted.

This mixed marriage was in violation of God's covenants and statutes, but is gloated over by the Devil and the communists.

How many people have sold their soul for pieces of silver. Walter Stovall apparently did, as it has been reliably reported that he was paid $300.00 by one of the so-called civil rights organizations for each and every time he was seen in public with this Negress. How much was he paid to marry her? And it is also reliably reported that Walter is not the only student at Georgia that had after dark romance with Charlayne. There were several others. Your son or daughter may also end up marrying a Negro if this race-mixing continues. Don't forget this is the ultimate goal as advocated by the communists, the NAACP and other "civil righters." Is this what you want?

What would be your reaction if your son or daughter announced that he or she had married a Negro? This can happen if you continue to support by patronizing racially-mixed restaurants and theatres. This places the Negroes and whites on common ground, nurturing familiarity, which will eventually break down the color barriers, resulting in amalgamation of the races. This the communists are counting on. You can prevent this betrayal of your sons and daughters by staying out of integrated restaurants and theatres!

There are still a number of people who do not believe that the Davis and Davis Bros. Cafeterias serve Negroes. Some have been surprised to see Negroes served in these places, even though they had been warned by the pickets' signs to the effect that Negroes were served.

Negroes eat practically everyday at the Davis Cafeteria on Marietta St. at Forsyth, The Town House, a Davis Cafeteria located on Forsyth St. up from the Dinkler Hotel also serve Negroes quite often. Among these customers here they can count Martin Lucifer King. The Davis Cafeteria at Pryor and Houston Sts. has served Negroes, as has the Davis Cafeteria on Peachtree St. next to the Atlanta Gas Light Co. These places are all owned by Ted Davis.

"Tubby" Davis, owner of Davis Bros. Cafeterias has a sign in a good many of his eateries stating:

"Davis Cafeteria
Is not integrated
and
Never has been"

This notice is posted in his West End location on Lee St., yet Negroes have been served on several occasions.

This sign is also posted in the Davis Bros. Cafeteria on W. Peachtree across from the Biltmore Hotel, yet Mr. Davis in an article in the August 15 edition of the "Northside News" admitted to integrating this restaurant and the one on Luckie St.

If Mr. Davis has changed his policy on race-mixing, and wishes to return to segregation, then he should post a sign stating:

"Davis Bros. Cafeterias
are not integrated
and
will not be."

But until he sees fit to do this, we will be forced to continue to picket in order t warn the unwary, and you should continue to refuse to eat there. Have your friends and business associates to also stop eating at Davis' and Davis Bros. Cafeterias until they return to a policy of segregation. So, you might have to inconvenience yourself by going to a restaurant a little further away -- isn't this better than having your son or daughter ending up as Walter Stovall, marrying a Negro!

Stay true to God and Country - stay out of integrated restaurants, theatres and hotels!

Resistance Groups - Misc.

COMMITTEE FOR SEGREGATION distributed in front of Lebs 7/26/63

P. O. Box 1062
Atlanta, Ga. 30301

July 24, 196

This constant and quite often violent agitation for integration is quite definitely backed by the communists and socialists. They are dedicated to a classless society, and this classless society can not be attained until there is complete and total integration to the point of intermarriage (amalgamation).

The integration of all public accomadations are merely steps toward the final goal of amalgamation of the races resulting in a nation of mulattoes.

Integrating the restaurants is another move forward toward this satonic goal.

Integration of the schools was the first step toward this end. This was followed by integrating public transportation, rest rooms, public parks, golf courses, public libraries, theatres, swimming pools, housing, hotels, integration of work forces resulting in the displacement of white people in favor of negroes is fast being pushed. The integration of barber shops and beauty salons will probably be next.

William Z. Foster, former national chairman of the communist party of the United States of America, in his book "Toward a Soviet America" had the following to say about integration:

"The party lays the utmost stress upon its demands for the negroes. It demands full economic, political and social equality for them; it fights to eliminate the entire system of discrimination to which negroes are subjected in industry, in the distribution of unemployment relief, in segregated dwelling districts, in hotels and restaurants, in trade unions, in the courts, in political activities:"

"Communist action is based upon the slogan of "Class Against Class:"

"The communist party, alone of all the political parties, fights for the liberation of the negro --"

"In a Soviet system, the negro will have the most complete equality - economically, politically, socially. The doors to every occupation, to every social activity will be wide open for him. He will have ample land confiscated from the great white landlords." Editors Note - It is quite clear that the Democratic Party at the behest of John F. Kennedy and brother Bobby and other ultra-liberals have adopted

the principles of the foregoing.

"The American Soviet will, of course, abolish all restrictions upon racial intermarriage."

" --Contact between these two races, bred of modern industrialization, is just as irresistibly breaking down these racial differences and bringing about racial amalgamation."

The communist party is working hard to have repealed all laws forbidding miscegenation (intermarriage).

The N.A.A.C.P. has as one of their objectives the repeal of all laws forbidding miscegenation.

The United Church of Christ held a youth forum at Clark College here in Atlanta in June. According to an article in the June 24, 1963 edition of the Atlanta Journal "Rev." Archie Hargraves of New York spoke to this group and stated: "Marriage without reference to color represents the major breakthrough to the integration problems of the nation."

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity" of which one "Rev." John B. Morris, a long time member of the N.A.A.C.P. and who has seen the inside of numerous jails, is executive director, distributed a pamphlet stating that commingling between the races had a tendency to cause familiarity. They too would like to see amalgamation of the races.

Interbreeding of the races is the objective! Is this what you want? Do you want your son or daughter, grandson, granddaughter or sisters to marry a negro?

If you do not, then you must do your part in stopping this satonic push for integration now!

Do not eat at any of the restaurants appearing on the attached black list:

Editors Note - It is not implied in any manner that any of these restaurant owners are communists or a conscious part of their conspiracy. Quite to the contrary, they are good Americans misled and/or pushed to this satonic deed.

There are plenty of other restaurants available that have remained segregated,

just look for them. Eat at any restaurant not appearing on this black list. If there is not one convenient - then pack your lunch from home.

Do not eat at any of the following restaurants:

Herren's - 24 Luckie St. NW (A ringleader for race-mixing and bragged about it.)

S&W Cafeteria - 189 Peachtree Street

Davis Brothers - all locations

Davis Fine Food - all locations

Johnny Reb - all locations

Polly Davis -- see Miami Buffet

Miami Buffet in Atlantan Hotel; Peachtree Road; Buckhead on East Paces Ferry

[illegible] Harvest House, Lenox Square, owned by F. W. Woolworth Company.

Dale's Cellar - 400 W. Peachtree

The Farm - 3820 Roswell Road

Colonel Sanders Fried Chicken (owned by Davis) - all locations -

Caruso's Italian Restaurants - 1893 Piedmont Avenue; 2496 Stewart Avenue -

Golden Palm - Americano Motel (braggs about it).

Seven Steers - Roswell Road (Buckhead) Peachtree

Stauffer's - Merchandise Mart

Top of The Mart - see Stauffer's

Shoney's Big Boy Drive-In - Brookhaven on Peachtree Road (already integrated); College Park.

Howard Johnson Motor Lodges and Restaurants, all Atlanta locations and all others except South Georgia that do not belong to Howard Johnson Company but are franchised.

Yohannan's - Lenox Square (a leader for integration).

John Escoe's - Peachtree Road

Mammy's Shanty - Peachtree Road

Sprayberry's Cafeteria - 888 Peachtree Street

Camellia Garden - Peachtree Road (says he has segrated; let's see).

Remember - integration is not God's will, but the Communist's way - when you eat at any of these integrated places, you are helping the Communists.

12/13/63 Resist. Grp. Misc.

bespeak those of the constituents whom I have the honor to represent.

Mr. Speaker, my people would be well satisfied if fate placed the Presidency in the hands of the gentleman from Massachusetts, JOHN McCORMACK. There is no finer American. There has been no greater Speaker.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOLAND. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. KYL. I have asked the gentleman from Massachusetts to yield to me at this time simply to say that I thank the gentleman most sincerely for his comments on the floor this afternoon. I think these comments have been well said and needed to be said.

Mr. O'BRIEN of New York. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOLAND. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. O'BRIEN of New York. May I say that a lot of the downgrading of the distinguished Speaker is a part of the downgrading of the entire House of Representatives. The Speaker of this House is chosen by ballot of the majority of the House of Representatives, representing the entire United States. So, when they criticize the Speaker as the end result of our choice it represents another expression of their contempt of us as Congressmen as a group.

Mr. BOLAND. I appreciate the comments of the gentleman from New York.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOLAND. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. JOELSON. I would like to congratulate the gentleman and express my own high regard for the Speaker and the great service which he has rendered to this House and to the Nation.

Mr. BOLAND. I thank the gentleman from New Jersey.

SITUATION IN HOLMES COUNTY, MISS.

(Mrs. GREEN of Oregon asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, there has recently been called to my attention a situation in Holmes County, Miss. I have known of the situation for some time. I have withheld comment in hopes that at a local level the matter would be remedied. However, the situation has not been remedied. And so in the belief, Mr. Speaker, that our freedoms are indestructible and that an infringement on freedom in one State, if unrepaired, extensively affects freedom in other States, I now have decided to bring the matter to the attention of the House.

I have made an effort to obtain supporting opinion for the situation as outlined to me. As a result, I believe to my satisfaction that the facts as presented to me are correct.

Mr. Speaker, once again the liberties we cherish are being imperiled. This time, the victim of community persecution is a white woman editor of two weekly newspapers. She is Hazel Brannon Smith, recipient of several awards for fine journalism, who edits the Durant News and the Lexington Advertiser in Mississippi.

Since 1954, a concerted effort, led by the White Citizens' Council of the county, has been carried on with the objective of preventing Mrs. Smith from carrying out her professional responsibility of reporting the news in her community with fairness, in truth, and without fear or favor. This is a constitutionally guaranteed right, as we all know. Editors during the life of our Nation have encountered repression and violence in their efforts to print the news. It began in the very early days of our history, notably with Peter Zenger. It might be useful for those among us, who continually hasten to point out that they are Jeffersonian Democrats, that it was Thomas Jefferson who, when asked what his choice would be between free government and free newspapers, chose free newspapers.

The sad and despicable story goes back to the year 1954 when Holmes County became the first county in which a White Citizens Council was established in Mississippi. Mrs. Smith's Lexington newspaper carried an account of an unjustified shooting of a Negro by a sheriff. The sheriff sued for libel. A verdict, returned against Mrs. Smith in lower court, was thrown out by the State high court. The most recent case of legal harassment is a $100,000 libel suit filed by two Lexington policemen growing out of a fatal shooting of a 38-year-old Negro war veteran in June of this year. The suit is still pending.

In between these two episodes other accounts of wrongdoing have been published in the Smith newspapers.

In payment, a cross has been burned on Mrs. Smith's lawn. Other acts of social ostracism have been carried on. The White Citizens' Council, unable to silence a courageous editor, has helped finance a rival newspaper. This newspaper, now in its fifth year, has successfully outbid the Smith newspaper on contracts to print legal proceedings of Lexington and the county governments. The normal cost of such a contract, I am told, is about $60 a month. The White Citizens-backed paper bid 1 cent for 2 years. Thus the Smith newspapers have successfully been deprived of a most lucrative source of revenue. Efforts have been made to persuade subscribers and advertisers to shun the Smith newspapers. Mrs. Smith by valiant effort and bone-cutting economy in business and personal finances has managed to keep her newspapers afloat.

In recent years, while this harassment has been carried on, Mrs. Smith has won the Herrick Award of the National Editorial Association for "editorial writing, embracing the highest type of American principles and ideas." The Mississippi Press Association commended her at its convention in 1957. Theta Sigma Phi, national women's journalism honorary society, in 1958, presented her its valued Matrix Table.

My able and distinguished colleague, Senator NEUBERGER, on December 12 on page A7565 of the RECORD has inserted an article on the situation. And she quotes from Mrs. Smith's own column that appears regularly in the Lexington Advertiser and Durant News:

> Suppression of news and trying to control what newspapers print never works. No newspaper worth a cent would let anyone tell it what to print—and those who toady to their advertisers to such an extent that they have lost their souls will one day lose their advertisers too—for after awhile they won't have any readers. The public is entitled to read the news and judge issues for itself on the basis of truthful, honest reporting.

Any city room of a large metropolitan daily would be proud, I would hope, to frame and hang that paragraph on its wall.

A member of my staff has talked with a great leading editor of the South about this matter, Mr. Speaker. The editor said it is "most disgraceful. I have had things done to me for my views but what has been done here and to a woman is atrocious."

I would like to quote, Mr. Speaker, in conclusion from a letter of Mrs. Smith's.

> The climate of fear, hate and suspicion that we have been living in now for 9 long years has come full circle and claimed the life at the top—that is, President Kennedy. Mississippi has had this fanaticism ever since 1954 when the Citizens' Councils were organized. Ours is based mostly on race, while that of Dallas seems more political. But it is all part of the same kind of madness—and what we have been fighting here for so terribly long.

A native Southerner, newspaper owner in her community 27 years and an editor of recognized ability, Mrs. Smith is being badgered and coerced and punished for printing the news. Do members of the community deny what the articles state? No, Mrs. Smith says: "They just do not want them printed."

The long shadow of oppression has cast its shadow across still another community. Oxford and Jackson and Birmingham and Americus and Danville and, now, Lexington, Miss.

The winds of intolerance, unless abated, blow, Mr. Speaker, without regard for State boundaries. We are all affected; we are all involved. The bell tolls for us all in this situation.

ADDRESS BEFORE U.S. INTER-AMERICAN COUNCIL

(Mr. SELDEN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, December 9, 1963, I had the privilege of addressing the members of the U.S. Inter-American Council in New York City. The membership of this council is composed of executives of more than a hundred U.S. firms doing business in the Latin American area.

Those who are familiar with the Charter of Punta del Este know that the suc-

cess of the Alliance for Progress depends to a large degree on an increasing amount of private investment in the Latin American countries. Therefore, private investors' reluctance to plunge into the turbulent economic waters which exist in many of the nations south of the Rio Grande is one cause of the difficulties the Alliance is now encountering.

In the text of my address, which follows, I have made an effort to point out the need to strengthen the free world's position against the increasing Communist offensive in Latin America and the role private enterprise must play in this undertaking.

ADDRESS OF CONGRESSMAN ARMISTEAD SELDEN, U.S. INTER-AMERICAN COUNCIL, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 9, 1963

I welcome this opportunity to speak to a group concerned about the future of United States policy in Latin America. As chairman of the House Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee, I am painfully aware that too few of our citizens appreciate that area's importance to our own Nation's security and prosperity.

In his recent article in the New York Times magazine, Mr. Adolf Berle points out that our foreign policy planners traditionally have given Latin America only secondary consideration in our overall global strategy. As a result, the people of the United States have tended to take our hemisphere's solidarity for granted.

However, one segment of our population that has recognized the need to give increased attention to the problems of Latin America is the U.S. business community. If trade follows the flag, it must also be said that understanding follows trade.

This country's businessmen were giving priority attention to Central and South America when most of our Government policymakers were yet myopic to the region's importance. Now that events have led to a new recognition of this country's hemispheric responsibilities, the experience and specialized knowledge of U.S. businessmen in Latin America can be an invaluable policymaking asset—if only our policymakers will put it to use.

Recently, I returned from the Inter-American Conference at São Paulo, where I participated as a member of the four-man U.S. congressional delegation. Anyone who is familiar with the Charter of Punta del Este knows that the success of the Alliance for Progress depends to a large extent on an increasing amount of private investment in Latin American countries. At São Paulo, it was obvious to most observers that the Alliance has run into serious difficulties. To a large extent, this trouble is the result of private investors' reluctance to plunge into the turbulent economic waters which exist in most Latin American nations today.

During the past 2 years, U.S. private investment in the region has totaled an estimated $350 to $400 million. The overall rate of outside private investment in the area, from other countries as well as our own, is far below expectations. Undoubtedly, continued political instability has caused a considerable retrenchment in private business plans for the area.

In this regard, a large measure of blame for the Alliance's failure to encourage new investment must lie with certain irresponsible Latin American political leaders. This is not intended as a blanket indictment, of course, since many of the region's political leaders have demonstrated a high degree of responsibility in carrying out their part of the Alliance program. But the schizophrenic policies of some have done incalulable harm to their countries' economies.

You cannot invite business investment into your country one day and threaten to confiscate it the next without undermining the basic element of economic growth—confidence in the stability of the system. The time is long overdue for these irresponsibles to face up to their national and hemispheric obligations. And it is also time for this country to stop pampering these leaders in Latin America who fail to meet those obligations to their people and to the inter-American system.

This country has committed over $2 billion to the nations of Latin America during the past 2 years. Yet, such gains as have been made during this period are at best treadmill advances. We have had to run hard in an effort to even keep pace with the region's expanding needs. As you know, not the least of our problems in the area is that its 2.9 percent annual population increase represents the highest growth rate in the world.

Nevertheless, though the Alliance is having its troubles, we are by no means at the end of our lifeline in Latin America. To be sure, after decades of investing time, study and billions of dollars into other areas of the world, we have only begun our effort to help raise the standard of living in our own hemisphere.

The $2 billion we have thus far put into Latin America under the Alliance program is far less than the amounts we have spent on subsidizing the economies of nations like Yugoslavia, Indonesia, India, and Cambodia. Certainly the United States, which has continued to pour aid money into a country such as Tito's Communist Yugoslavia for 15 years can demonstrate a degree of patience with our own hemisphere's political and economic problems.

As Dr. Figueres recently indicated in a letter to the Times, we have only begun to understand the nature of our problem in Latin America. And, if the area's economy is relatively primitive, its economic problems are proportionately complex. Dr. Figueres supports this view in discussing one important aspect of our difficulties—Brazil's economic dependence on the price of coffee. I quote in part from his letter:

"President Getulio Vargas wanted 90 cents for a pound of coffee. This was not out of proportion to what the poor countries pay for a jet ticket or an international telegram. I (that is, Dr. Figueres) participated in studies that showed that 50 to 60 cents for the different grades were minimum levels needed for the development of the coffee countries. Today's price is 37 cents under the World Coffee Agreement. This is the stabilization of hunger."

I have no way of knowing at what level coffee prices should be. I do know that Latin American economic experts regard 37 cents as much too low. I now also that, prior to 1949, coffee prices had been so ruinously low that millions upon millions of trees were chopped down and coffee, itself, was used to fire locomotives in Brazil. Yet, when coffee prices finally recovered in the early 1950's, our Government to the amazement and consternation of Latin Americans began an inquiry to determine the reasons for the "high" price of the commodity.

And certainly, to the extent that reduced coffee prices contribute to Brazil's economic problems, the U.S. housewife who today pays 37 cents for a pound of coffee beans might well find her children and grandchildren paying a prohibitive price in hemispheric freedom and security.

But the price of coffee is only one cause for Brazil's economic decline. I would remind Dr. Figueres that if we have not always taken the long view of Brazilian problems, there is no ignoring the fact that Brazil's leaders themselves have been guilty of monumental shortsightedness and irresponsibility in the handling of their nation's fiscal and economic affairs.

Regardless of how much assistance outsiders provide, Brazilians can only solve their domestic problems by (1) reversing the irresponsible monetary policies they have pursued for the past decade; and (2) intensifying their efforts at crop diversification as an answer to coffee overproduction. Yet, as Dr. Figueres pointed out, the depression in Latin America's coffee-producing industry is a leading cause of economic and political instability in the area.

All this is by way of pointing up our failure to come to grips with the economic ills of Latin America in the same way that we tackled Europe's problem following World War II. Our Marshall plan for Europe was a bold and imaginative program, aimed at blocking the spread of communism on that continent. We did much the same thing in other parts of the world. For example, in Japan, we rebuilt the economy of a defeated enemy. Even today our Government adheres to trade policies aimed at protecting and promoting the economic stability of Japan—though many of these policies have a drastic effect on our own domestic industries competing with Japanese industry.

Yet, in the case of our closest continental neighbor—Latin America—we have attempted only to buy time by giving the patient monetary blood transfusions on a crisis-to-crisis schedule.

Perhaps Latin America's mistake was in fighting on the right side during World War II. Had the coffee-producing countries of Latin America ended that war as defeated enemies of this country, the possibility is excellent that Dr. Vargas would have attained his 90 cents a pound, or whatever was needed to maintain his economy.

Let me make this point clear: I am against subsidizing foreign industries and interests at the expense of the U.S. taxpayer and consumer. But just as the Marshall plan proved a necessary exception to this principle, we must face up to the need for exceptional action if the alien menace of communism is to be stopped in our own hemisphere.

That strong, bold action can thwart Communist plans for the Americas is borne out by last week's elections in Venezuela. Yet, the success of democratic forces in Venezuela will delay—not halt—the Communist subversive timetable in Latin America. Nor should our gratification concerning the Venezuelan election outcome lead us to gloss over—even temporarily—the very serious long-range problems pointed up at São Paulo.

In an effort to offset the tendency of Latin Americans to blame the lack of success of the Alliance for Progress on the United States, our Government agreed last month at São Paulo to the creation of an Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress (CIAT) as a central agency to coordinate all Latin American requests for Alliance loans.

While a committee of this nature may or may not be helpful as far as placing more of the burdens for decisions on the Latins themselves, the future success of the Alliance will not depend on the creation of such a committee.

The Alliance for Progress—or any other U.S.-supported program for Latin America—can only be successful if:

First, the nations of Latin America live up to the self-help commitments made by them at Punta del Este in August of 1960.

Just as we in this country must—if necessary—be prepared for additional sacrifices to halt communism in our hemisphere, so must our Latin American neighbors come to recognize that economic stability begins at home. It cannot be imported—it must be locally produced.

LWD ✓
PS ✓
PW ✓
~~SB~~
MLK
S B ✓

Tabernacle Baptist Church

1223 GWINNETT STREET
AUGUSTA, GEORGIA

C.S. HAMILTON, MINISTER
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Resist. Bap. Misc.

December 19, 1963

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council

Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon,

Enclosed is one of the scandal sheets circulating in our community.

Merry Xmas,

Hamp

National Putnam Letters Committee

P. O. BOX 3518, GRAND CENTRAL STATION
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MUrray Hill 8-9367

RALPH E. GOODALL
SECRETARY-TREASURER

MARK H. GERMAN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dear Friend:

We want to impress upon you the importance of the enclosed invitation. It is being mailed to our entire mailing list in the hope that even some of those located in distant points may be moved to attend.

To those of you in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, the Virginias and Carolinas we make an earnest appeal that you join in an outpouring that will leave no doubt as to the purpose and growing strength of this movement.

A special significance is attached to the selection of Washington and the historic Willard Hotel as the meeting place and February 12th as the date. At each plate of the dinner will be an exhibit that will supply a dramatic explanation of why our Washington hosts chose Lincoln's birthday.

Most of you who will get this letter have received a copy of Mr. Putnam's speech "This is the Problem", which was delivered at the $25.00 per plate dinner on RACE AND REASON DAY in Jackson, Mississippi and also his address entitled "The Road to Reversal" to the Attorney General's Conference for District Attorneys of the State of Louisiana. Now he moves North. Through this dinner the Washington Club supplies him with a platform in the nation's capital. Depend upon it, that in his address "These are the Guilty", he will take full advantage of the opportunity it affords.

One final word. Through Mr. Putnam's RACE AND REASON and his speeches you are familiar with the high standard he sets. In the person of Mr. Newell, the ladies and gentlemen on his dinner committee and the distinguished guests who will be at the speaker's table, you have assurance that this brilliant event will be conducted on the same high plane.

Mr. Putnam will do his part. Let us do ours with a response that will do honor to him and ourselves.

Sincerely,

Mark H. German

JOSEPH D. MALLOY
SECRETARY

CLIFFORD H. NEWELL
PRESIDENT

JOHN H. CONNAUGHTON
TREASURER

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Washington Putnam Letters Club

POST OFFICE BOX 12066
WASHINGTON 5, D.C.

TELEPHONE RE 7-1545

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MRS. ESTELLE WERNER
MARTIN WIEGAND
MRS. HARVEY W. WILEY
HENRY WILLIARD

Dear Friend:

There has been a persistent demand on the part of many people in this area who have read Carleton Putnam's great book "RACE AND REASON: A Yankee View" for our club to arrange a Washington meeting to be addressed by Mr. Putnam.

We are happy to announce that we are sponsoring a Lincoln Day Dinner to be held in the Grand Ballroom of the historic Willard Hotel, February 12, 1963 at seven o'clock P.M. We will have Mr. Putnam as our guest speaker. There will also be provided a very appropriate and interesting program for the occasion. Tickets are $6.50 per person.

We cordially invite you to attend. A large response is assured, and we suggest that you immediately mail your order for tickets and your check in the enclosed return envelope.

The title of Mr. Putnam's address will be "These are the Guilty."

Sincerely

Clifford H. Newell

P. S. The Willard extends the following special rates to those desiring to stop at the hotel:

Single ----	$10.50
Double ----	16.00
Twin ----	17.00
Triple ----	20.00

BRISTOL VIRGINIA-TENNESSEAN
THURSDAY, AUGUST 8, 1963

LWDL
PA
SBV

The Racial Crisis: A Continuing Study

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

A major report will be released this week-end dealing with the psychiatric aspects of the desegregation of Southern schools.

Like most such studies, its findings will be controversial — accepted as scientific data by some, discarded by others.

The report will be published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League. This adds to its controversial aspects because both have been active in pro-integration efforts.

The study was produced by Dr. Robert M. Coles, a Boston psychiatrist, now resident in Atlanta. He spent two years gathering the clinical material.

Studied Many Cases

He spent many hours with Negro school children having their first experience in integrated situations, with pre-school Negro youngsters, with teachers and with white parents and pupils who were both for and against desegregation.

Coles, discussing the project in an interview prior to release of his report, said the conclusion of his study was that Negroes can make their way in integrated schools without psychological stress on their own lives or ill effects on the lives of white pupils.

During his racial study, Coles said he often visited the homes of Negroes, playing on the floor with their young children as a means of gaining their confidence. It was in such situations, he said, that he learned Negroes develop knowledge of racial differences at a very early age.

Children Learn Early

"At four and five years of age, these children know the score," Coles said. "I have been in homes where children of this age have white and colored dolls. They talk about what the dolls are going to be when they grow up. They will place the white dolls in a white society and they grow up to have fine homes and marriages. The Negro dolls become maids and hold menial positions in society.

"I would ask them 'why' and they would tell me, 'that's the way it is in the world'."

Although they now are going through a revolutionary transition, Negroes still are bound by many barriers that are the cumulative process of "300 years of subservience," Coles said. Therein lies one of the biggest problems in the current era of transition.

Atl. Jour. 8/8/63 L.W.D. S.D.B.

Integration Not Harmful, Psychiatrist's Study to Show

Ed. South

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BRISTOL, VA.
VIRGINIA-TENNESSEAN
D. 8 583

AUG 8 1963

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RICHMOND, CALIF.
INDEPENDENT
D. 32,314

AUG 8 1963

Psychiatric Report on Integration Coming Soon

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The Raleigh Times
RALEIGH, N. C.
D. 23,437

AUG 8 1963

Will Be Controversial

Psychiatric Reports On Mixing Expected

EDITORS' NOTE: The behind-the-scenes stories concerning the racial crisis in the United States are explored by United Press International's veteran Atlanta writer.

By AL KEUTTNER
United Press International

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The Atlanta Journal
"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"
D. 259,003

AUG 8 1963

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Coles, discussing the project in an interview prior to release of his report, said the conclusion of his study was that Negroes can make their way in integrated schools without psychological stress on their own lives or ill effects on the lives of white pupils.

During his racial study, Coles said he often visited the homes of Negroes, playing on the floor with their young children as a means of gaining their confidence. It was in such situations, he said, that he learned Negroes develop knowledge of racial differences at a very early age.

"At four and five years of age, these children know the score," Coles said. "I have been in homes where children of this age have white and colored dolls. They talk about what the dolls are going to be when they grow up. They will place the white dolls in a white society and they grow up to have fine homes and marriages. The Negro dolls become maids and hold menial positions in society.

"I would ask them 'why' and they would tell me, 'that's the way it is in the world'."

Although they now are going through a revolutionary transition, Negroes still are bound by many barriers that are the cumulative process of "300 years of subservience," Coles said. Therein lies one of the biggest problems in the current era of transition.

WEST PALM BEACH, FLA
PALM BEACH TIMES
D. 27 928

AUG 8 1963

Report To Show Psychiatric Side Of Desegregation

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

A major report will be released this week-end dealing with the psychiatric aspects of the desegregation of Southern schools.

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The Huntsville Times
HUNTSVILLE, ALA.
D. 36,506 S. 35,139

AUG 1 2 1963

Integration Said Easier in Elementary Grades

Mixed Students Change Attitudes

ATLANTA (AP)— Some segregationist students change their ideas about Negro classmates after going to school with them for a year, say two biracial agencies.

★ ★ ★

And Negro children attending white schools find their roles stressing but not incapacitating, said the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in the second of a series of studies.

The second report, released Saturday, analyzed psychiatric effects of desegregation on six and seven year old pupils in New Orleans and 16 and 17 year old high school students in Atlanta.

★ ★ ★

Additional studies were made in integrated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N.C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn.; and Little Rock, Ark.

The report said the study showed:

—Desegregation is easier in elementary schools than in high schools.

—Where desegregation is accompanied by disorder, most children of both races seem able to learn without physical or emotional injury.

—White children in desegregated Southern classrooms suffer no medical or psychiatric damage or breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends.

—Pressure on Negro children in desegregated schools varies only in degree from those which have always faced them in their daily lives.

Dr. Robert Coles of Atlanta who conducted the second study said teachers in segregated schools tend to put professional responsibility ahead of personal feelings.

★ ★ ★

The earlier study analyzed methods used in some resistant Southern states where desegregation was limited to less than half of one per cent of Negroes.

TAUNTON, MASS.
GAZETTE
D. 12,652

AUG 8 1963

Dixie School Report Due On Weekend

Psychiatric Aspect Of Desegregation

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

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The study was produced by Dr. Robert M. Coles, a Boston psychiatrist, now resident in Atlanta. He spent two years gathering the clinical material.

Studied Many Cases

He spent many hours with Negro school children having their first experience in integrated situations, with pre-school Negro youngsters, with teachers and with white parents and pupil who were both for and against desegregation.

Coles, discussing the project in an interview prior to release of his report, said the conclusion of his study was that Negroes can make their way in integrated schools without psychological stress on their own lives or ill effects on the lives of white pupils.

During his racial study, Coles said he often visited the homes of Negroes, playing on the floor with their young children as a means of gaining their confidence. It was in such situations, he said, that he learned Negroes develop knowledge of racial differences at a very early age.

Children Learn Early

"At four and five years of age, these children know the score," Coles said. "I have been in homes where children of this age have white and colored dolls. They talk about what the dolls are going to be when they grow up. They will place the white dolls in a white society and they grow up to have fine homes and marriages. The Negro dolls become maids and hold menial positions in society.

"I would ask them 'why' and they would tell me, 'that's the way it is in the world'."

Although they now are going through a revolutionary transition, Negroes still are bound by many barriers that are the cumulative process of "300 years of subservience," Coles said. Therein lies one of the biggest problems in the current era of transition.

PENSACOLA, FLA.
NEWS
D. 35,255

AUG 8 1963

Desegregation Aspects

South's Schools Report Scheduled

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

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LAWTON, OKLA.
CONSTITUTION
D. 15,694

AUG 8 1963

Pre-School-Age Negroes Know Score

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

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Score On Segregated World, Study Reveals

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DURANT, OKLA.
DEMOCRAT
D 6,682 S. 6,682

AUG 8 1963

Psychiatric Aspects Of Racial Strife Studied

(A Continuing Study of Developments on the Racial Front)

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

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NYACK, N.Y.
JOURNAL-NEWS
D: 19,790

AUG 8 1963

Study of School Desegregation Was From Psychological Angle

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

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The Fayetteville Observer
NONE FINER IN CAROLINA
D. 30,559 S. 27,461

AUG 8 1963

Report Set On Mix In South

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

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CHARLESTON, S.C.
POST
D. 35,948

AUG 8 1963

Psychiatrist To Report On School Integration

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United Press International

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CHILDREN LEARN EARLY

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WOODBURY, N.J.
TIMES
D. 15,620

AUG 8 1963

RACIAL FRONT

What It Means

by Al Kuettner

United Press International

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BROCKTON, MASS.
ENTERPRISE & TIMES
D. 45,777

AUG 8 1963

PRODUCED BY HUB DOCTOR

Report Due on Psychiatric Aspects of Desegregation

By AL KUETTNER

United Press International

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WATERTOWN, WIS.
TIMES
D. 7,548

AUG 8 1963

Negroes Can Be Integrated With No Stress on Them or Any Ill Effects on Whites

(This is another of a series of articles by Al Kuettner, United Press International writer, on the continuing study of developments on the racial front.)

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CHICAGO, ILL.
LAW BULLETIN
D: 7,385

AUG 8 1963

On the Racial Front

Here's Preview of Psychiatric Study of Southern Integration

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

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—Law Bulletin—

PARAGOULD, ARK.
PRESS
D. 4,540

AUG 9 1963

Major report to be released

Psychiatrist eyes integration

By AL KUETTNER

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ONEIDA, N.Y.
DISPATCH
D. 7,873

AUG 8 1963

Integration Psychiatric Study Finished

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

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LAKEWOOD, N.J.
TIMES
D. 4,223

AUG 9 1963

Psychiatric Aspects On Bias Due In Report

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

A major report will be released this week-end dealing with the psychiatric aspects of the desegregation of Southern schools.

Like most such studies, its findings will be controversial — accepted as scientific data by some, discarded by others.

The report will be published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League. This adds to its controversial aspects because both have been active in pro-integration efforts.

The study was produced by Dr. Robert M. Coles, a Boston psychiatrist, now resident in Atlanta. He spent two years gathering the clinical material.

Studied Many Cases

He spent many hours with Negro school children having their first experience in integrated situations, with pre-school Negro youngsters, with teachers and with white parents and pupils who were both for and against desegregation.

Coles, discussing the project in an interview prior to release of his report, said the conclusion of his study was that Negroes can make their way in integrated schools without psychological stress on their own lives or ill effects on the lives of white pupils.

During his racial study, Coles said he often visited the homes of Negroes, playing on the floor with their young children as a means of gaining their confidence. It was in such situations, he said, that he learned Negroes develop knowledge of racial differences at a very early age.

Children Learn Early

"At four and five years of age, these children know the score," Coles said. "I have been in homes where children of this age have white and colored dolls. They talk about what the dolls are going to be when they grow up. They will place the white dolls in a white society and they grow up to have fine homes and marriages. The Negro dolls become maids and hold menial positions in society.

"I would ask them 'why' and they would tell me, 'that's the way it is in the world'."

Although they now are going through a revolutionary transition, Negroes still are bound by many barriers that are the cumulative process of "300 years of subservience," Coles said. Therein lies one of the biggest problems in the current era of transition.

LATROBE, PA.
BULLETIN
D. 10,087

AUG 9 1963

Segregation Study Deals In Psychiatric Aspects

What It Means
(A Continuing Study of Developments on the Racial Front)

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

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LAS VEGAS, NEV.
SUN
D. 25,983 S. 25,694

AUG 9 1963

Controversial Report Defines Negro Role

By AL KUETTNER

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Coles, discussing the project in an interview prior to release of his report, said the conclusion of his study was that Negroes can make their way in integrated schools without psychological stress on their own lives or ill effects on the lives of white pupils.

Coles said he became interested in the desegregation issue while in the Air Force as head of a psychiatric hospital in Biloxi, Miss. His previous psychiatric experience had centered in studying stresses on the lives of children with such incapacitating ailments as polio. His next project will be a study of emotional stress on migrant farm workers.

After his discharge from the Air Force, Coles said he sought a foundation grant to pursue a lengthy study of children caught up in the racial transition. It was awarded through the two organizations who are releasing his report.

During his racial study, Coles said he often visited the homes of Negroes, playing on the floor with their young children as a means of gaining their confidence. It was in such situations, he said, that he learned Negroes develop knowledge of racial differences at a very early age.

"I would ask them 'Why' and they would tell me, 'That's the way it is in the world.' "

Although they now are going through a revolutionary transition, Negroes still are bound by many barriers that are the cumulative process of "300 years of subservience," Coles said. Therein lies one of the biggest problems in the current era of transition.

CLOVIS, N.M.
NEWS-JOURNAL
D. 8,549 S. 8,853

AUG 9 1963

Major Psychiatric Report Expected On Segregation

United Press International

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NEW BRITAIN, CONN.
HERALD
D. 31,006

AUG 9 1963

Findings Are Controversial:

Psychiatry of Integration Subject of Major Report

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

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GREENVILLE, S.C.
NEWS
D. 82,430 S. 86,866

AUG 9 1963

Major Study On Psychiatric Effects Of I

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CLARKSDALE, MISS.
PRESS REGISTER
D. 5,290

AUG 9 1963

Report Released

Psychiatrist Made Study Of Integration's Effect

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

A major report will be released this week-end dealing with the psychiatric aspects of the desegregation of Southern schools.

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CHARLOTTE, N.C.
POST
W. 10,540 (N)

AUG 10 1963

Study of Desegregated School Is Successful

Even when school desegregation is accompanied by community disorder, "young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional inju0ry or collapse, given. . . initial good health and a functioning school system."

This is one of the findings of the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on participating Negro and white students in the South.

The study, which has been in process for two years, was conducted by Dr. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist of Atlanta, Ga. A summary report, titled **The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study**, was published today by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B5rith.

The study deals primarily with six and seven year old elementary school students in New Orleans and 16 and 17 year old high school students in Atlanta. Supplementary evaluations were also made in desegregated schools in Charlote, Asheville, and Burnsville, North Carolina; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tennessee; and Little Rock, Arkansas.

Among the findings are these:

—Some "segregationist" children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them fo ra year.

—Negro children fin dattendance in white schools "stressful but not incapacitating."

—White children in desegregated southern schools suffer no "medical or psychiatric damage" and no "breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends."

—Children of both races continue their studies "without impairment."

—From an academic viewpoint, desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools.

The study found pressures on Negro children in desegregated schools varied "only in degree" from those which had always faced them in their daily lives. It added that while it was hard for a Negro child to enter an all-white school, the change offered "hopes and opportunities for work, for assertion of self, which contrast with other moments that may have seemed to them not only hard but also futile and less fulfilling."

Dr. Coles attributed changed attitudes in some white children to "getting to know a particular Negro child," and "thinking about the problem because they were part of a desegregated school." He quoted a white Atlanta high school senior:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's

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In discussing how Negro and white students got along in the same school, Dr. Coles said younger children played and worked together more readily than older ones. He found the reactions of high school students were determined not only by their racial attitudes, but by the norma l teen-age struggles of growing up. Personal knowledge of Negroes, however, did overcome old ideas of suspicion, distrust, contempt, and disdain held by some white adolescents.

Both Negro and white students continued to learn successfully. Dr. Coles pointed out, however, that although the majority of younger Negro students managed well, older ones sometimes had to overcome "the burden of their former years" in schools "often far from comparable to the white ones." Despite some learning difficulties among Negro students who initiated desegregation in their high school years, the psychiatrist found very few academic problems "insurmountable." He asserted, however, that there were "less fixed disparities of educational achievement" in earlier grades than in higher ones.

According to the study, racial and personal feelings among teachers in desegregated schools tended to give way "to professional responsibilities and obligations," and few criticisms of teachers were heard from white or Negro children. Professional integrity "transcended private feelings about race," Dr. Coles observed. He went on to say that children and teachers whose feelings are "exceptionally strong about desegregation" are "a special and rather small group."

"Our studies show that many people oppose desegregation, but also oppose the closing of the schools, mob behavior, or insulting or assaulting a fellow student, regardless of skin color. The particularly enraged person, be he teacher or student, is relatively rare among millions of Southerners," the psychiatrist said.

The study is the second in a series to be issue dby the Anti-Defamation Leageu and the Southern Regional Council on problems of desegregation. The first, **Token Desegregation and Beyond**, by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Virginia, was published last month. Lt analyzed "devices" used by "resistant" states in the South which had limited desegregation to less than half of one per cent of Negroes in all school districts, and contrasted these efforts with those of six "compliant" states which had moved 51.1% of Negro pupils to non-racial schools "creatively and successfully."

Copies of both studies are available from the national offices of the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York, or from the Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

In Desegregated Schools

Atl. World 8/11/63
Ed. South

STUDY FINDS CHILDREN LEARN WITHOUT INJURY

Even when school desegregation is accompanied by community disorder, "young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given .... initial good health and a functioning school system."

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FINDINGS LISTED

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—Some "segregationist" children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

—Negro children find attendance in white schools "stressful but not incapacitating."

—White children in desegregated southern schools suffer no "medical or psychiatric damage" and no "breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends."

—Children of both races continue their studies "without impairment."

—From an academic viewpoint, desegregation is easier in elemen-

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 1)

STUDY FINDS CHILDREN

(Continued from Page One)

tary grade schools.

The study found pressures on Negro children in desegregated schools varied "only in degree" from those which had always faced them in their daily lives. It added that while it was hard for a Negro child to enter an all-white school, the change offered "hope and opportunities for work, for assertion of self, which contrast with other moments that may have seemed to them not only hard but also futile and less fulfilling."

Dr. Coles attributed changed attitudes in some white children to "getting to know a particular Negro child," and "thinking about the problem because they were part of a desegregated school." He quoted a white Atlanta high school senior:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for them, the way they have gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well ,and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends...."

In discussing how Negro and white students got along in the same school, Dr. Coles said younger children layed and worked together more readily than older ones. He found the reactions of high school students were determined not only by their racial attitudes, but by the normal teen-age struggles of growing up. Personal knowledge of Negroes, however, did overcome old ideas of suspicion, distrust, contempt, and disdain held by some white adolescents.

LEARN SUCCESSFULLY

Both Negro and white students continued to learn successfully. Dr. Coles pointed out, however, that although the majority of younger Negro students managed well, older ones sometimes had to overcome "the burden of their former years" in schools "often far from comparable to the white ones." Despite some learning difficulties among

STUDENTS UNIMPAIRED

Study Scotches Integration 'Hurt'

Atl. J+C 8/11/63

Ed. South

By WALTER RUGABER

A psychiatric study on the impact of Southern school desegregation, set for publication Sunday, reports that children of both races continue their studies "without impairment."

Dr. Robert Coles, an Atlanta child psychiatrist, wrote the report after an intensive, two-year study of school integration in Atlanta and New Orleans.

His optimistic findings were readied for publication by the Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Despite a variety of fears and anxieties, Dr. Coles found, Negro children find their assignment to desegregated schools a stressful but not incapacitating experience."

THE STUDY, among other things, was an illustration of the basic resilience and versatility of children. Even when there is disorder, the report found, students seem to come out generally unscathed.

Picturing life in the desegregated classroom, Dr. Coles said "Negro children get their satisfactions from simple survival, from survival with good performance, and from signs of welcome and friendship which may come their way."

"During the year the white child may slowly begin to recognize the Negro child and speak with him, or steadfastly avoid him. All of the white children whom we saw who favored desegregation were nevertheless inhibited in their words and deeds. . . ."

CITING an Atlanta experience, Dr. Coles said "the best situation" for both the white and Negro students was in schools located neither in low income sections nor in the more wealthy areas of the city.

It was rather "in a school in a middle class region which drew upon a more diverse religious and ethnic population, and which had high standards of teaching corresponding to the high ambitions of the parents for their children."

Dr. Coles said that from the teaching standpoint it was "obviously better" to begin the school desegregation process in the earlier grades when "ideologies are foreign" to the students.

"SEEDS of later attitudes are in them, make no mistake about that. But they will not flower until later, when the child thinks and hesitates more, is more responsive to the laws of society. . . ."

Moreover, the psychiatrist declared, the younger Negro student does not have to overcome "the burden" of his former years in schools which are "often far from comparable to the white ones."

Dr. Coles observed that the Negro children are at least partially insulated in that "they have learned from their earliest years techniques and methods of dealing with their position in society and its consequences for them. . . ."

SOMETIMES a white "segregationist" student will gradually shift his attitude toward his Negro classmates. Dr. Coles presented this exerpt from an interview he conducted with an unnamed Atlanta youngster:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help having respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. . . . They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends. You have to understand how we've grown up.

"They were slaves to us, I mean even after the Civil War. . . . I was taught to expect them to do anything I wanted at home . . . and then we're told they're supposed to go to school with us . . . My daddy nearly died. . . .

"I SNEERED a few times the first few weeks, but I just couldn't keep it up, and I felt kind of bad and sorry for them. I used to get nervous when I'd see them eating alone. I wondered how I'd have felt if I was in their shoes. . . .

"Next thing I knew I was quiet when some of my friends were calling them all the old names. . . . I felt that I never again would look at them the way I did last September and before. . . . I can't really describe any time or episode . . . it was just a kind of gradual feeling."

Dr. Coles also reported that in other instances white students maintained their strong dislike of Negroes. He said one student he had interviewed grew even more set in his attitude.

The psychiatrist observed that some of the Negro students were happy to return the feeling. He quoted a Negro boy as saying that the whites "cause trouble whenever they can, and they're the ones who are dirty." The boy added:

"They're like savages, that's what whites are like, savages."

DESPITE these feelings and problems, students in desegregated schools continued the learning process. The older Negro children had some academic difficulties, but very few were found to be insurmountable.

"We have yet to hear a Southern teacher complain of any drop in intellectual or moral climate in a desegregated room or school," Dr. Coles wrote.

The report was the second published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League on desegregation problems. The first, issued last month, concerned "token" integration of Southern schools.

DR. COLES' study was said to be the first psychiatric investigation of school desegregation. In addition to the students themselves, Dr. Coles interviewed their parents and school officials.

Although the major evaluations were in Atlanta and New Orleans on a regular basis over the two years, supplementary studies were conducted in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N.C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn.; and Little Rock, Ark.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
D. 347,672 S. 564,337

AUG 1 1 1963

Desegregation Found Easier In Grade Than High Schools

ATLANTA, Ga., Aug. 10 (AP) —School desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools than in high schools, two biracial agencies reported today.

Even where desegregation is accompanied by disorder, children of both races appear able to learn without physical or emotional injury, if they are in good health and have a functioning school system.

These findings were made by the Southern Regional Council, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in the second of a series of studies that have been under way for two years.

Today's report dealt with the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on pupils. The early study, entitled "Token Desegregation and Beyond," analyzed methods used in some resistant Southern states where integration was limited to less than half of 1 per cent of Negroes. The study contrasted token efforts with those of six states where more than 50 per cent of the Negro pupils were transferred to nonracial schools.

The psychiatric study dealt primarily with 6- and 7-year-old pupils in New Orleans and 16- and 17-year-old high school pupils in Atlanta. Supplementary evaluations were made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N.C., Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Little Rock, Ark.

Today's report showed:

Some segregationist children change their attitude toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

Negro children find attendance in white schools distressing but not incapacitating.

White children in desegregated Southern schools suffer no medical or psychiatric damage and no breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends.

Pressure on Negro children in desegregated schools varied only in degree from those which had always faced them in their daily lives.

Dr. Robert Coles of Atlanta, who conducted the psychiatric study, said that changed attitudes in some white children were noted when they got to know a particular Negro child. He quoted a white Atlanta high school senior:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends."

Coles said that racial and personal feelings among teachers in desegregated schools tended to give way to professional responsibilities and obligations and there were few criticisms of teachers by either white or Negro children.

"Our studies show," he said, "that many people oppose desegregation but also oppose the closing of schools, mob behavior or insulting or assaulting a fellow student, regardless of skin color. The particularly enraged person, be he teacher or student, is relatively rare among millions of southerners."

Dallas Times Herald
D. 195,987 S. 206,275

AUG 1 1 1963

Integration Easier In Grade Schools

ATLANTA (AP)—School desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools than in high schools, two biracial agencies reported Saturday.

And where desegregation is accompanied by disorder, children of both races seem able to learn without physical or emotional injury, if they are in good health and have a functioning school system.

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Coles said racial and personal feelings among teachers in desegregated schools tended to give way to professional responsibilities and obligations and there were few criticisms of teachers by either white or Negro children.

"Our studies show," he added, "that many people oppose desegregation but also oppose the closing of schools, mob behavior or insulting or assaulting a fellow student, regardless of skin color. The particularly enraged person, be he teacher or student, is relatively rare among millions of Southerners."

Times-Picayune
NEW ORLEANS, LA,
D. 193,514 S. 302,677

AUG 1 1 1963

Desegregation Is Studied Here

Very Young Found to Make Change Easier

ATLANTA (AP)—School desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools than in high schools, two biracial agencies reported Saturday.

And where desegregation is accompanied by disorder, children of both races seem able to learn without physical or emotional injury, if they are in good health and have a functioning school system.

These findings were made by the Southern Regional Council, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith in the second of a series of studies that have been under way for two years.

Saturday's report dealt with the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on pupils. The early study, entitled "Token Desegregation and Beyond," analyzed methods used in some resistant Southern states where integration was limited to less than half of one per cent of Negroes. The study contrasted token efforts with those of six complaint states where more than 50 per cent of the Negro pupils were shifted to non-racial schools.

NEW ORLEANS IN STUDY

The psychiatric study dealt primarily with six and seven year-old pupils in New Orleans and 16 and 17-year-old high school pupils in Atlanta. Supplementary evaluations were made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N. C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Little Rock, Ark.

The report said the psychiatric study showed:

Some segregationist children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

Negro children find attendance in white schools stressing but not incapacitating.

White children in desegregated Southern schools suffer no medical or psychiatric damage and no breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends.

Pressure on Negro children in desegregated schools varied only in degree from those which had always faced them in their daily lives.

SAYS ATTIUTDE CHANGES

Dr. Robert Coles, of Atlanta, who conducted the psychiatric study, said changed attitudes in some white children were noted when they got to know a particular Negro child. He quoted a white Atlanta high school senior:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends."

Coles said racial and personal feelings among teachers in desegregated schools tended to give way to professional responsibilities and obligations and there were few criticisms of teachers by either whiite or Negro children.

"Our studies show," he added, "that many people oppose desegregation but also oppose the closing of schools, mob behavior or insulting or assaulting a fellow student, regardless of skin color. The particularly enraged person, be he teacher or student, is relatively rare among millions of Southerners."

CHICAGO
SUN - TIMES
CHICAGO, ILL.
D. 543,420 S. 651,327

AUG 1 1 1963

How Southern Pupils React To Integration Pressures

By Terry Ferrer
N.Y. Herald Tribune Special

NEW YORK—For Martha, it was a year of complete silence and isolation, except for an occasional insult of word or deed. Her senior year in high school was a day-to-day torture, and when the last one came around at last, Martha felt she had no friends at all.

Martha was a Negro girl in a newly desegregated high school in Atlanta, and yet, on that last day, 15 white boys and girls came up and asked to autograph her yearbook. Martha was afraid: Perhaps it was just another way to hurt and attack her.

But one boy wrote: "Martha, I cannot tell you how much I admire your courage and determination. After you finished that little talk in English (class), in my eyes you are 'nine feet tall.'"

And a girl wrote: "I only hope you will forgive those of us who have been mean and ugly."

And yet another: "Dear Martha . . . I'm sorry not to have been able to get to know you better, but this is just the way it turned out . . . I guess that you can understand why I haven't become better acquainted with you. But I personally think that I have missed a great opportunity."

Until the last minute, neither Negro nor white knew what they would say or do when integration came. All that year of 1961-62, Martha and the eight other Negro students initially assigned to white Atlanta schools had been having psychiatric interviews. So had many of the white students, who reported their conflicting feelings of friendliness and fear and guilt and curiosity.

Not even the psychiatrist, Dr. Robert Coles of Atlanta, knew how that school year would end for Martha.

Now Dr. Coles has put together a fascinating report of two years of research on how participating Negro and white children react to the pressures of desegregation.

"The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study" is the first to approach the explosive issue from the pupils' psychiatric point of view. The study was published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, nonprofit, nonpolitical, biracial research and educational organizations.

Dr. Coles also studied the four little Negro girls who broke the first-grade color line in New Orleans in 1960, and then seven others who followed in 1961. He also interviewed white children there, their parents, teachers and school officials. By personal trips, he compared his findings with those on children and adults of both races in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N.C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Little Rock, Ark.

Dr. Coles, a child psychiatrist, found that even with the most extreme pressure, such as in New Orleans, "young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given reasonable, initial good health and a functioning school system."

Coles concludes that it is obviously better to start desegregation in the lowest grades. "Young children of the two races," he says, "play together and work together even though they have heard many remarks at home which might discourage this. A game means more to a child than an idea at this age."

COLUMBUS, GA.
LEDGER-ENQUIRER
SUN. 50,748

AUG 1 1 1963

Study Looks At Mixing In Schools

ATLANTA (AP) — School desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools than in high schools, two biracial agencies reported yesterday.

And where desegregation is accompanied by disorder, children of both races seem able to learn without physical or emotional injury, if they are in good health and have a functioning school system.

These findings were made by the Southern Regional Council, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in the second of a series of studies that have been under way for two years.

Psychiatric Study

The report dealt with the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on pupils. The early study, entitled "Token Desegrgation and Beyond," analyzed methods used in some resistant Southern states where integration was limited to less than half of one per cent of Negroes. That study contrasted token efforts with those of six complaint states where more than 50 per cent of the Negro pupils were shifted to non-racial schools.

The psychiatric study dealt primarily with six and seven year old pupils in New Orleans and 16 and 17 year old high school pupils in Atlanta. Supplementary evaluations were made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N.C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Little Rock, Ark.

The report said the psychiatric study showed:

Some segregationist children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

Negro children find attendance in white schools stressful but not incapacitating.

White children in desegregated Southern schools suffer no medical or psychiatric damage and no breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends.

Pressure on Negro children in desegregated schools varied only in degree from those which had always faced them in their daily lives.

San Francisco Chronicle
THE VOICE OF THE WEST
D. 300,065 S. 330,671

AUG 14 1963

Effect of Integration On Pupils

Atlanta, Ga.

Some segregationist students change their ideas about Negro classmates after going to school with them for a year, say two biracial agencies.

And Negro children attending white schools find their roles stressing but not incapacitating, said the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of Bnai Brith in the second of a series of studies.

The second report analyzed psychiatric effects of desegregation on 6- and 7-year-old pupils in New Orleans and 16- and 17-year-old high school students in Atlanta.

The report said the study showed:

- Desegregation is easier in elementary schools than in high schools.
- Where desegregation is accompanied by disorder, most children of both races seem able to learn without physical or emotional injury.
- White children in desegregated Southern classrooms suffer no medical or psychiatric damage or breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends.
- Pressure on Negro children in desegregated schools varies only in degree from those which have always faced them in their daily lives.

Dr. Robert Coles of Atlanta, who conducted the second study, said teachers in integrated schools tend to put professional responsibility ahead of personal feelings.

Associated Press

The New York Times
D. 680,265 S. 1,306,418
AUG 11 1963

Psychiatrist Finds Integration Eased by Start in Early Grades

Younger Southern children of both races seem to experience less trouble when pioneering in school desegregation than do their teen-aged brothers and sisters, a child psychiatrist's report said yesterday.

The report, by Dr. Robert Coles, thus agrees with some school administrators and race relations observers who favor initial desegregation of the earlier grades over the "reverse stair-step" method employed in some Southern school systems.

Dr. Coles based his conclusions on a two-year investigation, which was carried out primarily in Atlanta and New Orleans.

He also found that the learning process had not been dulled by desegregation; that teachers had demonstrated an ability to set aside their personal feelings about race; and that there was little "passionate dislike" of Negro students on the part of their new white classmates.

The 33-year-old psychiatrist, a native of Boston, presented his findings in a 25-page booklet titled "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study." It was published yesterday by the Southern Regional Council, an Atlanta-based organization that specializes in research on race relations, and by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Finds Learning Unimpaired

Dr. Coles found that "even with external stress such as in New Orleans, young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given reasonable, initial good health and a functioning school system."

His research emphasized, he said, "what we already know about human development, that at 5 children are governed by needs of the moment: to play, to sing, or shout." He continued:

"They most certainly understand many of the meanings of skin color, because they hear the words and commands of their parents; but, except in rare cases, tensions and ideologies of the adult world will not undo what is, after all, their 'childhood.'

"In the first grades children are influenced by constant surges of energy, prompting action, curiosity, exploration of mind and body alike. Ideologies are foreign to them.

"Seeds of later attitudes are in them, make no mistake about that. But they will not flower until later, when the child thinks and hesitates more, is more responsive to the laws of society than the young child."

Differences Cited

The high school student's situation is different, he said.

"By 14 so very much has happened," wrote Dr. Coles, "and in those last few years of school there is little time or inclination, given the nature of adolescence, for easy reversals of long standing and accruing assets and liabilities."

The question of whether school desegregation should start in the upper or lower grades has been a controversial one in some Southern communities. Several cities in Tennessee as well as New Orleans and Dallas, were among those starting desegregation in the lower grades.

Desegregation was initiated at the high school level in Atlanta, Little Rock, Norfolk, and several North Carolina cities.

Dr. Coles said he found in interviews with school teachers in both Atlanta and New Orleans "a deep sense of professional integrity, of identity as teachers which transcended their private feelings about race."

He also found a growing awareness, in children of both races, of individual differences.

"A firmly segregationist boy cannot but notice the difference between two Negro classmates," he wrote. "A Negro girl no longer sees, as she put it, 'just white,' but many separate individuals."

Dr. Coles used frequent personal contacts, tape recordings and crayons and drawing paper—a conventional technique of child psychiatry—in searching for the personal feelings of the children in Atlanta and New Orleans.

The author is a graduate of Harvard University. He spent his psychiatric residency in the Harvard Medical School teaching hospitals, and he obtained his M. D. degree at Columbia University, College of Physicians and Surgeons.

NEW YORK Herald Tribune
D. 359,813 S. 428,011

AUG 11 1963

Integrated Class: Sneers to Cheers

By Terry Ferrer
Education Editor

For Martha, it was a year of complete silence and isolation, except for an occasional insult of word or deed. Her senior year in high school was a day-to-day torture, and when the last one came around at last, Martha felt she had no friends at all.

Martha was a Negro girl in a newly desegregated high school in Atlanta, Ga. And yet, on that last day, 15 white boys and girls came up and asked to autograph her yearbook. Martha was afraid: Perhaps it was just another way to hurt and attack her.

But one boy wrote: "Martha, I cannot tell you how much I admire your courage and determination. After you finished that little talk in English (class), in my eyes you were 'nine feet tall'."

And a girl wrote: "I only hope you will forgive those of us who have been mean and ugly."

And yet another: "Dear Martha . . . I'm sorry not to have been able to get to know you better, but that is just the way it turned out . . . I guess that you can understand why I haven't become better acquainted with you. But I personally think that I have missed a great opportunity."

Until the last minute, neither Negro nor white knew what they would say or do. All that year of 1961-62, Martha and the eight other Negro students initially assigned to white Atlanta schools had been having psychiatric interviews. So had many of the white students, who reported their conflicting feelings of friendliness and fear and guilt and curiosity.

Not even the psychiatrist, Dr. Robert Coles of Atlanta, knew how that school year would end for Martha.

Now Dr. Coles has put together a fascinating report of two years of research on how participating Negro and white children react to the pressures of desegregation. "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study" is the first to approach the explosive issue from the pupils' psychiatric point of view. The study is published today by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a non-profit, non-political, bi-racial research and educational organization.

Dr. Coles also studied the four little Negro girls who broke the first-grade color line in New Orleans, La., in 1960, and the seven others who followed in 1961. He also interviewed white children there, their parents, teachers and school officials. Via personal trips, he compared his findings with those on children and adults of both races in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N. C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn.; and Little Rock, Ark.

Dr. Coles, a child psychiatrist, found that even with the most extreme pressure, such as in New Orleans, "young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given reasonable, initial good health and a functioning school system."

The white first graders who each day in the 1960-61 school year had to run a screaming gantlet of white housewives to enter the freshly desegregated William Frantz Elementary School in New Orleans often urged their parents to take them to school. They loved the excitement and attention.

Associated Press

Back in 1960, white mothers shouted and jeered as a white Methodist minister took his daughter, left, to an integrated school in New Orleans.

In 1961, Dr. Coles points out, "one of the white children who returned to the almost totally boycotted Frantz school told a little colored girl that she would not play with her because her mother had forbidden this, and then, a few minutes later, did just that."

Dr. Coles concludes that it is obviously better to start desegregation in the first grades. "Young children of the two races," he says, "play together and work together even though they have heard many remarks at home which might discourage this. A game means more to a child than an idea at this age."

By the time pupils of both races are in high school, much has happened to the adolescent attitudes and there is little time or inclination to change long-standing ideas and practices.

Can children change the Southern segregation pattern of centuries? Dr. Coles says yes, in many cases, because the children themselves change, even after a year in a classroom where they live and work with Negroes every day. Others, of course, remain hidebound segregationists. However, "those children and teachers whose feelings are exceptionally strong about desegregation, are, really, a special, and rather small group," Dr. Coles concludes. Most teachers, he found, clung to professional responsibilities and obligations to teach all children, whatever their personal feelings about black or white might be.

And consider what this boy, an Atlanta high-school senior, told Dr. Coles in a taped interview toward the end of 1962—the first year of desegregation:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help having respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are a lot more intelligent than a lot of my friends. You have to understand how we've grown up. They were slaves to us, I mean even after the Civil War . . . they belonged in the kitchen or fixing your socks. . . .

"I sneered a few times the first few weeks, but I just couldn't keep it up, and I felt kind of bad and sorry for them. I used to get nervous when I'd see them eating alone. I wondered how I'd have felt if I were in their shoes . . . next thing I knew I was quiet when some of my friends were calling them all the old names. . . . I felt that I never again would look at them the way I did last September and before. . . . I can't really describe any time or episode . . . no, it was just kind of a gradual feeling. . . ."

Arkansas Gazette SRC
8-11-63

Study Shows Pupils Able To Withstand School Crises

Ed. South

White and Negro children attending newly desegregated schools seem able to avoid serious emotional or academic troubles, even during a time of community disorder, according to a psychiatric study released yesterday.

The two-year study was concerned principally with high school children in Atlanta and elementary children in New Orleans, and partially with students in six other Southern cities, including Little Rock.

It was made by Dr. Robert Coles, an Atlanta child psychiatrist, who gave a fuller report of his findings at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association in May at St. Louis.

The stress of bad treatment caused loss of appetite, nervousness, stomach ache and other problems for the Negro children but they often responded with even more determined efforts to succeed academically. They are less vulnerable to stress in a sense, the report says, since the Negro learns early in life to contend with the pressure of his social position.

Younger Negro and white children got along easier socially, because they did not yet think with the prejudices and in the stereotypes of their leaders, the report says.

The young Negro children seemed likely to have an easier time academically, too. The older ones had spent years in Negro schools, where hopes for the future were dim and there was thus less motivation for serious study.

A Negro student was quoted: "We just don't work as hard in our schools as the whites do * * * Maybe we don't believe it pays off * * * Isn't it tough to get a job even if you do have the best degrees and you're Negro?"

3 White Groups

The white children studied fell into three groups, in regard to their attitudes toward the Negroes: Those who approved of desegregation, those who didn't particularly care or were mildly annoyed, and those who were strongly segregationist.

None of the white children suffered any medical or psychiatric damage, the report says.

Some white children who wanted to be friendly toward the Negroes held back for fear of social disapproval. Some of the segregationist children changed their attitudes about the Negroes, while others maintained or even increased their dislike.

One boy who came from a strongly segregationist family told an interviewer:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help having respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends. You have to understand how we've grown up * * * (when desegregation came) my daddy nearly died. Mom told him he'd get a stroke if he didn't stop it * * * I sneered a few times the first weeks, but I just couldn't keep it up, and I felt kind of bad and sorry for them. I used to get nervous when I'd see them eating alone. I wondered how I'd have felt if I were in their shoes * * * next thing I knew I was quiet when some of my friends were calling them all the old names * * * I felt that I never again would look at them the way I did last September and before * * *."

Both Change

Changes occurred in both white and Negro children when they began to see each other as individuals with separate manners and minds, instead of just members of a group, the report says. "It takes a high order of mental disability for such basic observations to be prevented," Dr. Coles wrote.

Teachers also felt the strain of desegregation but most of them apparently placed professional duties before private feelings, the report said.

Little Rock is mentioned only briefly. An unnamed teacher is quoted as saying that the children continued to learn during the city's desegregation crisis.

In Arkansas 2 Days

Little Rock School Superintendent Floyd W. Parsons said yesterday that he knew nothing of Dr. Coles' report or of any work that he might have done at Little Rock. A friend of Coles' at Little Rock said that he was in town for two days last year.

The interviews with the Atlanta and New Orleans children were made weekly for two years.

The report is entitled "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study." It is being distributed by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

LUD, VS, PA, ST

Ed. South

Study Analyzes Effects Of School Integration

By Susanna McBee
Staff Reporter

The story of the South's school desegregation can be told in terms of the little white girl in New Orleans who informed her Negro classmate she would not play with the Negro because her mother had forbidden her to.

But then, a few minutes later, she disobeyed her mother.

It can be told in terms of the teacher who realized she had accepted integration only after she raised her voice at a Negro girl as she would have at any white student.

It can be told in terms of the strongly segregationist white boy who decided to better his grades after several Negroes entered his class because "I couldn't let them beat us out."

To those whites and Negroes who have lived through the initial difficulties of newly desegregated schools, the event is more than a political struggle or a social phenomenon; it is a series of individual experiences.

Some of these experiences and a few conclusions are recorded in a 25-page pamphlet, "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study," by Dr. Robert Coles, a child psychiatrist of Atlanta.

The report, based on Dr. Coles' two-year study mainly in Atlanta and New Orleans, was published yesterday by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Dr. Coles also did research in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N. C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Little Rock, Ark.

Stress Noted

He concluded that medically and psychologically, Negro students found their admission to white schools "stressful but not incapacitating."

Also, he said, none of the white children suffered medical or psychiatric damage from integration. "Regardless of their views they have all continued in school and graduated or been promoted."

Dr. Coles added, "Even the strongly segregationist children we have followed for two years have continued their studies without impairment."

Academically, it is better to start desegregation in the first grades because attitudes in younger children are more flexible and educational disparities are fewer in the lower grades, he said.

The key question, however, was, "Do changes occur among the attitudes of the white and Negro children as they go to school together?" Dr. Coles indicated the answer is yet, but he added cautiously that "time renders any judgment dangerous indeed."

Ideas Gave Way

He did find that "old ideas of suspicion and distrust, contempt and disdain, give way to personal knowledge."

That happened in the case of a Negro girl in Atlanta who had gone through a year of "continued silence, isolation, occasional insult of word and even deed in a white high school.

On the last day of school she was approached by more than 15 classmates who asked her if they could autograph her yearbook.

"She was afraid . . . because she felt that it might be a means of attack and insult rather than an expression of good will," Dr. Coles said.

But she offered her book, and here were some of the comments:

"Martha, I have admired your courage in your great decision. I'm sure you've been subjected to much unpleasantness, but you've met it in a most gracious way."

"Dear Martha . . . I know that since I, too, am a new senior I have had my troubles. I only hope that you will forgive those of us who have been mean and ugly . . ."

"Dear Martha, . . . I'm sorry not to have been able to get to know you better, but that is just the way it turned out . . . I guess that you can understand why I haven't become better acquainted with you. But I personally think that I have missed a great opportunity."

Some Didn't Change

Not all children, however, changed their views. Three of the white children studied retained their strong dislike of Negroes, and one Negro boy was quoted as saying of white students:

"I hate them, all of them, and when I can help it, I try to stay clear of them. They cause trouble whenever they can, and they're the ones who are dirty . . . I'm here to claim this school because it's as much ours as theirs."

Like their students, teachers had varying views about desegregation, but many shared the view of one teacher who said, "I didn't like it, but I also couldn't walk out on my job. That would be unthinkable."

The moral of Dr. Coles' report seems to be that both races have survived and made progress in integrated schools. Apparently, the "particularly enraged" person does not nuture his rage over integration, or at least the one who does is rare. "Too long have those who are committed to many customs and traditions besides racial ones allowed this one problem to dominate all others," the psychiatrist observed.

As with war, concentration camps, and pestilence, "life gathers itself together, often makes needed changes and goes on," he said.

The Boston Sunday Advertiser
SUN. 448,810

AUG 1 1 1963

B'nai B'rith League Bares Racial Study

A two-year study of resegregation of Negro and white students in the South was released yesterday by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Dr. Robert Coles, an Atlanta, Ga., psychiatrist, found that white children in desegregated southern schools suffer no medical or psychiatric damage and no breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends. This was only one of several major findings.

The report was released in New ngland by Sol Kolack, ADL regional director, and Morton R. Godine of Brookline, chairman of the New England Regional ADL Board.

The Courier-Journal
LOUISVILLE, KY.
D. 220,140 S. 324,549

AUG 1 1 1963

Younger Children Are Found A

From AP and NYT Dispatches

New York, Aug. 10—Younger Southern children of both races seem to experience less trouble when pioneering in school desegregation than do their teen-age brothers and sisters, a child psychiatrist's report said Saturday.

The report, by Dr. Robert Coles, 33, thus agrees with some school administrators and race-relations observers who favor initial desegregation of the earlier grades over the "reverse stair-step" method employed in some Southern school systems.

He also reported that the learning process has not been dulled by desegregation, that teachers have demonstrated an ability to set aside their personal feelings about race, and that there is little "passionate dislike" of Negro students on the part of their new white classmates.

The psychiatrist, a native of Boston, presented his findings in a 25-page booklet titled "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study."

It was published Saturday by the Southern Regional Council, an Atlanta-based organization which specializes in race-relations research, and by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The two-year study dealt primarily with 6- and 7-year-old pupils in New Orleans and 16- and 17-year-old high school pupils in Atlanta. Supplementary evaulations were made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville, and Burnsville, N. C., Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Little Rock, Ark.

Coles found that "even with external stress such as in New Orleans, young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given reasonable, initial good health and a functioning school system."

His research emphasized, he said, "what we already know about human development, that at 5, children are governed

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"In the first grades children are influenced by constant surges of energy, prompting action, curiosity, exploration of mind and body alike. Ideologies are foreign to them.

"Seeds of later attitudes are in them, make no mistake about that. But they will not flower until later, when the child thinks and hesitates more, is more responsive to the laws of society than the young child."

The high-school child's situation is different, he said.

"By 14 so very much has happened," wrote Dr. Coles, "and in those last few years of school there is little time or inclination, given the nature of adolescence, for easy reversals of long-standing and accruing assets and liabilities."

Coles said changed attitudes in some white children were noted when they got to know a particular Negro child. He quoted a white Atlanta high-school senior:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends."

The question of early vs. late school desegregation has been a controversial one in some Southern communities.

Several cities in Tennessee initiated school desegregation in the lower grades, along with New Orleans and Dallas, among other places. Desegregation was initiated at the high-school level in Atlanta, Little Rock, Norfolk, and several North Carolina cities.

Arkansas Gazette.
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
D. 92,176 S. 105,024

AUG 1 1 1963

Study Shows Pupils Able To Withstand School Crises

White and Negro children attending newly desegregated schools seem able to avoid serious emotional or academic troubles, even during a time of community disorder, according to a psychiatric study released yesterday.

The two-year study was concerned principally with high school children in Atlanta and elementary children in New Orleans, and partially with students in six other Southern cities, including Little Rock.

It was made by Dr. Robert Coles, an Atlanta child psychiatrist, who gave a fuller report of his findings at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association in May at St. Louis.

The stress of bad treatment caused loss of appetite, nervousness, stomach ache and other problems for the Negro children but they often responded with even more determined efforts to succeed academically. They are less vulnerable to stress in a sense, the report says, since the Negro learns early in life to contend with the pressure of his social position.

Younger Negro and white children got along easier socially, because they did not yet think with the prejudices and in the stereotypes of their leaders, the report says.

The young Negro children seemed likely to have an easier time academically, too. The older ones had spent years in Negro schools, where hopes for the future were dim and there was thus less motivation for serious study.

A Negro student was quoted: "We just don't work as hard in our schools as the whites do * * * Maybe we don't believe it pays off * * * Isn't it tough to get a job even if you do have the best degrees and you're Negro?"

3 White Groups

The white children studied fell into three groups, in regard to their attitudes toward the Negroes: Those who approved of desegregation, those who didn't particularly care or were mildly annoyed, and those who were strongly segregationist.

None of the white children suffered any medical or psychiatric damage, the report says.

Some white children who wanted to be friendly toward the Negroes held back for fear of social disapproval. Some of the segregationist children changed their attitudes about the Negroes, while others maintained or even increased their dislike.

One boy who came from a strongly segregationist family told an interviewer:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help having respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends. You have to understand how we've grown up * * * (when desegregation came) my daddy nearly died. Mom told him he'd get a stroke if he didn't stop it * * * I sneered a few times the first weeks, but I just couldn't keep it up, and I felt kind of bad and sorry for them. I used to get nervous when I'd see them eating alone. I wondered how I'd have felt if I were in their shoes * * * next thing I knew I was quiet when some of my friends were calling them all the old names * * * I felt that I never again would look at them the way I did last September and before * * * ."

Both Change

Changes occurred in both white and Negro children when they began to see each other as individuals with separate manners and minds, instead of just members of a group, the report says. "It takes a high order of mental disability for such basic observations to be prevented," Dr. Coles wrote.

Teachers also felt the strain of desegregation but most of them apparently placed professional duties before private feelings, the report said.

Little Rock is mentioned only briefly. An unnamed teacher is quoted as saying that the children continued to learn during the city's desegregation crisis.

In Arkansas 2 Days

Little Rock School Superintendent Floyd W. Parsons said yesterday that he knew nothing of Dr. Coles' report or of any work that he might have done at Little Rock. A friend of Coles' at Little Rock said that he was in town for two days last year.

The interviews with the Atlanta and New Orleans children were made weekly for two years.

The report is entitled "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study." It is being distributed by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

PINE BLUFF, ARK.
COMMERCIAL
D, 19,914 S, 20,295

AUG 1 1 1963

Psychiatrist Cites 2-Year Study

Pupils Learn in Integration

Special to The Commercial

ATLANTA—White and Negro students in desegregated schools seem able to learn all right even when the desegregation is accompanied by community disorder, a psychiatrist says.

Dr. Robert Coles of Atlanta said he learned this in a two-year study of the effects of desegregation on white and Negro students. The study was sponsored by the Southern Regional Council, an integrationist group of Negroes and whites, and the Antidefemation League of B'nai B'rith, a Jewish group. The two groups said yesterday in a press release that Coles was the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on the students involved.

The study deals primarily with six and seven-year-old pupils in New Orleans and 16 and 17-year-old students in Atlanta. Some investigations also were made in the desegregated schools of Carlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, all in North Carolina, in Clinton and Oak Ridge, both in Tennessee, and at Little Rock.

Attitudes Change

Among the findings:

—Some "segregationist" children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

—Negro children find attendance in white schools "stressful but not incapacitating."

—White children in desegregated Southern schools suffer no "medical or psychiatric damage" and no "breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends."

—Children of both races continue their studies "without impairment."

—From an academic viewpoint, desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools.

Only in Degree

The study found that pressures on Negro childdren in desgregated schools varied "only in degree" from those they had always faced. It added that while it was hard for a Negro child to enter an all-white school, the change offered "hopes and opportunities for work, for assertion of self, which contrast with other moments that may have seemed to them not only hard but also futile and less fulfilling."

Coles attributed changed attitudes in some white children to "getting to know a particular Negro child," and "thinking about the problem because they were part of a desegregated school."

He quoted a white Atlanta high school senior:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends . . . ."

More Readily

Coles said younger Negro and white children played and worked together more readily than older ones.

He found that the reactions of high school students were determined not only by their racial attitudes, but by the normal teenage struggles of growing up.

Personal knowledge of Negroes, however, did overcome old ideas of suspicion, district, contempt, and disdain held by some white adolescents, he said.

Both Negro and white students continued to learn successfully. Coles said, however, that although the majority of younger Negro students managed well, older ones sometimes had to overcome "the burden of their former years" in schools "often far from comparable to the white ones." Despite some learning difficulties among Negro students who initiated desegregation in their high school years, the psychiatrist said he found very few academic problems "insurmontable." He asserted, however, that there were "less fixed disparities of educational achievement" in earlier grades than in higher ones.

Few Criticisms

According to the study, racial and personal feelings among teachers in desegregated schools tended to give way "to professional responsibilities and obligations," and few criticisms of teachers were heard from white or Negro children.

Professional integrity "transcended private feelings about race," Coles said. Children and teachers whose feelings are "exceptionally strong about desegregation" are "a special and rather small group," he added.

"Our studies show that many people oppose desegregation, but also oppose the closing of the schools, mob behavior, or insulting or assaulting a fellow student, regardless of skin color. The particularly enraged person, be he teacher or student, is relatively rare among millions of Southerners," the psychiatrist said.

The study is the second in a series to be issued by the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Regional Council on problems of desegregation. The first was Token Desegregation and Beyond, by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Virginia. It was published last month.

The Atlanta Journal
AND
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
SUN. 504,755

AUG 1 1 1963

STUDENTS UNIMPAIRED

Study Scotches Integration 'Hurt'

By WALTER RUGABER

A psychiatric study on the impact of Southern school desegregation, set for publication Sunday, reports that children of both races continue their studies "without impairment."

Dr. Robert Coles, an Atlanta child psychiatrist, wrote the report after an intensive, two-year study of school integration in Atlanta and New Orleans.

His optimistic findings were readied for publication by the Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Despite a variety of fears and anxieties, Dr. Coles found, Negro children find their assignment to desegregated schools a stressful but not incapacitating experience."

THE STUDY, among other things, was an illustration of the basic resilience and versatility of children. Even when there is disorder, the report found, students seem to come out generally unscathed.

Picturing life in the desegregated classroom, Dr. Coles said "Negro children get their satisfactions from simple survival, from survival with good performance, and from signs of welcome and friendship which may come their way."

"During the year the white child may slowly begin to recognize the Negro child and speak with him, or steadfastly avoid him. All of the white children whom we saw who favored desegregation were nevertheless inhibited in their words and deeds. . . ."

CITING an Atlanta experience, Dr. Coles said "the best situation" for both the white and Negro students was in schools located neither in low income sections nor in the more wealthy areas of the city.

It was rather "in a school in a middle class region which drew upon a more diverse religious and ethnic population, and which had high standards of teaching corresponding to the high ambitions of the parents for their children."

Dr. Coles said that from the teaching standpoint it was "obviously better" to begin the school desegregation process in the earlier grades when "ideologies are foreign" to the students.

"SEEDS of later attitudes are in them, make no mistake about that. But they will not flower until later, when the child thinks and hesitates more, is more responsive to the laws of society. . . ."

Moreover, the psychiatrist declared, the younger Negro student does not have to overcome "the burden" of his former years in schools which are "often far from comparable to the white ones."

Dr. Coles observed that the Negro children are at least partially insulated in that "they have learned from their earliest years techniques and methods of dealing with their position in society and its consequences for them. . . ."

SOMETIMES a white "segregationist" student will gradually shift his attitude toward his Negro classmates. Dr. Coles presented this exerpt from an interview he conducted with an unnamed Atlanta youngster:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help having respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. . . . They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends. You have to understand how we've grown up.

"They were slaves to us, I mean even after the Civil War. . . . I was taught to expect them to do anything I wanted at home . . . and then we're told they're supposed to go to school with us . . . My daddy nearly died. . . .

"I SNEERED a few times the first few weeks, but I just couldn't keep it up, and I felt kind of bad and sorry for them. I used to get nervous when I'd see them eating alone. I wondered how I'd have felt if I was in their shoes. . . .

"Next thing I knew I was quiet when some of my friends were calling them all the old names. . . . I felt that I never again would look at them the way I did last September and before. . . . I can't really describe any time or episode . . . it was just a kind of gradual feeling."

Dr. Coles also reported that in other instances white students maintained their strong dislike of Negroes. He said one student he had interviewed grew even more set in his attitude.

The psychiatrist observed that some of the Negro students were happy to return the feeling. He quoted a Negro boy as saying that the whites "cause trouble whenever they can, and they're the ones who are dirty." The boy added:

"They're like savages, that's what whites are like, savages."

DESPITE these feelings and problems, students in desegregated schools continued the learning process. The older Negro children had some academic difficulties, but very few were found to be insurmountable.

"We have yet to hear a Southern teacher complain of any drop in intellectual or moral climate in a desegregated room or school," Dr. Coles wrote.

The report was the second published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League on desegregation problems. The first, issued last month, concerned "token" integration of Southern schools.

DR. COLES' study was said to be the first psychiatric investigation of school desegregation. In addition to the students themselves, Dr. Coles interviewed their parents and school officials.

Although the major evaluations were in Atlanta and New Orleans on a regular basis over the two years, supplementary studies were conducted in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N.C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn.; and Little Rock, Ark.

SAVANNAH, GA.
NEWS
D. 55,202 S. 60,313

AUG 11 1963

Lower Grades Easier

Integration Report Made

ATLANTA (AP) — School desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools than in high schools, two biracial agencies reported Saturday.

And where desegregation is accompanied by disorder, children of both races seem able to learn without physical or emotional injury, if they are in good health and have a functioning school system.

These findings were made by the Southern Regional Council, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in the second of a series of studies that have been under way for two years.

The report dealt with the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on pupils. The early study, entitled "Token Desegregation and Beyond," analyzed methods used in some resistant Southern states where integration was limited to less than half of one per cent of Negroes.

That study contrasted token efforts with those of six compliant states where more than 50 per cent of the Negro pupils were shifted to non-racial schools.

The psychiatric study dealt primarily with six and seven year old pupils in New Orleans and 16 and 17 year old high school pupils in Atlanta. Supplementary evaluations were made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N.C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Little Rock, Ark.

The report said the psychiatric study showed:

Some segregationist children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

Negro children find attendance in white schools stressful but not incapacitating.

White children in desegregated Southern schools suffer no medical or psychiatric damage and no breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends.

Pressure on Negro children in desegregated schools varied only in degree from those which had always faced them in their daily lives.

Dr. Robert Coles, of Atlanta, who conducted the psychiatric study, said changed attitudes in some white children were noted when they got to know a particular Negro child. He quoted a white Atlanta high school senior:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends."

Coles said racial and personal feelings among teachers in desegregated schools tended to give way to professional responsibilities and obligations and there were few criticisms of teachers by either white or Negro children.

The New Haven Register
NEW HAVEN, CONN.
D. 97,672 S. 105,605

AUG 11 1963

Finds Southern Pupils Attitudes Changed

Report Shows Study Unimpaired By School Desegregation

ATLANTA, Ga. — Even when school desegregation is accompanied by community disorder, "young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given . . . initial good health and a functioning school system."

This is one of the findings of the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on participating Negro and white students in the South.

The study — in process two years — was conducted by Dr. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist of Atlanta. A summary report, titled "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study," was published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith today.

The study deals primarily with six and seven-year-old elementary school students in New Orleans and 16 and 17-year-old high school students in Atlanta. Supplementary evaluations were also made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N. C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn.; and Little Rock, Ark.

Among the major findings are these:

1. Some "segregationist" children change thier attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

2. Negro children find attendance in white schools "stressful but not incapacitating."

3. White children in desegregated southern schools suffer no "medical or psychiatric damage" and no "breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends."

4. Children of both races continue their studies "without impairment."

5. From an academic viewpoint, desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools.

Dr. Coles attributed changed attitudes in some white children to "getting to know a particular Negro child," and "thinking about the problem because they were part of a desegregated school."

In discussing how well Negro and white students got along in the same school, Dr. Coles said younger children played and worked together more readily than older ones. He found the activities of high school students were determined not only by their racial attitudes but by the normal struggles of growing up which characterize teenagers.

Personal knowledge of Negroes, however, did overcome old ideas of suspicion, distrust, contempt and disdain in some white students, the psychiatrist said.

The study found pressures on Negro children in desegregated schools varied "only in degree" from those which had always faced them in their daily lives.

Both Negro and white students continued to learn successfully. Dr. Coles pointed out, however, that although the majority of younger Negro students managed well, older ones sometimes had to overcome "the burden of their former years" in schools "often far from comparable to the white ones."

Teachers Changed

According to the study, conflicting racial feelings among teachers in desegregated schools tended to give way "to professional responsibilities and obligations" and few criticisms of teachers were heard from white or Negro children.

"Our studies show that many people oppose desegregation, but also oppose the closing of the schools, mob behavior, or insulting or assaulting a fellow student, regardless of skin color. The particularly enraged person, be he teacher or student, is relatively rare among millions of southerners," the psychiatrist said.

NYT Ed. South 8/11/63

Psychiatrist Finds Integration Eased by Start in Early Grades

Younger Southern children of both races seem to experience less trouble when pioneering in school desegregation than do their teen-aged brothers and sisters, a child psychiatrist's report said yesterday.

The report, by Dr. Robert Coles, thus agrees with some school administrators and race relations observers who favor initial desegregation of the earlier grades over the "reverse stair-step" method employed in some Southern school systems.

Dr. Coles based his conclusions on a two-year investigation, which was carried out primarily in Atlanta and New Orleans.

He also found that the learning process had not been dulled by desegregation; that teachers had demonstrated an ability to set aside their personal feelings about race; and that there was little "passionate dislike" of Negro students on the part of their new white classmates.

The 33-year-old psychiatrist, a native of Boston, presented his findings in a 25-page booklet titled "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study." It was published yesterday by the Southern Regional Council, an Atlanta-based organization that specializes in research on race relations, and by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Finds Learning Unimpaired

Dr. Coles found that "even with external stress such as in New Orleans, young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given reasonable, initial good health and a functioning school system."

His research emphasized, he said, "what we already know about human development, that at 5 children are governed by needs of the moment: to play, to sing, or shout." He continued:

"They most certainly understand many of the meanings of skin color, because they hear the words and commands of their parents; but, except in rare cases, tensions and ideologies of the adult world will not undo what is, after all, their 'childhood.'

"In the first grades children are influenced by constant surges of energy, prompting action, curiosity, exploration of mind and body alike. Ideologies are foreign to them.

"Seeds of later attitudes are in them, make no mistake about that. But they will not flower until later, when the child thinks and hesitates more, is more responsive to the laws of society than the young child."

Differences Cited

The high school student's situation is different, he said.

"By 14 so very much has happened," wrote Dr. Coles, "and in those last few years of school there is little time or inclination, given the nature of adolescence, for easy reversals of long standing and accruing assets and liabilities."

The question of whether school desegregation should start in the upper or lower grades has been a controversial one in some Southern communities. Several cities in Tennessee as well as New Orleans and Dallas, were among those starting desegregation in the lower grades.

Desegregation was initiated at the high school level in Atlanta, Little Rock, Norfolk, and several North Carolina cities.

Dr. Coles said he found in interviews with school teachers in both Atlanta and New Orleans "a deep sense of professional integrity, of identity as teachers which transcended their private feelings about race."

He also found a growing awareness, in children of both races, of individual differences.

"A firmly segregationist boy cannot but notice the difference between two Negro classmates," he wrote. "A Negro girl no longer sees, as she put it, 'just white,' but many separate individuals."

Dr. Coles used frequent personal contacts, tape recordings and crayons and drawing paper —a conventional technique of child psychiatry—in searching for the personal feelings of the children in Atlanta and New Orleans.

The author is a graduate of Harvard University. He spent his psychiatric residency in the Harvard Medical School teaching hospitals, and he obtained his M. D. degree at Columbia University, College of Physicians and Surgeons.

BEAUMONT, TEXAS
ENTERPRISE
D. 64,576 S. 74,544

PAGE ONE
CERTIFIED

AUG 11 1963

Stair-Step School Integration Best Report Indicates

(C) 1963 NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE

NEW YORK, Aug. 10—Younger Southern children of both races seem to experience less trouble when pioneering in school desegregation than do their teenaged brothers and sisters, a child psychiatrist's report said Saturday. The report, by Dr. Robert Coles, thus agrees with some school administrators and race relations observers who favor initial desegregation of the earlier grades over the "reverse stair-step" method employed in some Southern school systems.

Dr. Coles based his conclusions on a two-year investigation which was carried out primarily in Atlanta and New Orleans. He also reported that the learning process has not been dulled by desegregation; that teachers have demonstrated an ability to set aside their personal feelings about race; and, that there is little "passionate dislike" of Negro students on the part of their new white classmates.

Psychiatric Study

The 33-year-old psychiatrist, a native ot Boston, presented his findings in a 25-page booklet titled "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study." It was published Saturday by the Southern Regional Council, an Atlanta-based organization which specializes in race relations research, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Dr. Coles found that "even with external stress such as in New Orleans, young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given reasonable, initial good health and a functioning school system."

Prompting Action

"In the first grades children are influenced by constant surges of energy, prompting action, curiosity, exploration of mind and body alike. Ideologies are foreign to them.

"Seeds of later attitudes are in them, make no mistake about that. But they will not flower until, when the child thinks and heistates more, is more responsive

(Turn to page 2A, column seven)

STAIR-STEP SCHOOL

(Continued from page one)

to the laws of society than the young child."

Different Situation

The high school child's situation is different, he said. "By 14 so very much has happened," writes Dr. Coles, "and in those last few years of school there is little time or inclination, given the nature of adolescence, for easy reversals of long-standing and-accruing assets and liabilities."

The question of early versus late school desegregation has been a controversial one in some Southern communities. Several cities in Tennessee initiated school desegregation in the lower grades, along with New Orleans and Dallas, among other places.

High School Level

Desegregation was initiated at the high school level in Atlanta, Little Rock, Norfolk, and several North Carolina cities.

Dr. Coles said he found in interviews with school teachers in both Atlanta and New Orleans "a deep sense of professional integrity, of identity as teachers which transcended their private feelings about race."

MORNING ADVOCATE
BATON ROUGE, LA.
D. 45,681 S. 66,530

AUG 1 2 1963

Study Shows Integration Of Schools Not Harmful To Learning of Children

ATLANTA, Ga. — A psychiatric study made public Saturday claims that even when school desegregation is accompanied by community disorder, young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given initial good health and a functioning school system.

This is one of the findings of the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on participating Negro and white pupils in the South.

In the process for two years, the study was conducted by Dr. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist of Atlanta, Ga. A summary report, "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study," has been published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

New Orleans Pupils Studied

The study deals primarily with six and seven year old elementary school students in New Orleans and 16 and 17 year old high school students in Atlanta. Supplementary evaluations were also made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville, and Burnsville, N. C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn.; and Little Rock, Ark.

Among the findings are these:

Some "segregationist" children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

Negro children find attendance in white schools "stressful but not incapacitating."

White children in desegregated southern schools suffer no "medical or psychiatric damage" and no "breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends."

Children of both races continue their studies "without impairment."

From an academic viewpoint, educational achievement" in earlier grades than in higher ones.

Teachers Observed

According to the study, racial and personal feelings among teachers in desegregated schools tended to give way "to professional responsibilites and obligations," and few criticisms of teachers were heard from white or Negro children. Professional integrity "transcended private feelings about race," Dr. Coles observed. He went on to say that children and teachers whose feelings are "exceptionally strong about desegregation" are "a special and rather small group."

"Our studies show that many people oppose desegregation, but also oppose the closing of the schools, mob behavior, or insulting or assaulting a fellow student, regardless of skin color. The particularly enraged person, be he teacher or student, is relatively rare among millions of Southerners," the psychiatrist said.

The study is the second in a series to be issued by the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Regional Council on problems of desegregation. The first, "Token Desegregation and Beyond," by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's college in Virginia, was published last month. It analyzed "devices" used by "resistant" states in the South which had limited desegregation to less than half of one per cent of Negroes in all school districts, and contrasted these efforts with those of six "compliant" states which had moved 51.1 per cent of Negro pupils to non-racial schools "creatively and successfully."

Among the [illegible]

Some "segregationist" children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

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Children of both races continue their studies "without impairment."

From an academic viewpoint, desegregation is easie in elementary grade schools.

Pressure Varied

The study found pressures on Negro children in desegregated schools varied "only in degree" from those which had always faced them in their daily lives. It added that while it was hard for a Negro child to enter an all-white school, the change offered "hopes and opportunities for work, for assertion of self, which contrast with other moments that may have seemed to them not only hard but also futile and less fulfilling."

Dr. Coles attributed changed attitudes in some white children to "getting to know a particular Negro child," and "thinking about the problem because they were part of a desegregated school." He quoted a white Atlanta high school senior:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends . . ."

In discussing how Negro and white students got along in the same school, Dr. Coles said younger children played and worked together more readily than older ones. He found the reactions of high school students were determined not only by their racial attitudes, but by the normal teen-age struggles of growing up. Personal knowledge of Negroes, however, did overcome old ideas of suspicion, distrust, contempt and disdain held by some white adolescents.

Both Negro and white students continued to learn successfully. Dr. Coles pointed out, however, that although the majority of younger Negro students managed well, older ones sometimes had to overcome "the burden of their former years" in schools "often far from comparable to the white ones." Despite some learning difficulties among Negro students who initiated desegregation in their high school years, the psychiatrist found very few academic problems "insurmountable." He asserted, however, that there were "less fixed disparities of

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STATE TIMES
BATON ROUGE, LA.
D. 34,571

AUG 1 2 1963

Second Report Is Released on School Mixing

ATLANTA (AP) — Some segregationist students change their ideas about Negro classmates after going to school with them for a year, say two biracial agencies.

And Negro children attending white schools find their roles stressing but not incapacitating, said the Southern Regional Council and the anti-defamation league of B'Nai B'Rith in the second of a series of studies.

The second report, released Saturday, analyzed psychiatric effects of desegregation on six and seven year old pupils in New Orleans and 16 and 17-year old high school students in Atlanta.

Additional studies were being made in integrated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn.; and Little Rock, Ark.

The report said the study showed:

—Desegregation is easier in elementary schools than in high schools.

—Where desegregation is accompanied by disorder, most children of both races seem able to learn without physical or emotional injury.

—White children in desegregated southern classrooms suffer no medical or psychiatric damage or breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends.

—Pressure on Negro children in desegregated schools varies only in degree from those which have always faced them in their daily lives.

Dr. Robert Coles of Atlanta, who conducted the second study, said teachers in integrated schools tend to put professional responsibility ahead of personal feelings.

The earlier study analyzed methods used in some resistant southern states where desegregation was limited to less than half of one per cent of Negroes.

THE CHARLOTTE NEWS
CHARLOTTE, N. C.
D. 62,581

AUG 1 2 1963

MIXED CLASSES STUDY

'No Psychiatric Damage'

By ALEX COFFIN
News Staff Writer

Youngsters of both races in a desegregated school situation "seem able to learn without physical or emotional injury or collapse, given initial good health and a functional school system," a study released today shows.

The two-year study deals primarily with six and seven-year-old elementary pupils in New Orleans and 16 and 17-year-olds in Atlanta.

Supplementary evaluations also were made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Little Rock, Ark.

* * *

THE STUDY was conducted by Dr. Robert Coles, an Atlanta psychiatrist, and published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Among the major findings are:

—Some "segregationist" children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

—Negro children find attendance in white schools "stressful but not incapacitating."

—White children in desegregated southern schools suffer no "medical or psychiatric damage" and no "breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends."

—Children of both races continue their studies "without impairment."

—From an academic viewpoint, desegragation is easier in elementary schools.

Dr. Coles attributed changed attitudes in some white children to "getting to know a particular Negro child," and "thinking about the problem because they were part of a desegregated school."

He gave the following excerpt from a statement made by a white Atlanta high school senior as an example:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends . . ."

In discussing how well Negro and white students got along in the same school, Dr. Coles said younger children played and worked together more readily than older ones.

He found the activities of high school students were determined not only by their racial attitudes but by the normal struggles of growing up which characterize teen-agers.

Personal knowledge of Negroes, however, did overcome old ideas of suspicion, distrust, contempt and disdain in some white students, the psychiatrist said.

DURHAM, N.C.
HERALD
D. 35,032 S. 41,626

AUG 12 1963

Study Discloses Elementary Grades Integrated Easier

ATLANTA (AP)—School desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools than in high schools, two biracial agencies reported Sunday.

And where desegregation is accompanied by disorder, children of both races seem able to learn without physical or emotional injury, if they are in good health and have a functioning school system.

These findings were made by the Southern Regional Council, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in the second of a series of studies that have been under way for two years.

The new report dealt with the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on pupils. The early study, entitled "Token Desegregation and Beyond," analyzed methods used in some resistant southern states where integration was limited to less than half of one per cent of Negroes. The study contrasted token efforts with those of six compliant states where more than 50 per cent of the Negro pupils were shifted to non-racial schools.

The psychiatric study dealt primarily with six and seven year old pupils in New Orleans and 16 and 17 year old high school pupils in Atlanta. Supplementary evaluations were made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N. C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Little Rock, Ark.

The report said the psychiatric study showed:

Some segregationist children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

Negro children find attendance in white schools stressing but not incapacitating.

White children in desegregated southern schools suffer no medical or psychiatric damage and no breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends.

Pressure on Negro children in desegregated schools varied only in degree from those which had always faced them in their daily lives.

GULFPORT, MISS.
HERALD
D. 29,964

AUG 12 1963

Report Made By Agency On School Mixing

ATLANTA (AP)—Some segregationist students change their ideas about Negro classmates after going to school with them for a year, say two biracial agencies.

And Negro children attending white schools find their roles stressing but not incapacitating, said the Southern Regional Council and the anti-defamation league of B'Nai B'Rith in the second of a series of studies.

The second report, released Saturday, analyzed psychiatric effects of desegregation on six and seven year old pupils in New Orleans and 16 and 17-year old high school students in Atlanta.

Additional studies were being made in integrated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn.; and Little Rock, Ark.

The report said the study showed:

—Desegregation is easier in elementary schools than in high schools.

—Where desegregation is accompanied by disorder, most children of both races seem able to learn without physical or emotional injury.

—White children in desegregated southern classrooms suffer no medical or psychiatric damage or breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends.

—Pressure on Negro children in desegregated schools varies only in degree from those which have always faced them in their daily lives.

Dr. Robert Coles of Atlanta who conducted the second study said teachers in integrated schools tend to put professional responsibility ahead of personal feelings.

The earlier study analyzed methods used in some resistant southern states where desegregation was limited to less than half of one per cent of Negroes.

MACON, GA.
NEWS
D, 23,004

AUG 12 1963

Study Reveals Some Segregationists Change Ideas With School Integration

ATLANTA, [P] — Some segregationist students change their ideas about Negro classmates after going to school with them for a year, say two biracial agencies.

And Negro children attending white schools find their roles stressing but not incapacitating, said the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in the second of a series of studies.

The second report, released over the weekend, analyzed psychiatric effects of desegregation on six and seven-year-old pupils in New Orleans and 16 and 17 year old high school students in Atlanta.

Additional studies were made in integrated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N. C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn.; and Little Rock, Ark.

The report said the study showed:

—Desegregation is easier in elementary schools than in high schools.

—Where desegregation is accompanied by disorder, most children of both races seem able to learin without physical or emotional injury.

—White children in desegregated Southern classrooms suffer no medical or psychiatric damage or breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends.

—Pressure on Negro children in desegregated schools varies only in degree from those which have always faced them in their daily lives.

Dr. Robert Coles of Atlanta who conducted the second study said teachers in segregated schools tend to put professional responsibility ahead of personal feelings.

THOMASVILLE, GA.
TIMES-ENTERPRISE
D. 6,183

AUG 12 1963

Two Biracial Agencies Issue Mixing Report

ATLANTA (AP)— Some segregationist students change their ideas about Negro classmates after going to school with them for a year, say two biracial agencies.

And Negro children attending white schools find their roles stressing but not incapacitating, said the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in the second of a series of studies.

The second report, released Saturday, analyzed psychiatric effects of desegregation on six and seven year old pupils in New Orleans and 16 and 17 year old high school students in Atlanta.

Additional studies were made in integrated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N.C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn.; and Little Rock, Ark.

The report said the study showed:

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—Pressure on Negro children in desegregated schools varies only in degree from those which have always faced them in their daily lives.

Dr. Robert Coles of Atlanta who conducted the second study said teachers in segregated schools tend to put professional responsibility ahead of personal feelings.

The earlier study analyzed methods used in some resistant Southern states where desegregation was limited to less than half of one per cent of Negroes.

ANADARKO, OKLA.
NEWS
D. 4,020 S. 4,020

AUG 12 1963

Segregation Study To Be Controversial

United Press International

A major report will be released this week-end dealing with the psychiatric aspects of the desegregation of Southern schools.

Like most such studies, its findings will be controversial — accepted as scientific data by some, discarded by others.

The report will be published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League. This adds to its controversial aspects because both have been active in pro-integration efforts.

The study was produced by Dr. Robert M. Coles, a Boston psychiatrist, now resident in Atlanta. He spent two years gathering the clinical material.

Studied Many Cases

He spent many hours with Negro school children having their first experience in integrated situations, with pre-school Negro youngsters, with teachers and with white parents and pupils who were both for and against desegregation.

Coles, discussing the project in an interview prior to release of his report, said the conclusion of his study was that Negroes can make their way in integrated schools without psychological stress on their own lives or ill effects on the lives of white pupils.

During his racial study, Coles said he often visited the homes of Negroes, playing on the floor with their young children as a means of gaining their confidence. It was in such situations, he said, that he learned Negroes develop knowledge of racial differences at a very early age.

Children Learn Early

"At four and five years of age, these children know the score," Coles said. "I have been in homes where children of this age have white and colored dolls. They talk about what the dolls are going to be when they grow up. They will place the white dolls in a white society and they grow up to have fine homes and marriages. The Negro dolls become maids and hold menial positions in society.

"I would ask them 'why' and they would tell me, 'that's the way it is in the world'."

Although they now are going through a revolutionary transition, Negroes still are bound by many barriers that are the cumulative process of "300 years of subservience," Coles said. Therein lies one of the biggest problems in the current era of transition.

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL
D. 373,657 S. 561,118

AUG 12 1963

Integration of Young Called Easier

© New York Times News Service

New York, N. Y. — Younger southern children of both races seem to experience less trouble when pioneering in school desegregation than do their teen age brothers and sisters, a child psychiatrist's report says.

The report, by Dr. Robert Coles of Boston, thus agrees with those who favor initial desegregation of the earlier grades over the "reverse stair-step" method employed in some southern schools.

Dr. Coles based his conclusions on a two year investigation which was carried out primarily in Atlanta and New Orleans.

Needs of Moment

He also reported that the learning process had not been dulled by desegregation; that teachers had demonstrated an ability to set aside their personal feelings about race; and, that there is little "passionate dislike" of Negro students on the part of their white classmates.

Dr. Coles said his research emphasized: "What we already know about human development, that at 5, children are governed by needs of the moment: To play, to sing, or shout.

"They most certainly understand many of the meanings of skin color, because they hear the words and commands of their parents; but, except in rare cases, tensions and ideologies of the adult world will not undo what is, after all, their childhood.

"Seeds of later attitudes are in them. . . . But they will not flower until later, when the child thinks and hesitates more, is more responsive to the laws of society than the young child."

High School Different

The high school student's situation is different, Dr. Coles said. "By 14 so very much has happened, and in those last few years of school there is little time or inclination, given the nature of adolescence, for easy reversals of long standing and accruing assets and liabilities," he wrote.

The question of early versus late school desegregation has been a controversial one in some southern communities. Several cities in Tennesee initiated school desegregation in the lower grades, along with New Orleans and Dallas.

Desegregation was initiated at the high school level in Atlanta, Little Rock, Norfolk and several North Carolina cities.

Dr. Coles' report was published by the Southern Regional council, an Atlanta based organization which specializes in race relations research and by the Antidefamation league of B'nai B'rith.

TUSACLOOSA, ALA.
NEWS
D. 19,637 S. 18,914

AUG 12 1963

Study Says Integration Doesn't Hurt Students

ATLANTA (AP) — Some segregationist students change their ideas about Negro classmates after going to school with them for a year, say two biracial agencies.

And Negro children attending white schools find their roles stressing but not incapacitating, said the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in the second of a series of studies.

The second report, released Saturday, analyzed psychiatric effects of desegregation on six and seven year old pupils in New Orleans and 16 and 17 year old high school students in Atlanta.

Additional studies were made in integrated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N. C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn.; and Little Rock, Ark.

The report said the study showed:

—Desegregation is easier in elementary schools than in high schools.

—Where desegregation is accompanied by disorder, most children of both races seem able to learn without physical or emotional injury.

—White children in desegregated Southern classrooms suffer no medical or psychiatric damage or breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends.

—Pressure on Negro children in desegregated schools varies only in degree from those which have always faced them in their daily lives.

Dr. Robert Coles of Atlanta who conducted the second study said teachers in segregated schools tend to put professional responsibility ahead of personal feelings.

The earlier study analyzed methods used in some resistant Southern states where desegregation was limited to less than half of one per cent of Negroes.

GREENSBORO, N.C.
RECORD
D. 31,743

AUG 12 1963

Integration Study Shows Students Change Minds

ATLANTA, Aug. 12 (UPI) — Some segregationist students change their ideas about Negro classmates after going to school with them for a year, say two biracial agencies.

And Negro children attending white schools find their roles stressing but not incapacitating, said the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in the second of a series of studies.

The second report, released Saturday, analyzed psychiatric effects of desegregation on six and seven-year-old pupils in New Orleans and 16 and 17-year-old high school students in Atlanta.

Additional studies were being made in integrated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N. C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn.; and Little Rock, Ark.

The report said the study showed:

—Desegregation is easier in elementary schools than in high schools.

—Where desegregation is accompanied by disorder, most children of both races seem able to learn without physical or emotional injury.

—White children in desegregated Southern classrooms suffer no medical or psychiatric damage or breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends.

—Pressure on Negro children in desegregated schools varies only in degree from those which have always faced them in their daily lives.

Dr. Robert Coles of Atlanta, who conducted the second study, said teachers in integrated schools tend to put professional responsibility ahead of personal feelings.

The earlier study analyzed methods used in some resistant Southern states where desegregation was limited to less than half of 1 per cent of Negroes.

MURFREESBORO, TENN.
NEWS JOURNAL
D. 3,000

AUG 12 1963

New School Study In South To Be Released

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

A major report will be released this week-end dealing with the psychiatric aspects of the desegregation of Southern schools.

Like most such studies, its findings will be controversial — accepted as scientific data by some, discarded by others.

The report will be published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League. This adds to its controversial aspects because both have been active in pro-integration efforts.

The study was produced by Dr. Robert M. Coles, a Boston psychiatrist, now a resient in Atlanta. He spent two years gathering the clinical material.

Studied Many Cases

He spent many hours with Negro school children having their first experience in integrated situations, with pre-school Negro youngsters, with teachers and with white parents and pupils who were both for and against desegregation.

Coles, discussing the project in an interview prior to release of his report, said the conclusion of his study was that Negroes can make their way in integrated schools without psychological stress on their own lives or ill effects on the lives of white pupils.

During his racial study, Coles said he often visited the homes of Negroes, playing on the floor with their young children as a means of gaining their confidence. It was in such situations, he said, that he learned Negroes develop knowledge of racial differences at a very early age.

Children Learn Early

"At four and five years of age, these children know the score," Coles said. "I have been in homes where children of this age have white and colored dolls. They talk about what the dolls are going to be when they grow up. They will place the white dolls in a white society and they grow up to have fine homes and marriages. The Negro dolls become maids and hold menial positions in society.

"I would ask them 'why' and they would tell me, 'that's the way it is in the world'."

Although they now are going through a revolutionary transition, Negroes still are bound by many barriers that are the cumulative process of "300 years of subservience," Coles said. Therein lies one of the biggest problems in the current era of transition.

San Francisco Chronicle
THE VOICE OF THE WEST
D. 300,065 S. 330,671

AUG 13 1963

Study of School Integration

Atlanta

School desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools than in high schools, two biracial agencies reported yesterday.

Attitudes in younger children are more flexible and educational disparities are fewer in the lower grades.

And where desegregation is accompanied by disorder, children of both races seem able to learn without physical or emotional injury, if they are in good health.

These findings were made by the Southern Regional Council, and the Anti-Defamation League of Bnai Brith in the second of a series of studies that have been under way for two years.

The psychiatric study showed:

primarily with 6- and 7-year-old pupils in New Orleans and 16- and 17-year-old high school pupils in Atlanta. Supplementary evaluations were made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N. C., Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Little Rock, Ark.

The psychriatric study showed:

Some segregationist children change their attitude toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

Negro children find attendance in white schools stressing but not incapacitating.

Pressure on Negro children in desegregaated schools varied only in degree from those which had always faced them in their daily lives.

Dr. Robert Coles of Atlanta, who conducted the psychiatric study, said racial and personal feelings among teachers in desegregated schools tended to give way to professional responsibilities and obligations and there were few criticisms of teachers by either white or Negro children.

Coles added:

"The particularly enraged person, be he teacher or student, is relatively rare among millions of southerners."

Associated Press

ATHENS, TENN.
POST-ATHENIAN
D. 5,086

AUG 13 1963

Integration Effect Told In Report

ATLANTA (AP) —Some segregationist students change their ideas about Negro classmates after going to school with them for a year, say two biraccial agencies.

And Negro children attending white schools find their roles stressing but not incapacitating, said the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith in the second of a series of studies.

The second report, released Saturday, analyzed psychiatric effects of desegregation on six and seven year old pupils in New Orleans and 16 and 17-year old high school students in Atlanta.

Additional studies were being made in integrated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N.C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn.; and Little Rock.

UNION CITY, IND.
TIMES-GAZETTE
D. 2,87

AUG 14 1963

What It Means

(A Continuing Study of Developments on the Racial Front)
By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

A major report will be released this week-end dealing with the psychiatric aspects of the desegregation of Southern schools.

Like most such studies, its findings will be controversial — accepted as scientific data by some, discarded by others.

The report will be published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League. This adds to its controversial aspects because both have been active in pro-integration efforts.

The study was produced by Dr. Robert M. Coles, a Boston psychiatrist, now resident in Atlanta. He spent two years gathering the clinical material.

Studied Many Cases

He spent many hours with Negro school children having their first experience in integrated situations, with pre-school Negro youngsters, with teachers and with white parents and pupils who were both for and against desegregation.

Coles, discussing the project in an interview prior to release of his report, said the conclusion of his study was that Negroes can make their way in integrated schools without psychological stress on their own lives or ill effects on the lives of white pupils.

During his racial study, Coles said he often visited the homes of Negroes, playing on the floor with their young children as a means of gaining their confidence. It was in such situations, he said, that he learned Negroes develop knowledge of racial differences at a very early age.

Children Learn Early

"At four and five years of age, these children know the score," Coles said. "I have been in homes where children of this age have white and colored dolls. They talk about what the dolls are going to be when they grow up. They will place the white dolls in a white society and they grow up to have fine homes and marriages. The Negro dolls become maids and hold menial positions in society.

"I would ask them 'why' and they would tell me, 'that's the way it is in the world'."

Although they now are going through a revolutionary transition, Negroes still are bound by many barriers that are the cumulative process of "300 years of subservience," Coles said. Therein lies one of the biggest problems in the current era of transition.

GREENWOOD, S.C.
INDEX-JOURNAL
D. 10,098

AUG 14 1963

Report Is Given On Second Study Of Integration

ATLANTA (AP) — Negro children attending white schools find their roles stressing but not incapacitating, says two bi-racial agencies.

And some segregationist students changed their ideas about Negro classmates after going to school with them for a year, said the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith in the second of a series of studies.

The second report, analyzed psychiatric effects of desegregation on six and seven-year-old pupils in New Orleans and 16 and 17-year-old high school students in Atlanta.

Additional studies were being made in integrated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burns

Des Moines Tribune
D. 123,464
AUG 1 6 1963

Young Children Less Troubled by Desegregation
"Able to Learn Together Without Physical or Emotional Injury"

Desegregation Easiest At First-Grade Level

(See Editorial in Column at Left)

(From New York Times and Associated Press)

NEW YORK, N. Y. — Younger Southern children of both races seem to experience less trouble when pioneering in school desegregation than do their teen-aged brothers and sisters, a child psychiatrist has reported.

Dr. Robert Coles thus agrees with some school administrators and race relations observers who favor initial desegregation of the earlier grades over the "reverse stair-step" method employed in some Southern school systems.

Dr. Coles based his conclusions on a two-year investigation which was carried out primarily in Atlanta and New Orleans. He also reported that the learning process has not been dulled by desegregation; that teachers have demonstrated an ability to set aside their personal feelings about race; and, that there is little "passionate dislike" of Negro students on the part of their new white classmates.

Negroes Survive Added Stress

These findings are in a booklet titled "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study." It was published by the Southern Regional Council, an Atlanta-based organization which specializes in race relations research, and by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The report said the psychiatric study showed:

Some segregationist children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

Negro children find attendance in white schools stressing but not incapacitating.

White children in desegregated Southern schools suffer no medical or psychiatric damage and no breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends.

Pressure on Negro children in desegregated schools varied only in degree from those which had always faced them in their daily lives.

No Injury To Either Race

Dr. Coles found that "even with external stress such as in New Orleans, young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given reasonable, initial good health and a functioning school system."

His research emphasized, he said, "what we already know about human development, that at five, children are governed by needs of the moment: to play, to sing, or shout.

"They most certainly understand many of the meanings of skin color, because they hear the words and commands of their parents; but, except in rare cases, tensions and ideologies of the adult world will not undo what is, after all, their 'childhood.'

"In the first grades children are influenced by constant surges of energy, prompting action, curiosity, exploration of mind and body alike. Ideologies are foreign to them.

Different In High School

"Seeds of later attitudes are in them, make no mistake about that. But they will not flower until later, when the child thinks and hesitates more, is more responsive to the laws of society than the young child."

The high school child's situation is different, Dr. Coles said. "By 14 so very much has happened, and in those last few years of school there is little time or inclination, given the nature of adolescence, for easy reversals of long-standing and accruing assets and liabilities."

The question of early versus late school desegregation has been a controversial one in some Southern communities. Several cities in Tennessee initiated school desegregation in the lower grades, along with New Orleans and Dallas, among other places.

Youths Change Attitudes, Too

Desegregation was initiated at the high school level in Atlanta, Little Rock, Norfolk, and several North Carolina cities.

Nonetheless, even at the high-school level, Dr. Coles found many white students typified by an Atlanta youth who said:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for [the Negroes], the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends."

Dr. Coles said he found in interviews with school teachers in both Atlanta and New Orleans "a deep sense of professional integrity, of identity as teachers which transcended their private feelings about race."

Time Aug. 16, 1963

INTEGRATION

Ed. South

What Happens to the Kids?

On his record, Psychiatrist Robert Coles, 33, should be tending bothered Brahmins on Boston's Beacon Street. A graduate of Milton Academy and Harvard (*magna*), Coles got his M.D. at Columbia and trained at proper Boston hospitals, from Children's to McLean to Massachusetts General. He even married a Hallowell—a word that some Boston tots think is part of the Lord's Prayer: "Hallowell be thy name."

Instead, Coles has been off tackling one of the great questions of U.S. education: How, in detail, does desegregation affect children? He may now be the nation's leading expert on the subject. As gifted with words as he is with feelings, Coles last week issued an eloquent report under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

PSYCHIATRIST COLES AT WORK
Youngness is the key to success.

Sharing the Strain. In the tense summer of 1961, Coles moved to Atlanta, where ten Negro children were girding themselves to "integrate" four white high schools. Bomb rumors spread; abusive phone calls gave the kids bad dreams. With foundation money, Coles and his wife set up a unique "practice"—fulltime sharing of the kids' trials and triumphs over the next two years.

Every week Coles tape-recorded interviews with each of the Negroes and a dozen of their white classmates, half of them from intensely segregationist families. By 1962, his "patients" included 40 more integrated Negro students and additional whites, plus numerous teachers and parents. Once a month, he similarly interviewed 19 grade-school children in New Orleans including the four Negroes who went through desegregation riots there in 1960. Along the way, he scoured other integration hot spots from Little Rock to Clinton, Tenn.

Paroled to America. Coles found that youngness is the key to successful desegregation. Much as he was moved by one small Negro girl's drawing of herself in New Orleans as "a lonely blackbird, cautiously winging her way toward the school," he observed that the youngest children show the least strain. In New Orleans, white six-year-olds gravely promised their parents to avoid Negro children—and then happily skipped rope with them as soon as they got to school. Equally important, the world of school shut out adult rioters; all they did was create more school spirit. "Frantz School will survive," sang the kids in New Orleans, and it did.

Atlanta's teen-agers had a lot tougher time. Though untouched by violence, they had to unlearn old fears amid "normal" adolescent strains. One Negro boy worriedly studied karate before entering a white school; another dreamed of himself in Little Rock, holding off whites with a machine gun. Yet integration spurred many to sudden pride and progress. Instead of "always watching and peeking around," as one boy put it, "I feel as if I've been let out of jail and into America."

A Horrible Thought. For white students, the experience was equally profound. Some felt actual physical revulsion when near a Negro, "like dirt being rubbed on you." But this emotion was often overruled by the horror that all adolescents feel toward the thought of social ostracism. "I've really changed a lot of my ideas," one white boy said of the Negroes. "You can't help having respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well."

One white problem was telling "them" so out loud—a battle between guilt and conformity. Perhaps sensing this, one bright white teacher suddenly called on a Negro girl named Martha to state her problems in class. When she did so in no uncertain manner, Coles found whites "relieved by this firmness." At year's end Martha was astonished to find her yearbook filled with glowing words. Sample: "I only hope that you will forgive those of us who have been mean and ugly." And: "Martha, I cannot tell you how much I admire your courage and determination."

A Decade More. Though wary of generalizations, Coles believes that children of both races study as hard as ever in newly integrated schools. Negroes drive to catch up, whites to stay on top or improve. Says Coles: "We have yet to hear a Southern teacher complain of any drop in intellectual or moral climate in a desegregated room or school."

All this, Reporter Coles believes, shows how racial myths can in practice be legislated out of existence to the general improvement of education. The law is still a great teacher.

DETROIT, MICH.
JEWISH NEWS
W. 15,200

AUG 16 1963

ADL Study Teaches Youth Desegregation

Even when school desegregation is accompanied by community disorder, "young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given . . . initial good health and a functioning school system."

This is one of the findings of the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on participating Negro and white students in the South.

The study, which has been in process for two years, was conducted by Dr. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist of Atlanta, Ga. A summary report, titled "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study," was published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of Bnai Brith. It deals primarily with six and seven year old elementary school students in New Orleans and sixteen and seventeen year old high school students in Atlanta. Supplementary evaluations were also made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, North Carolina; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tennessee; and Little Rock, Arkansas.

Among the major findings are:

Some "segregationist" children change their attitude toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

Negro children find attendance in white schools "stressful but not incapacitating."

White children in desegregated southern schools suffer no "medical or psychiatric damage" and no "breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends."

Children of both races continue their studies "without impairment."

From an academic viewpoint, desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools.

Dr. Coles attributed changed attitudes in some white children to "getting to know a particular Negro child," and "thinking about the problem because they were part of a desegregated school."

BOSTON, MASS.
CITIZEN
W. 15,000

AUG 16 1963

Psychiatric Study Of Desegregated Schools

Even when school desegregation is accompanied by community disorder, "young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given . . . initial good health and a functioning school system."

This is one of the findings of the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on participating Negro and white students in the South.

The study, which has been in process for two years, was conducted by Dr. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist of Atlanta, Ga. A summary report, titled **The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study,** was published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith today. It was released in New England by Sol Kolack, ADL Regional Director, and Morton R. Godine of Brookline, Mass., Chairman of the New England Regional ADL Board.

The study deals primarily with six and seven year old elementary school students in New Orleans and sixteen and seventeen year old high school students in Atlanta. Supplementary evaluations were also made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, North Carolina; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tennessee; and Little Rock, Arkansas.

Among the major findings are these:

—Some "segregationist" children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

—Negro children find attendance in white schools "stressful but not incapacitating."

—White children in desegregated southern schools suffer no "medical or psychiatric damage" and no "breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends." . . Children of both races continue their studies "without impairment."

—From an academic viewpoint, desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools.

Dr. Coles attributed changed attitudes in some white children to "getting to know a particular Negro child," and "thinking about the problem because they were part of a desegregated school." He gave the following excerpt from a statement made by a white Atlanta high school senior as an example:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent far from comparable to the white ones." Despite some learning difficulties among Negro students who initiated desegregation in their high school years, the psychiatrist found very few academic problems "insurmountable." He asserted that given "reasonable, initial good health and a functioning school system," children of both races showed ability to learn, but that there were "less fixed disparities of educational achievement" in earlier grades than in higher ones.

According to the study, conflicting racial feelings among teachers in desegregated schools tended to give way "to professional responsibilities and obligations" and few criticism of teachers were heard from white or Negro children. Professional integrity "transcended private feelings about race," Dr. Coles declared. He went on to say that children and teachers whose feelings are "exceptionally strong about desegregaion" are "a special and rather small group."

"Our studies show that many people oppose desegregation, but also oppose the closing of the schools, mob behavior, or insulting or assaulting a fellow student, regardless of skin color. The particularly enraged person, be he teacher or student, is relatively rare among millions of southerners," the psychiatrist said.

The study is the second in a series to be issued jointly by the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Regional Council on problems of desegregation. The first, **Token Desegregation and Beyond,** by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Virigina, was published last month. It analyzed "devices" used by eleven "resistant" states in the south which had limited desegregation to less than half of one percent of Negroes in all school districts, and contrasted these efforts with those of six "compliant" states which had moved 51.1 percent of Negro pupils to non-racial schools "creatively and successfully."

Copies of both studies are available from the New England Regional Office of the Anti-Defamation League, 72 Franklin street, Boston 10, Mass.

change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

—Negro children find attendance in white schools "stressful but not incapacitating."

—White children in desegregated southern schools suffer no "medical or psychiatric damage" and no "breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends." . . Children of both races continue their studies "without impairment."

—From an academic viewpoint, desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools.

Dr. Coles attributed changed attitudes in some white children to "getting to know a particular Negro child," and "thinking about the problem because they were part of a desegregated school." He gave the following excerpt from a statement made by a white Atlanta high school senior as an example:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends . . ."

In discussing how well Negro and white students got along in the same school, Dr. Coles said younger children played and worked together more readily than older ones. He found the activities of high school students were determined not only by their racial attitudes but by the normal struggles of growing up which characterize teen - agers. Personal knowledge of Negroes, however, did overcome old ideas of suspicion, distrust, contempt and disdain in some white students, the psychiatrist said.

The study found pressures on Negro children in desegregated schools varied "only in degree" from those which had always faced them in their daily lives. It added that while it was hard for a Negro child to enter an all-white school, the change offered "hopes and opportunities for work, for assertion of self, which contrast with other moments that may have seemed to them not only hard but also futile and less fulfilling."

Both Negro and white students continued to learn successfully. Dr. Coles pointed out, however, that although the majority of younger Negro students managed well, older ones sometimes had to overcome "the burden of their former years" in schools "often regardless of skin color. The particularly enraged person, be he teacher or student, is relatively rare among millions of southerners," the psychiatrist said.

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Des Moines Tribune
D. 123,464
AUG 1 6 1963

Best Place to Start Desegregation

Some Southern cities desegregate their schools one grade per year to minimize possible friction. A survey made for the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith suggests that those which begin in the first grade are acting more wisely than than those which start at the top, in high school. (See article in columns at right.)

Dr. Robert Coles, the psychiatrist who made the study, points out that children are more adaptable at six than at 16 and have acquired fewer prejudices. There also is another reason why children of both races should learn together from the beginning.

A good education is the only way through which many Negro children will surmount the handicaps of a poor economic and social environment. They bring these handicaps to the first grade, but they may overcome them by high school with a first-class education. But, with some notable exceptions, most largely Negro schools are poorer in almost every way than most largely white schools.

Thus if a Negro child attends a segregated school for seven or eight years, he is likely to be set back so much farther, intellectually as well as socially, from white children that when he goes to a desegregated high school he simply will be re-segregated by "ability grouping." This has happened in Washington, D. C., among other places.

In Washington's four-track system based on ability, Negroes dominate the lower tracks, whites the upper. For example: in one 75 per cent Negro class at one high school, Negroes accounted for only 45 per cent of the very small (26 pupils) top track, but for 89 per cent of the large (165 pupils) "basic" track. If these Negroes had gotten off to a good start in a desegregated school, the results might have been quite different.

SHREVEPORT, LA.
SUN (N)
W. 9,600

AUG 17 1963

Students Not Hurt By Integration

Atlanta, Ga. — Even when school desegregation is accompanied by community disorder, "young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given . . . initial good health and a functioning school system."

This is one of the findings of the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on participating Negro and white students in the South.

The study, which has been in process for two years, was conducted by Dr. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist of Atlanta, Ga. A summary report, titled **The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study**, was published Aug. 11 by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The study deals primarily with six and seven year old elementary school students in New Orleans and 16 and 17 year old high school students in Atlanta. Supplementary evalua-

(See—STUDENTS, page 8)

Students

(Continued from page 1

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Among the findings these:

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Dr. Coles attributed changed attitudes in some white children to "getting to know a particular Negro child," and "thinking about the problem because they were part of a desegregated school." He quoted a white Atlanta high school senior:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends . . ."

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
ALABAMA MIRROR
W. 14,436 (N)
PAGE ONE
CRUNFIED
AUG 17 1963

SRC Reports On School Desegregation Favorable

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Both Negro and white students continued to learn successfully Dr. Coles pointed out, however that although the majority of younger Negro students managed well, older ones sometimes had to overcome "the burden of their former years" in schools "often far from comparable to the white ones." Despite some learning difficulties among Negro students who initiated desegregation in their high school years, the psychiatrist found very few academic problems "insurmountable." He asserted, however, that there were less fixed disparities of educational achievement" in earlier grades than in higher ones.

According to the study, racial and personal feelings among teachers in desegregated schools tended to give way "to professional responsibilities and obligations," and few criticisms of teachers were heard from white or Negro children. Professional integrity transcended private feelings about race," Dr. Coles observed. He went on to say that children and teach-

(Continued on Page 6)

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(Continued From Page 1)

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Copies of both studies are available from the national offices of the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York, or from the Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth St., NW, Atlanta, Ga.

The Boston Globe
D. 194,870 S. 465,753

AUG 18 1963

For Martha—A Negro, Year of Silence, Isolation

By TERRY FERRER

For Martha, it was a year of complete silence and isolation, except for an occasional insult of word or deed. Her senior year in high school was a day-to-day torture, and when the last one came around at least, Martha felt she had no friends at all.

Martha was a Negro girl in a newly desegregated high school in Atlanta, and yet, on that last day, 15 white boys and girls came up and asked to autograph her yearbook. Martha was afraid: Perhaps it was just another way to hurt and attack her.

But one boy wrote: "Martha, I cannot tell you how much I admire your courage and determination. After you finished that little talk in English (class), in my eyes you are 'nine feet tall.'"

And a girl wrote: "I only hope you will forgive those of us who have been mean and ugly."

And yet another: "Dear Martha ... I'm sorry not to have been able to get to know you better, but this is just the way it turned out ... I guess that you can understand why I haven't become better acquainted with you. But I personally think that I have missed a great opportunity."

Until the last minute, neither Negro nor white knew what they would say or do. All that year of 1961-62, Martha and the eight other Negro students initially assigned to white Alabama schools had been having psychiatric interviews. So had many of the white students, who reported their conflicting feelings of friendliness and fear and guilt and curiosity.

Not even the psychiatrist, Dr. Robert Coles of Atlanta, knew how that school year would end for Martha.

Now Dr. Coles has put together a fascinating report of two years of research on how participating Negro and white children react to the pressures of desegregation.

"The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study" is the first to approach the explosive issue from the pupils' psychiatric point of view. The study is published this week-end by the anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a non-profit, non-political, bi-racial research and educational organizations.

Dr. Coles studied the four little Negro girls who broke the first-grade color line in New Orleans in 1960, and the seven others who followed in 1961.

He also interviewed white children there, their parents, teachers and school officials. Via personal trips, he compared his findings with those on children and adults of both races in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N.C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Little Rock, Ark.

Dr. Coles, a child psychiatrist, found that even with the most extreme pressure, such as in New Orleans, "young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given reasonable, initial good health and a functioning school system."

The white first graders who each day in the 1960-61 school year had to run a screaming gantlet of white housewives to enter the freshly desegregated William Frantz Elementary School in New Orleans often urged their parents to take them to school. They loved the excitement and attention.

In 1961, Dr. Coles points out, "one of the white children who returned to the almost totally boycotted Frantz school told a little colored girl that she would not play with her because her mother had forbidden this, and then, a few minutes later, did just that."

Dr. Coles concludes that it is obviously better to start desegregation in the first grades. "Young children of the two races," he says, "play together and work together even though they have heard many remarks at home which might discourage this. A game means more to a child than an idea at this age."

By the time pupils of both races are in high school, much has happened to the adolescent attitudes and there is little time or inclination to change long-standing ideas and practices.

Can children change the Southern segregation pattern of centuries? Dr. Coles says yes, in many cases, because the children themselves change, even after a year in a classroom where they live and work with Negroes every day. Others, of course, remain hidebound segregationists.

However, "those children and teachers whose feelings are exceptionally strong about desegregation, are, really, a special, rather small group," Dr. Coles concludes. Most teachers, he found, clung to professional responsibilities and obligations to teach all children, whatever their personal feelings about black or white might be.

And consider what this boy, an Atlanta High-School senior, told Dr. Cole in a taped interview toward the end of 1962 — the first year of desegregation:

"Ive really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help having respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well and are a lot more intelligent than a lot of my friends. You have to understand how we've grown up. They were slaves to us, I mean even after the Civil War ... they belonged in the kitchen or fixing your socks. ...

"I sneered a few times the first few weeks, but I just couldn't keep it up, and I felt kind of bad and sorry for them. I used to get nervous when I'd see them eating alone. I wondered how I'd have felt if I were in their shoes ... Next thing I knew I was quiet when some of my friends were calling them all the old names." I felt that I never again would look at them the way I did last September and before ... I can't really describe any time or episode ... No, it was just kind of a gradual feeling..."

(Boston Globe–N.Y. Herald Tribune)

DAYTON DAILY NEWS
DAYTON, OHIO
D. 150,419 S. 189,580

AUG 2 1 1963

Lonely Graduate in the Group

Top of the Stairs

A Boston psychiatrist has completed two years of study, chiefly in New Orleans and Atlanta, in an effort to determine whether school segregation is best started in the upper or lower grades.

Dr. Coles concludes that "young children of stairstep method, now published as a pamphlet by the Southern Regional council and B'nai B'rith's Antidefamation league, should be of poignant interest to James Meredith, who was grudgingly awarded the bachelor's degree he earned at the University of Mississippi.

For an interminable year of harassment and personal struggle as the loneliest scholar in America, Meredith knows best how dark it can be at the very top of the educational stairs.

Dr. Coles conludes that "young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse," provided they are healthy and the school system is functioning, however subjected they may be to family and community stress. They are energetic, curious, concerned with the moment. They have an overriding zest for new experience. The natural insulations of early childhood itself protect them from the "tensions and ideologies of the adult world."

By the time young people reach 14, however, there are no "easy reversals," according to Dr. Coles, of the attitudes formed by prolonged experience of a rigid caste system. Initial integration, he finds, is easiest for children when begun in the early years.

James Meredith could postscript this substantiation of a long-acknowledged characteristic of human development—that "you've got to be taught," as the "South Pacific" song says—to hate.

Neither fear nor prejudice are inherited. They're learned. They can be so well learned by adulthood that in a university center of advanced learning, where the life of the intellect is theoretically ascendant over bigotry and unreason, a man may experience the most oppressive segregation of all.

Times-Picayune
NEW ORLEANS, LA,
D. 193,514 S. 302,677

AUG 2 1 1963

Segregation Cost High, Is Claim

GUILFORD COLLEGE, N. C. (AP) — A southern regional council official said here Tuesday that segregation has been maintained in the South "at an awful cost."

Dr. Henry Clark of Atlanta, told the continental congress of liberal religious youth at Guilford College that "Booker T. Washington said the only way you can keep a man in the ditch is to stay there with him. And that is what has happened in the South."

The costs of prejudice have been terrific economically, Dr. Clark said. "Racial prejudice has been very important in keeping unions out of the South and preventing workers from getting their fair share of profits from industry."

Dr. Clark said, however, that although the costs have been high, the white people have realized some economical, psychological and political gains from segregation.

The conference is being attended by 186 teen-agers.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.
LOUISIANA WEEKLY (N)
W. 19,532

AUG 24 1963

In Desegregated Schools . . .

Study Finds Children Learn Without Injury

Even when school desegregation is accompanied by community disorder, "young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given ... initial good health and a functioning school system."

This is one of the findings of the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on participating Negro and white students in the South.

The study, which has been in process for two years, was conducted by Dr. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist of Atlanta, Ga. A summary report, titled THE DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: A Psychiatric Study, was published today by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The study deals primarily with six and seven year old elementary school students in New Orleans and 16 and 17 year old high school students in Atlanta. Supplementary evaluations were also made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville, and Burnsville, North Carolina; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tennessee; and Little Rock, Arkansas.

Among the findings are these:

--Some "segregationist" children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

--Negro children find attendance in white schools "stressful but not incapacitating."

--White children in desegregated southern schools suffer no "medical or psychiatric damage" and no "breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends."

--Children of both races continue their studies "without impairment."

--From an academic viewpoint, desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools.

The study found pressures on Negro children in desegregated schools varied " only in degree " from those which had always faced them in their daily lives. It added that while it was hard for a Negro child to enter an all-white school, the change offered "hopes and opportunities for work, for assertion of self, which contrast with other moments that may have seemed to them not only hard but also futile and less fulfilling."

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Both Negro and white students continued to learn successfully. Dr. Coles pointed out, however, that although the majority of younger Negro students managed well, older ones sometimes had to overcome "the burden of their former years" in schools "often far from comparable to the white ones." Despite some learning difficulties among Negro students who initiated desegregation in their high school years, the psychiatrist found very few academic problems "insurmountable." He asserted, however, that there were "less fixed disparities of educational achievement" in earlier grades than in higher ones.

According to the study, racial and personal feelings among teachers in desegregated schools tended to give way "to professional responsibilities and obligations," and few criticisms of teachers were heard from white or Negro children. Professional integrity "transcended private feelings about race," Dr. Coles observed. He went on to say that children and teachers whose feelings are "exceptionally strong about desegregation" are "a special and rather small group."

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Copies of both studies are available from the national offices of the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York, or from the Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

LWD
VJV
PA
SBL
BA

The Chapel Hill
CONSCIENCE

Sept. 8, 1963

Sir,

See page 4 & 5 for comment on Dr. Coles' Psychiatric Study.

R. Brown
Editor.

see p. 1 —

The Chapel Hill
CONSCIENCE

NO. 2 AUGUST 24, 1963 NO. 2

WE ASK YOU TO BOYCOTT THE FOLLOWING ESTABLISHMENTS BECAUSE THEY PRACTICE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION:

COLONIAL DRUG STORE	FROZEN KUSTARD	THE PATIO
LEO'S GRILL	TAR HEEL SANDWICH SHOP	CAROLINA GRILL
CLARENCE'S	THE ROCK PILE	MERRITT'S ESSO SERVICE
BRADY'S	UNIVERSITY MOTEL	ALLEN'S LUNCH COUNTER
THE PINES	TAR HEEL MOTOR LODGE	WALKER'S GULF STATION
THE SHACK	WATT'S MOTEL	THE SPORT CENTER

editorial editorial

THE SOUTHERN PART OF HEAVEN: ONE SCENE

For many the injustices Negroes experience daily isn't news anymore. Even the injustices toward whites who battle for the rights of others is of questionable interest.

In our society both experiences are so common that most ignore it and many just don't give a damm.

Nonetheless this editorial describes such an ordinary, everyday situation that Americans have come to accept.

It concerns a white man who is known among the people of this community as a dedicated and responsible person. A man who has devoted himself to achieving justice for Negroes.

Pat Cusick is a member of the Executive Committee of the Chapel Hill Committee for Open Business. In that capacity he has participated in every COB activity. It was he, who as Chairman of the Student Peace Union on campus initiated the picketing of the College Cafe in early April, who helped organize the COB, who conducted the non-violent workshops, who led the sit-ins and who remained in the Hillsboro jail four days.

Behind every activity of the COB has been Pat Cusick's strength. If pressing circumstances called for additional effort he always offered his assistance. In this way Pat gave the hospitality of his house to a friend.

The friend was Quintin Baker. For over a month now Quintin, an NAACP commando, has been working with the COB. During this time he accepted the hospitality of other people in the Chapel Hill community. A few days ago he began staying with Pat. He slept and ate in Pat's house for two days.

On Tuesday, August 6, the town constable summoned Pat Cusick to appear before Chapel Hill's Justice of the Peace. There, on Thursday, Aug. 8, he was told to get out of his house by Monday, August 12.

Mr. Giles Horney, Building and Grounds Superintendent of the University, the owner of Pat's house, evicted him. This action was taken because "the rent was 5 days overdue" & because of "the mess" that was entering Pat's house. To Mr. Horney, it made no difference that Pat had been living there for 2½ years.

Because Quintin Baker is a Negro.

OPEN MEETING MONDAY NIGHT

The Chapel Hill Committee for Open Business at a mass meeting on Monday night, Aug. 26, at the First Baptist Church on Robeson St., will discuss the adoption of bylaws to guide their future integration activities in Chapel Hill. (Mimeographed copies of the proposals will be provided.)

According to Executive Committee spokesmen, the meeting will vote on the reorganization of the COB, adopting a new name & planning new activities to eliminate racial discrimination in Chapel Hill.

There is strong feeling among many COB members that demonstrations should continue. This issue & other suggestions will be voted upon by all those present.

QUINTIN BAKER

Quintin Baker the NAACP commando who came to Chapel Hill at the request of the COB left on Aug.9 for a new assignment.

While here he helped organize workshops in civil disobedience & instruct COB members in non-violent techniques.

Mr. Baker is an English major at N. C. College at Durham & will return there in the fall. He is president of the campus NAACP chapter & was a leader of the demonstrations in Durham last Spring. Shortly after leaving Chapel Hill he was arrested in Goldsboro for participating in a sit-in.

He is now serving 30 days in jail.

"The Chapel Hill Committee for Open Business wishes to thank Quintin Baker for his participation & assistance in all its activities and to acknowledge his contributions to the Executive Committee of which he was a member."

THE CONSCIENCE WOULD APPRECIATE INFORMATION FOR PUBLICATION ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF ALL GROUPS IN CHAPEL HILL WORKING TOWARD THE GOAL OF A FREE AND JUST SOCIETY.

STATEMENT FROM JAIL

(Ed. note: This was written by demonstrators while in the Chapel Hill jail)

On Saturday, there was singing. The words were blurred as they rebounded among the high cell walls of the Chapel Hill jail. Inside, eight young ladies & three gentlemen heard the echoes and joined in singing their familiar freedom songs.

We knew we had not been forgotten.

We knew too that, even if we have gained nothing for the committee as a whole, we have gained something individually. For the first time, we have had a real taste of freedom, freedom of conscience. We are bound together by the knowledge that we are right & that we will not give in.

The newspapers we read remind us of the many jail cells across the land in which freedom fighters sit. And their biased editorials awaken us to other, far more uncomfortable prisons -- the prisons of apathy, hypocrisy, and bigotry.

But those newspapers also tell us the world now knows that Chapel Hill is not the "Southern part of Heaven," but the Northern part of Birmingham.

Perhaps, like the songs we heard, the winds of freedom can pass between the steel prison bars, and Chapel Hill will lift her head to her responsibilities.

We hope soon to learn about how our brothers in Hillsboro are faring. Our jailers tell us that they are not allowed visitors or packages from the outside. On this Sunday morning, we pray that they can overcome their loneliness & hardships, and someday soon, we can all march together for freedom, sing together for freedom, and, if necessary, sit down again together for freedom.

THE CONSCIENCE is the organ of CURED, published every two weeks or more frequently as activity or amount of news demands. This issue is FREE. News, inquiries and contributions should be addressed to THE CONSCIENCE, Box 109, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
Editor, Robert V.N. Brown

GUIDELINES FOR THE FUTURE
AN EDITORIAL:

Looking back on the past months activity of the COB a few events stand out.

The first is that without a doubt the sit-ins as the capstone of demonstrations, continuous picketing & a very effective boycott, caused this town to do something about racial discrimination in the community.

Efforts to negotiate with all the segregated businesses were made before the sit-ins & good people did try to use what little influence they had to get of the community's disgrace. But not until the sit-ins occured did a cross section of the community --- businessmen, town officials, & just about every organization -- act as one to solve the problem. More activity took place on the two days after the sit-ins happened than during the previous two months.

For one thing the strength of those who supported the COB's goals was right out in the open & very plain to see. One new idea was brought forward and it is now being acted upon by many in this community. This new method of protest now being used is Personal Confrontations by citizens at the various segregated businesses.

But by & large the results of all the activity was very disappointing.

During the truce the negotiations by "business leaders" with the segregated establishments were a failure. Not only that but it was found that 5 more businesses practice racial discrimination

The Mayor's statement that the "official policy" of Chapel Hill is opposed to racial discrimination is fine But it is not law & it does not, therefore, have any effect on the situation.

The second thing that stands out is the proposal to eliminate by law the practice of racial discrimination in all FUTURE businesses in Chapel Hill. In the opinion of many the proposal did not go far enough. But it did affirm

(Cont'd top of next column)

the good faith of the town officials. It showed that they recognized the injustice of the present situation & would act to wipe out the problem for the future

Many were convinced that the Aldermen would pass it. As a matter of fact COB members were told that perhaps ALL the Aldermen were in favor of the compromise measure. In short, it was in the bag.

What happened, of course, was that the Aldermen did not make it law. Instead, they passed the proposal on to the Governor's Committee of Mayors. A sweet way to side step doing anything & at the same time soft-shoeing their own responsibilities to the people of this community.

The third event is the convictions & fines of those who participated in the sit-ins. While an agreement was reached between the COB, the Merchants Assoc. & the police to drop all charges agains those who were arrested in return for a cooling-off period, Roy Cole, the soliciter, refused to go along with the agreement. He was determined to prosecute regardless of the consequences to the community.

Both the Chief of Police & the Merchants Bureau Director told this writer that they would not press charges. They therefore were in good faith with the agreement. The obstacle was the court.

While it was common knowledge that the court in Chapel Hill under Judge Stewart rarely if ever convicted a person when the charges were dropped by the injured party, the Civil Disobedience cases became the exception. Through incompetence Cole did not convict all the defendants. But the majority were found guilty by Judge Stewart.

Now the significant question is why was the traditional practice of the court abandoned in the demonstration cases? Particularly when, once again, so many were convicted that Judge Stewart would follow not only his own established procedure but also that of other cities throughout North Carolina?

(Continued on page 4)

SEND US YOUR VIEWS

continued from page 3

GUIDELINES...

Viewing these three events now highlights at least two very significant factors which many of us have forgotten or overlooked.

This town began moving when direct action techniques were used by the COB. And we were aware of it because we were encouraged by those who came forward to help find a solution. This was based on the premise that the Power Structure of this community - the important people - were acting to do something positive.

But in the light of what happened we were way off base. Our error was in thinking that we were dealing with the power holders in this town when in fact direct action had succeeded in shaking them up a bit not driving them into the open.

The power structure of this community is like an iceberg. We activated much of the visible portion but the real power was hidden from view. And that's where it stayed -- beneath the surface.

It is this influence which does not want to see justice throughout this community. And it is this power that subverted the activity of those who were working for the benefit of all.

Their power is great enough that when it is brought to bare they can overcome all the opposition pressure. The result is that most join their chorus line & soft shoe themselves backstage. They play this follow-the-leader game using all sorts of coverup slogans, when in fact the reason is that the town's prestige & image is more important than human beings.

What will be the catch-phrase they will all fall in line behind if the Board of Aldermen passes a law prohibiting Saturday demonstrations? Football games vs. the fundamental rights and dignity of human beings?

At least now hindsight shows us that only our direct acts & deeds have any effect. Compromise, negotiations & cooling-off periods will be part of the movement for justice but the heart of it must be direct action. If it's not then the struggle for the rights & dignity of all in this community will continue to result in bitter disappointment.

Human beings can not be sacrificed for Chapel Hill's false image & feeble prestige. We ought to have learned this by now.

PSYCHIATRIC STUDY REPORTS THE OBVIOUS

by

Leon Rooke

The "findings" of yet another study of Negro-white relations has appeared. Like most of its predecessors the new "findings" have such a commonsense ring to them that one would have hardly thought a study of the problem to be necessary. But the studies keep turning up so obviously that is not the case. Somewhere there are a people wanting to be convinced.

A report on the present study has just been published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith.

Its title: The Desegregation of Southern Schools: a Psychiatric Study.

Heading the two-year study was Atlanta psychiatrist, Dr. Robert Coles. The findings:

1) Negro children find attendance in white schools hard but not impossible.

2) White children in desegregated southern schools suffer NO MEDICAL OR PSYCHIATRIC DAMAGE.

3) Neither do Negroes.

4) Their ability to work, study and get along with friends, remains the same as in days prior to integration.

5) Some whites change their attitude towards Negro children after attending school with them.

6) Teachers tend to let their professional responsibilities go before any personal antagonism they might feel towards the new system.

(continued on page 5)

(continued from page 4)

PSYCHIATRIC STUDY . . .

As to point #3, the study came up with this interesting observation: pressures on Negro children in desegregated schools were found to be about the same as those they have always had to face in other regards of their daily life in the present society.

According to Dr. Cole's findings, racial and personal feelings among teachers give way"to professional responsibilities and obligations." Few criticisms of teachers were made by either race group. Teachers exceptionally strong about desegregation, he reports, are a "special and rather small group."

Among those students evaluated in the current study are included those from three integrated North Carolina facilities: schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville.

As one can see at a glance there is nothing really surprising (save perhaps point no. 6) about the new findings. This study, and most prior to it, tends to give support to the old cry, the one heard so often that now it's trite, a cliche of the times; that the only differences between us is in the color of our skins. We can not get overly excited about any study that does no more than elaborate on that verity.

But we do look at these studies, this one, those past and those to come, with some curiosity: their very existence is a kind of freak view into the bad manners of our times that a minority group of ugly whites continue to make necessary.

THE CONSCIENCE THANKS THOSE PEOPLE WHO HAVE DONATED PAPER, TIME AND MONEY IN ORDER TO MAKE THIS ISSUE POSSIBLE.

This issue of The Conscience is distributed at:

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1 The Federal Government and Education, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 192 pages. A comprehensive report by Representative Edith Green and staff analyzing education programs in which the Federal Government is involved.

2 The Citizen and Public Education, Helen Rowan, Carnegie Corporation, 8 pages. A summary of James B. Conant's recommendations in "The Education of American Teachers," in the context of his previous six years' work under Carnegie grants (Current, November 1963, page 44).

3 The American High School Graduate, National Education Association, 98 pages. Proceedings of a conference including speeches by the presidents of California Institute of Technology, Educational Testing Service, and National Association of Secondary-School Principals.

4 The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study, Robert Coles, M.D., Southern Regional Council, 25 pages. A child psychiatrist reports on the effects of integration upon selected groups of Southern white and Negro schoolchildren.

5 Final Report on 1963 Civil Rights Legislation, American Jewish Committee, 10 pages. A summary of state and municipal enactments.

6 What Our Cities Need Most: Brains, William Carpenter, ACTION, Inc., 24 pages. A plea for voluntary support of graduate education in urban planning, renewal and development.

7 Cities and Space, Resources for the Future, 4 pages. Extracts from papers delivered at a conference on the use of urban space as a resource.

8 Science, Scientists, and Politics, Center for the study of Democratic Institutions, 16 pages. Robert M. Hutchins, Scott Buchanan, Donald N. Michael, Chalmers Sherwin, James Real and Lynn White, Jr. on the role of science executives in government service. (Current, November 1963, page 61)

9 Profiles of Manpower in Science and Technology, National Science Foundation, 36 pages, graphs. Statistical profiles covering historical trends, and distribution according to degrees held, specialty, sectors of the economy, age and geography.

10 Semantics and the Study of Culture, Seymour H. Fersh, The Asia Society, 4 pages. Some applications of the concepts of general semantics to the analysis of differing cultures.

11 China: A Demographic Crisis, Population Reference Bureau, 28 pages. Summary of attempts by Communist China to analyze and cope with her population explosion.

12 Conference to Plan A Strategy for Peace: Report, Strategy for Peace Conference, 72 pages. The fourth conference covered the Nth country problem, nuclear sharing, outer space, the role of the U.N., and U.S. initiatives.

USE FLAP
FOR YOUR
CHRISTMAS GIFTS

STATEMENT

Required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, July 2, 1946, June 11, 1960, and October 23, 1962 (74 Stat. 208) showing the ownership, management, and circulation of Current, published monthly at New York, New York for October 1, 1963.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and general manager are: Publisher, Eliot D. Pratt, New Milford, Connecticut; Editor, Sidney Hertzberg, 161 Grandview Ave., Monsey, New York; Managing Editor, Allan A. Michie, 69 Oak Road, Briarcliff Manor, New York; General Manager, Frances Green, 233 East 69 Street, New York, New York.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member must be given.) Current, Inc., 905 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.; Eliot D. Pratt, New Milford, Conn.; James H. Sachs, Long Ridge Road, Bedford, N. Y.; Mrs. William Ladd, Lakeville, Conn.; George D. Pratt, Jr., Bridgewater, Conn.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required by the act of June 11, 1960 to be included in all statements regardless of frequency of issue.) 15,463.

(Signed) Frances Green
General Manager

Sworn to before me this 11th day of October, 1963, Charles Heitmann, Notary Public, State of New York, No. 30-1744750, Qualified in Nassau County, Cert. filed in New York County. (Commission Expires March 30, 1965.)

for SCHOOL BOARD members

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NOVEMBER 1963

How School Boards Can Raise Teaching Standards

...Some recommendations from James B. Conant

If there are weak and incompetent teachers in the classroom, whose fault is it? The teachers colleges'? In part. The state office of certification's? To a degree. The school board's? Most certainly.

This is one of the major conclusions of Dr. James B. Conant's most recent – and possibly most significant – report, *The Education of American Teachers* (McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1963). The school board, Dr. Conant maintains, plays a central role in protecting and raising teaching standards. Consider this key passage:

> The employment of teachers in our public schools is a legal responsibility of a local school board, which should act on the advice of a professional school administrator in whom the board has confidence. The responsibility to make wise appointments is inescapable and may not safely be neglected. **The assumption that prescribed programs of teacher education or certification procedures can insure public protection from individual incompetence is largely illusory. The final door to the classroom is guarded, it is hoped responsibly, by the local board.**

Dr. Conant's prescription for improving the education of teachers in America includes a wide range of recommendations. He would reform existing state certification systems. He would breathe new quality and content into college training programs.

He also suggests dramatic actions by school boards. The boards must pick up where the colleges leave off, says Dr. Conant. They must provide the necessary conditions for teachers to continue to develop in competence on the job.

In April this newsletter previewed some of Dr. Conant's conclusions. Today, the board's role seems in even sharper focus as evidenced by six specific recommen-

Continued on page 16

Mr. Keppel Discusses Local Control

The President's chief lobbyist for federal aid to schools takes time from his busy schedule to chat with our reporter about the U.S. Education Office — and you.

Contrary to persistent fears, the federal government is not about to muscle in on your job. Local control of education, traditionally and actually, is here to stay.

We never really had doubts about this, but just the same it was reassuring to hear this opinion in an interview with the Federal Government's top school official — Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education.

The 47-year-old former dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Education is constantly shuffling in and out of his Washington office to answer Congressmen's questions about the President's education bill.

We caught him between shuffles a few weeks ago. Although he'd never met us before, he greeted us with the kind of smile and handclasp one usually reserves for long-lost friends.

Two Functions

We sat down at a rather large coffee table in the Commissioner's office. Despite its barracks-type address (Room 4A019, Federal Office Building No. 6) the Commissioner's quarters are inviting and are located in one of Washington's most attractive buildings.

Mr. Keppel reclined comfortably in his chair and lit a cigarette. First question: What were his views on local control?

"Well," he said after a moment's thought, "local control — as it is *commonly* understood — is wise public policy. When you speak of local control you are talking essentially about two functions which are, by their very nature, responsibilities of local school authorities — not the Federal Government. These duties are to appoint teachers and to make physical, curricular and organizational arrangements within the school district."

But what of those predictions of a coming national or "super" board of education?

There is an important difference in the daily duties in policy and practice of local boards and the responsibilities proposed for some kind of national planning and policy in education. No one in Washington is proposing a group with powers over local school operations. Nor are there blueprints for national standards in public education.

"We do need a generally higher level of education and training," Mr. Keppel said. "But no one here is even suggesting that this should be accomplished by federal decree."

Influence vs. Control

"But there is a distinction to be made between the word *control*

and the word *influence*," Mr. Keppel added.

While the federal government neither wants nor is able to control the nation's schools, it has no intention of becoming silent in the continuing fight to improve public education across the country. And it is developing ways to influence educational progress at the local level.

In this connection, the Commissioner's office has three main duties:

1. To collect facts and statistics pertinent to education, and to make these available to local school districts

2. To conduct research and development in education

3. To grant financial aid to local districts for educational improvements "in the national interest." (One example here would be providing funds to expand the schools' output of skilled technicians.)

In doing each of these, the Federal Government channels its efforts through individual state education agencies.

Some states, to be sure, do not have very strong ties with local school authorities. This the Commissioner concedes readily. All the more reason, he adds, for the Federal Government to encourage better cooperation at all levels to bolster the effectiveness of the educational system.

But any alternative that implies federal intervention in the proper tasks of local school boards is out of the question.

"There are serious dangers in not keeping responsibility in the hands of local school authorities," Mr. Keppel said. "Yet the Federal Government has the right and, indeed, the duty to provide assistance to the states and through the state education departments to the local schools."

By the same token, it is clear that the local board has the obligation to set the pace for educational excellence.

• **COMMISSIONER KEPPEL** once observed that "nobody ever died of a split infinitive" — and that is perhaps why we have not had a due sense of urgency about educational problems in America.

But, he added, "We have talked long enough. We have evaded too long. We need a sense of urgency, for this good and excellent thing, this quality in the educational enterprise stands on the razor edge of danger from apathy and inadequate finance and must be fought for. **There** is the challenge to you — to act and to inspire others to action."

Portrait of Peter — Potential Dropout, Age 10

by LEONARD M. MILLER, U.S. Office of Education

Peter is a potential dropout. He is a 10-year-old fifth grader, apparently has average intelligence, and so far has managed to keep up with his class — at least to the extent that he has been promoted with it every year.

But the trouble he has always had with reading is getting worse, and each day it widens the gap between him and the upper half of his class. The good behavior his teachers praised him for when he was younger has begun to look like apathy. This spring, his school says, he will have to be held back when his class passes on.

Many of the well-known signs of impending dropout are there. Peter's profile fits closely the profile of the dropout as state and national averages show it, not only because of what he does in school but because of what his home is like. Both his parents were themselves dropouts and both work long hours at odd jobs that require little more than physical strength. They have hardly any time at home for encouraging or helping their children.

Because Peter's circumstances are so typical of dropouts generally, his school has no difficulty in recognizing the danger he is in — and recognition of danger is usually the first step toward safety. But Peter's school, though no stranger to dropouts, has never been inclined to be analytical about them and as a result is not particularly sensitive to danger signs other than the stereotypes. As surely as Peter will drop out before he completes high school, just as surely his school has potential dropouts it does not yet recognize as such. And as long as the school does not recognize them, it is losing time it could use to help them.

Fortunately, all of the school's time has not yet run out: As long as pupils are only potential dropouts, the school still has an opportunity to discover their plight and find ways to hold them. And for each one the school holds, it reduces, by one, the frightening total of 7½ million who, the Labor Department estimates, will drop out of school between the beginning and the end of this decade.

• Editor's Note: For information on school board actions for lowering the dropout rate, write to Mrs. Marjorie Cheetham, Croft Board Service, 100 Garfield Ave., New London, Conn. Mr. Miller's message originally appeared as part of a longer article in the May, 1963, issue of **School Life**, the journal of the U. S. Office of Education.

A School Board in the Shadow of Congress

The District of Columbia's schools opened this fall with an increased enrollment of about 5000 pupils. But because Congress had yet to approve a new operating budget, the school board was unable to hire any additional teachers.

This is typical of the frustrations faced by school officials here.

Every school district in the country has its share of problems. As a rule, these might include classroom shortages, teacher shortages or textbook shortages.

Washington's schools have all these problems – and more. But its court-appointed, nine-man board of education is virtually powerless to solve them without Congressional consent.

"We just don't have fiscal independence," declares Board President Wesley S. Williams, "and we should. The way it stands now, our annual budget requests must clear appropriation subcommittees of both houses. Then the House and Senate – if we're lucky this year – will finally get around to giving us part of what we need by Christmas."

And Washington's school needs are staggering. According to Supt. Carl F. Hansen, the city is plagued by "overcrowding in homes and in schools; poverty; ignorance and deprivation; joblessness, particularly among the young; mobility and family instability; irresponsibility; and the most devastating handicap – the absence of hope among many young people."

Mr. Williams, an attorney who has served on the Washington board for more than 12 years, is convinced that only a locally-elected school board, independent of Congress, could provide an adequate educational program.

"The voting public as a whole," he says, "is more sensitive to school needs than many Congressmen. An elected board would have greater responsibility to the people of this community."

Occasionally, Congress will even involve itself with board policy matters, as it did last spring when it took time from national affairs to debate a board decision on corporal punishment.

"There's a moral to this story for other boards of education," says Mr. Williams. "Be very jealous of your fiscal independence and guard it well."

Whether we live in California, Georgia or Maine, all Americans have an obligation to the 140,000 pupils in Washington's schools. Should we not, as public-spirited citizens, persuade our Congressmen to grant Washington's board the independence it wants and needs?

Rights Bill Offers Aid to Boards Facing Problems of Racial Imbalance

Legislation before Congress assumes that local school boards will need technical assistance and funds if they are to provide equal and excellent education for all.

It became increasingly clear last summer that the problems of de facto segregation and racial imbalance in the nation's schools had no simple cure-alls.

As advocates of racial equality in the schools became more militant and more demanding, there emerged a realization among educators that quota plans and similar proposals might contain a built-in booby trap.

Could schools truly expect to obliterate racial imbalance by resorting to racial formulas? In so doing would they not be employing the very criteria they were seeking to erase from society and the classroom?

Focus on Education

Recently, constructive efforts to solve the dilemma have begun to focus on *educational*, rather than *racial*, considerations.

Fred M. Hechinger, education editor of *The New York Times*, reflected on this point in a recent column.

"American education," he said, "has a history of errors committed with the best of intentions. . . . Because the racial issue is so important and politically charged it ought to be understood that good education requires hard, unsentimental thinking, without the self-delusion of easy answers."

Types of Aid

The proposed "Civil Rights Act of 1963," which came before Congress this fall, promises federal assistance to school districts beset with the educational as well as the sociological challenges of segregation – de facto as well as de jure.

The bill tacitly acknowledges that the brunt of the integrationists' demands has landed squarely on the shoulders of the school board. And it includes these provisions:

1. School boards would be eligible to receive – through the U.S. Office of Education – "technical assistance in the preparation of plans for the desegregation of public schools or other plans designed to deal with problems arising from racial imbalance in public school systems."

2. Teachers and other public school personnel could receive stipends for taking part in special training institutes where they would learn how "to deal effectively with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation

or measures to adjust racial imbalance." The training sessions would be arranged by the U.S. Commissioner of Education with various colleges and universities.

3 School districts could be reimbursed by the U.S. Office of Education for the cost of giving in-service training to school personnel "in dealing with problems incident to desegregation or racial imbalance."

4 School districts could be similarly reimbursed for "the cost of employing specialists . . . and of providing other assistance to develop understanding of these problems by parents, school children, and the general public."

5 School boards could receive federal loans if state or local authorities have withheld or withdrawn funds because of "actual or prospective desegregation."

Factors for Support

The amounts of money available to applicant school boards would depend upon such factors as the financial condition of the local district and the nature, extent and gravity of its racial problems. School board attorneys wishing to study these federal aid provisions more thoroughly will find them described in Title III, H.R. 7152.

At press time, the Civil Rights Bill was still under consideration by Congress.

The Yearbook

It happened in Atlanta, in June, several years ago.

Martha, a Negro girl in a newly-integrated school, had completed her course of study. She was ready to graduate. But she could hardly be as happy as her classmates. She had no friends in school. She had faced insults, silence, isolation. She could talk to no one, though a few white girls had chatted with her, furtively, in the empty corridors.

On the last day of school, Martha was approached by more than 15 classmates. They asked if they might autograph her yearbook. With the first request, came fear: Was this another means of attack — or a new expression of goodwill? Martha offered her book. Some of the comments speak for themselves:

- "Dear Martha, . . . I'm sorry not to have been able to get to know you better, but that is just the way it turned out . . . . I guess that you can understand why I haven't become better acquainted with you."
- "Martha, I cannot tell you how much I admire your courage and determination. . . ."
- "Dear Martha, . . . I only hope that you will forgive those of us who have been mean and ugly . . ."
- "Martha, I have admired your courage in your great decision. I'm sure you've been subjected to much unpleasantness, but you've met it in a most gracious way."

(Reported in *The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study* by Robert Coles. Available from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., Atlanta 3, Ga. 50¢)

Bright, New Ways Boards Are Reporting To 'Stockholders'

Annual reports — once drab, dull documents for filing and forgetting — are being redesigned for readability.

Two-color printing, pictures galore, eye-catching headlines, interesting formats, easy-to-read charts instead of dry-as-dust balance sheets – these are signs of a new realization: That the annual school report represents an annual opportunity to build public understanding of and support for the schools. And instead of cranking out a few copies for the eyes of a few community officials, school departments are now distributing annual reports

• A candid picture of pupils and teacher absorbed in an elementary science project tells — more than statistics ever could — a story of the value of new instructional supplies. Credit: Montgomery County, Md., Public Schools Annual Report, 1961-62.

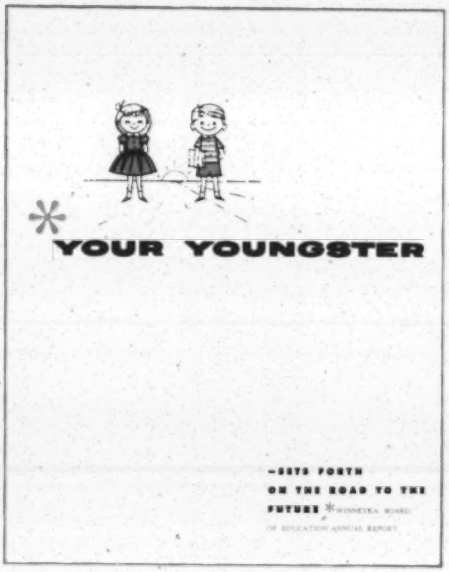
by the thousands so that all the school's taxpaying "stockholders" can learn about the progress, plans and problems of their most important enterprise — education. Example: The Cincinnati board recently printed its annual report as a newspaper supplement in order to reach a wide readership.

Some of the new-style reports focus on a specific curriculum area. The 1962 annual report for Evanston Township High School District in Illinois, for instance, devoted almost 100 pages of pictures and text to the school's art, drama and music program. The back of the book carried the statistical matter and other routine facts.

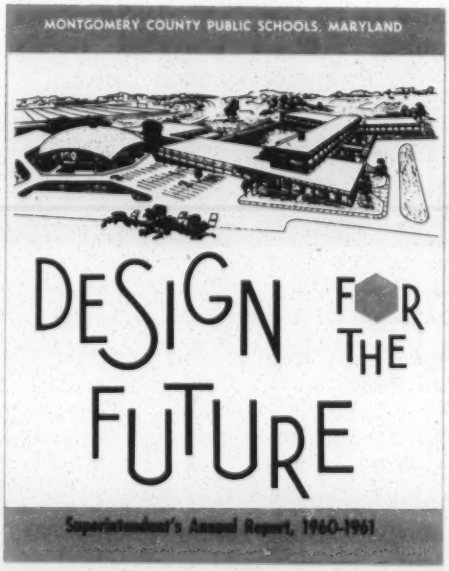
Other reports are organized around a theme. In Carle Place, N.Y., two years ago, the superintendent gave his the title "Frontiers Old and New" and described the educational frontiers the district had crossed and those still ahead.

C. Taylor Whittier, school superintendent in Montgomery County, Md., calls the annual report "a primary method" through which a school system interprets its efforts to its citizenry. If reports are to do this job, he adds, they must contain "meaningful and pertinent information graphically and tastefully presented."

The superintendent, as the board's agent, prepares the board's report. But he needs the board's support if he is going to improve its quality. More and more boards are realizing that this investment in better communications is worthwhile.



• The Winnetka, Ill., board turned out this attractive abridgement as a way to gain more readers for its annual report. The Montgomery County report below was one of three devoted to the theme "The Challenge of Change."



Coming Right Up — Two Billion Meals

Public school lunch programs today are big business. More than two billion lunches are prepared each year for the nation's school children. But this was not always so.

Before the 20th century, school lunches were practically unknown in this country, writes Marion Cronan in a new book, *The School Lunch* (Chas. A. Bennett Co.).

Yet the first school feeding program on record was begun in Munich, Germany, in 1790 as part of a campaign against vagrancy. And by the 1860's many European public schools provided pupils with inexpensive noon meals.

Thwarting the Janitor

Not until 1894, however, did the idea begin to catch on in the United States. In Boston that year, Mrs. Ellen H. Richards, a pioneer in home economics, started a nutritious school lunch program — partly in competition with janitors who were selling food to children for profit. After her retirement in 1908, the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, at the request of the Boston School Committee, began providing high schools there with hot lunches "at cost."

At about the same time, similar programs sprang up in other major cities — such as New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati. Generally, the meals cost pupils from one to six cents. Cincinnati, for example, operated a penny lunchroom for needy pupils of its Jackson School as early as 1908.

Seconds on Raisins?

Menus tended to reflect the preferences of nationalities and religious groups, varying according to the ethnic makeup of different sections of the cities. The bill of fare was also modest. On a given day, the school lunch in a New York City Irish neighborhood comprised cracked wheat, raisins and two slices of bread.

After the start of the first world war, when many of our draftees were found to be suffering from malnutrition, the number of school lunch programs increased substantially. Still, most educators then considered school lunches a necessary evil, the students being fed during single-session school days.

Comes the Depression

Many schools had lunch programs before they had bona fide

lunch rooms, and students ate in basements, at their desks or under stairways. Other schools allowed students to purchase meals from outside vendors. In rural areas especially, individual teachers often brought pupils jars of food prepared at home out of their own larders. Parent-teacher groups frequently helped out on a volunteer basis.

Congress began assisting school lunch programs during the Depression, with acts in 1933 and 1935. Currently, The National School Lunch Program, which was created by Congress in 1946, provides about $300,000,000-worth of foods and other assistance for nonprofit school lunch programs across the country.

SOME QUESTIONS FOR THE BARD ON THE BOARD

Being a commentary on school affairs and school board problems compiled from the plays of W. Shakespeare, member from Stratford

Sir, you have seen the report about the defeated bond issue. Your reaction?

"Here are a few of the unpleasant'st words that ever blotted paper!" **(The Merchant of Venice)**

The man who led the fight against the bond issue—what are your comments about him?

"He draweth out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument." **(Love's Labor's Lost)** "He commands us to provide and give great gifts, and all out of an empty coffer." **(Timon of Athens)**

You'll have overcrowding now for sure in your schools. What will your board tell the teachers?

"Masters, spread yourselves." **(A Midsummer-Night's Dream)**

Now, Mr. Shakespeare, some rapid-fire opinions, please: Frills?

"Dispense with trifles." **(The Merry Wives of Windsor)**

Guidance services?

"Good Counselors lack no clients." **(Measure for Measure)**

The 3 p.m. detention room for trouble-making students?

"The taming school! What, is there such a place?" **(Taming of the Shrew)**

Should school boards acquire school sites now or wait until they are actually needed?

"You may buy land now as cheap as stinking mackerel." **(King Henry IV, Part II)**

Regarding your superintendent, is he conscientious in following board policies?

"He was ever precise in promise-keeping." **(Measure for Measure)**

Your opinion, please, on the time it takes for you to serve on a school board.

"I have no superfluous leisure." **(Measure for Measure)**

ACTION

what school boards across the country are doing

morning exercises

The New Bedford (Mass.) school committee has drafted a new policy statement designed to encourage moral and spiritual values through morning exercises while still abiding by the Supreme Court's ban on prayer and Bible reading.

Here are the key points of the statement:

- Classroom opening exercises will include "the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag, a moment of meditative silence and such reverent patriotic expressions in song, quotation or drama which will serve to illustrate the meanings of each word in the pledge."
- The pledge must be recited at least once a week. But the meanings of the words in the pledge shall be taught daily "in a manner appropriate to each grade level."
- Those pupils whose religion forbids them from making the pledge, upon submission of a parent's written request, may be "allowed to leave the room or to stand silently during the exercises."
- The fact that some patriotic songs and documents mention God or dependence upon a Supreme Being "does not imply we are teaching religion *per se*. Rather, the teacher's attitude should be one which will instill in the students a deep sense of reverent patriotism. . . ."

Resources for the teacher to use in leading the exercises are abundant, says the board policy. Some sources: Presidential inaugural addresses, the state constitution, history and music books.

honors for teachers

Ten outstanding classroom teachers were in the spotlight at a special Honors Convocation in Pittsburgh in October. Nominated by former students, each received $1,000 under an Awards of Merit for Teaching Program made possible by a foundation grant.

The purpose of the convocation was to recognize excellence in teaching.

literary packets

The trend away from anthologies in high school English

courses has now reached the elementary level in the schools of Portland, Oregon.

Packets of literature, including children's classics in their entirety, were introduced in 25 of the city's elementary schools at the start of the current school year.

The new texts — approved by the school board — will result in a swing away from study of selected parts of good literature to the complete reading of fables, folk tales, myths and legends, stories and novels, biographies and poems, all in their original form.

Portland high schools have followed the plan of using complete works rather than anthologies for several years.

the basics plus

Swahili, mah jongg, ju-jitsu, yoga, Esperanto, slimnastics — they're all in the University City (Mo.) Adult Evening School course catalog.

The board of education, in sponsoring such courses, is acknowledging the ever-widening leisure-time interests of its public. But the unusual offerings are more than balanced by the practical.

In all, the adult education program has more than 100 courses. And it is liberally supplied with courses in such basic fields as business, English, history, language, mathematics and science.

Started in 1948, the evening school is self-supporting. All operating expenses are paid from student fees.

no smoking

A no-smoking rule armed with a suspension clause for violators is in effect at Groton (Conn.) schools as the result of action by the board of education on the suggestion of Dr. William Farris, superintendent.

Heretofore, smoking had been permitted in certain areas of the high school for students having parental permission confirmed by school authorities.

Dr. Farris, in advocating the ban, expressed concern about the published effects of smoking.

Some teachers had favored an even firmer policy, one that would prohibit possession of cigarettes by students.

"If education is as important as Americans profess it to be, the school board must be independent and free to subordinate all other considerations to those of education. This does not mean that any factor may be ignored, but that concern for good education must come first." From the **Handbook for School Board Members**, 1963 Edition, Nebraska State School Boards Association.

SCHOOL BOARD CLINIC — 9

A series of case studies about school boards and some of the vexing issues they've faced.

PROBLEM: *When a board's legal powers are threatened . . .*

Year after year, in town after town, school boards are faced with a recurring problem: The mayor, the aldermen, the city council, somebody or other tries to tell the board how to spend its money. In communities where school boards don't have fiscal independence, occasional budget cutting by fiscal officers may be a necessary evil. But when budget-cutters try to tell the board exactly *where* the cuts should be made, there's the rub – and there's the threat to the board's legal powers.

This was the issue in 1961 in Ellington, Conn., where the fiscal authorities – in this case, a board of finance – were at odds with the school board over the 1961-62 school budget. School officials were perturbed by two actions of the finance board: (1) It had slashed some $95,000 from the proposed school budget and (2) it had placed about $46,000 in the town's general budget – rather than the school budget – and had given the Board of Selectmen the right to appropriate this money for school purposes as selectmen – not the school board – saw fit.

These events had the effect of withholding funds needed for three teaching positions, a curriculum coordinator, maintenance work and capital equipment. The board was also worried about losing its statutory right to decide how to spend its own budget. When school officials failed to persuade the finance board to reconsider its action, they took the dispute to court.

DECISION: *What the court said*

Superior Court in Tolland County, Conn., ruled that the finance board had been in error when it established separate funds – outside the school budget – for school purposes, and a mandatory injunction was issued to compel the finance board to transfer the money back to the school budget. On an appeal by the finance board, the state's Supreme Court upheld this decision.

"It is obvious," said the Supreme Court, "that the two boards were at odds over which [school needs] should have priority. . . . The board of finance has a broad but not unlimited power to determine the amount that the municipality will appropriate, among other things, for educational purposes."

Citing a previous case and various state laws, the Court noted that a finance board's statutory right to safeguard the town's fiscal health does not also give it the right to tell a school board exactly where to spend its money. The Court added:

"The number of teaching positions necessary in the public schools, the need for a curriculum coordinator, and the maintenance of school properties are matters within the sound discretion of the board of education. . . . This is not to say that the board of education can act without restraint and that the board of finance cannot control the total amount of appropriations. Its control, however, must be exercised reasonably by taking into consideration the duty of the board of education to maintain . . . a program of educational opportunity which meets the requirements of state law; the power of the board of education to exercise a sound and reasonable discretion in carrying out its duties; and the town's financial needs and resources."

DISCUSSION: *What are the issues?*

The court's judgment served to amplify a basic truth – far too often misinterpreted by fiscal officers – about school budgets: When it comes to deciding how much money a town can afford for its total educational program, a finance board may exercise a check – in light of the town's ability to pay – by reducing a school board budget; but when it comes to deciding exactly *where* the school budget should be reduced, the authority rests with those most qualified to determine educational needs – the members of the board of education.

The National School Boards Association has made this clear in its statement of beliefs and policies. "In order to discharge the responsibility of providing good educational opportunities," says the association, "local school boards must control the funds used to operate the schools."

Victor MacDonald, executive director of the Connecticut Association of Boards of Education, has termed the Ellington decision "by far the most significant in Connecticut in many years." The CABE, which supported the Ellington school board in its court fight, expects the decision to encourage other boards in the state to assert their budgetary rights.

Ironically, the Ellington school board to date has been unable to win its battle with the finance board, despite the court rulings. The finance board has refused to obey the court injunction, and it seems that only contempt-of-court proceedings would make it do so. But regardless of the final outcome of the Ellington case, its real moral has already been told: A school board must know its powers, be willing to fight for them and use them responsibly in the interests of good education.

CONANT RECOMMENDATIONS, from page 1

dations which would require actions by boards alone or in conjunction with the state.

1. School boards, contracting with colleges or universities for practice teaching, would create a new staff position: The cooperating teacher

Only the best teachers would be given the job of working with practice teachers. And to encourage this work, school boards would reduce the classroom assignments of cooperating teachers and – with the help of state aid – raise their salaries.

2. School boards would provide special help for new teachers during their probationary periods

No longer would the rookie teacher be expected to sink or swim in his first classroom. The Conant-minded board would limit the new teacher's responsibility and make sure, for example, that he wasn't assigned too many problem students. It would see to it that the new teacher had aid in gathering instructional materials, that he had advice from experienced teachers (possibly via a team teaching arrangement), and that he had specialized instruction regarding the characteristics of the community and its students.

3. School boards would drastically revise their salary schedules

In effect, Dr. Conant would have two separate salary schedules – one for "junior" teachers during their four-year probationary period; the second, for "senior" teachers on tenure. The large jump in pay would come when (and if) a teacher moved from probationary status to tenure. The incompetents, of course, would not make this leap as they would be fired beforehand.

4. School boards – or the state – would provide financial aid to teachers for summer study

Such funds would not be for what Dr. Conant has called "Mickey Mouse" courses – the easy credit for salary credit's sake. Instead, teachers would be encouraged to embark upon master's degree programs of graduate school quality that would be directed toward the development of their competencies *as teachers*. The master's degree, but no random afternoon courses, would carry salary credit.

5. A companion recommendation: School boards would grant leaves of absence to teachers – with salary – for resident graduate study at a university

State aid would help underwrite the cost.

6. School boards would sponsor short-term, in-service seminars during the school year to keep teachers abreast of new developments in subject matter

What Dr. Conant has in mind are the kinds of institutes that have been provided at the national level by the National Science Foundation and NDEA in foreign languages. Such "short courses" would be offered to all teachers without cost to them. Salary credits would *not* be given for participation.

For SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS, a component of the Croft Board Service, combines School Board Issues and School Board Action. It is issued monthly. Copyright 1963, Croft Educational Services, a division of VISION Incorporated. General Offices: 100 Garfield Ave., New London, Connecticut. Printed in U.S.A.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
SPOKESMAN
W. 10,121
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
JAN 4 1963

May Have Far-Reaching Effect:

Church Conference On Religion And Race In Chicago Jan. 14-17

Chicago (ANP)—Religious leaders in the South fully expect the National Conference on Religion and Race to have a part in breaking down the barriers of racial discrimination and segregation in the Deep South.

Their views were released by the National Catholic Conference for Inter-racial Justice, here, which is serving as secretariat for the historic meeting. Called by the major faiths in the United States, the National Conference on Religion and Race will meet January 14-17, at the Edgewater Beach hotel.

Dr. Martin Luther King said that the National Conference on Religion and Race shows how "our nation is developing sensitivity to racial injustice."

"Never before," said Dr. King, "have the major faiths come together to grapple with that which is perhaps our most serious democratic ill."

The National Conference on Religion and Race isn't going to be just a northern conference — one that condemns racial discrimination and segregation in the South, according to Rev. Will D. Campbell, director of the Southern office (Nashville) of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches.

"At the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council," Rev. Campbell said, "a rabbi raised that question." I assured him that the participating organizations — representing the major faith groups in the U.S. — have planned the Conference to discuss this moral issue as a national problem.

Dr. Jimmy Allen, executive secretary of the Christian Life Commission, Baptist General Convention of Texas, in Dallas, said that interfaith meetings on race relations are not new to the South.

"We've had some experience with similar meetings, sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Baptist General Convention of Texas. Of course, this is the first time that such a meeting has been called and sponsored by all the major faith groups in the United States to discuss the problem of racial injustice on a national basis."

Conveners of the interreligious Conference are the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches; the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; and the Social Action Commission of the Synagogue Council of America.

ST. PAUL, MINN.
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W. 8,214
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TARPON SPRINGS, FL
LEADER
W. 2,385

JAN 8 1963

'Integration The Goal, Not Desegregation'-King

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. said that integration, not desegregation, is the "ultimate goal" of persons working for smooth race relations.

King spoke to more than 200 churchmen and civil rights leaders at the Vanderbilt University campus on "an analysis of the ethical demands of integration in the South."

The conference, sponsored by the Southern Regional Council and the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, ended with a talk by James McBride Dabbs of Mayesville, S. C., president of the Southern Regional Council.

King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, called desegregation "a negative thing which removes the barrier." He defined integration as "more creative and profound than desegregation" and said integration can "unchain the spirit and mind and bring freedom."

He said "some meaningful strides" have been made against segregation since 1954.

"Diehards used to say never but are now crying later," he said. "I'm convinced that in less than 10 years desegregation will be a reality throughout most of the south."

A report presented to the conference portrayed Charlottesville, Va., as a city moving from "crisis to crossroads" in school desegregation.

Prepared by Paul M. Gaston and Thomas T. Hammond of the department of Virginia history department, the report said that private schools were "widely regarded as 'safety valves,' making unlikely an explosion in the public desegregated schools" at Charlottesville.

NEW YORK, N.Y.
NATIONAL GUARDIAN
W. 30,046

JAN 10 1963

NEGROES AND WHITES AT NASHVILLE CHART PATH TO IN

The 'brotherhood of

By Anne Braden
Special to the Guardian

NASHVILLE, TENN.

ABOUT 150 LEADERS, Negro and white, in the Southern civil rights movement met here the last week of 1962 to search together for the paths that lead from desegregation to integration.

It was a "consultation" sponsored by the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, a South-wide organization, and the Southern Regional Council, an interracial agency. Leaders from most of the major rights organizations—national, regional, and local—took part.

The conference tackled a question plaguing many people in the front lines of the Southern struggle: After desegregation, what?

As desegregation moves forward in the South, it is apparent that many Southern communities are becoming like Northern communities; the legal barriers fall, but de facto segregation and prejudice remain. Many of those working for change in the South have believed this region ultimately could do better in human relations than the North; they have not been going to jail, risking their jobs and their lives, just to make the South like the North. But the barriers to this dream have become apparent. The Nashville meeting was an attempt to define the problem and propose answers.

KEYNOTE BY KING: The theme was "The Ethical Demands of Integration." Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., in a keynote address, said desegregation was a necessary first step, a negative thing, the breaking of legal barriers, but that integration was a positive and creative thing, the acceptance of human beings by each other. Integration, he said, is the goal; desegregation only the means.

He noted that whereas desegregation can be enforced by law, integration demands inner attitudes, and he made it clear that he wanted no let-up in the legal actions that can control behavior even if they can't regulate attitudes.

"The law cannot make a man love me, but it can keep him from lynching me," he said. "In less than 10 years, desegregation will be a reality throughout most of the South. But the human relations dilemma of our nation will still be monumental, unless we launch now a parallel thrust of the integration process."

The conference was built around panel discussions of specific situations in three Southern communities. Staff members of the American Friends Service Committee reported on a drive for equal employment opportunity in the Greensboro, N.C., area. Prof. Paul Gaston, of the University of Virginia, reported on a study he and Thomas T. Hammond and others made of school desegregation in Charlottesville, Va. And the Rev. Samuel Williams, Baptist minister, professor at Morehouse College in Atlanta and a leader in both the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, re-

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PATH TO INTEGRATION

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ilt around panel uations in three staff members of Service Commit- or equal employ- Greensboro, N.C., of the Univer- d on a study he ond and others ation in Charlot- ev. Samuel Wil- r, professor at Atlanta and a P and the South- Conference, reported on the role of the churches in desegregation at Atlanta.

"TOKEN" GAINS: The Greensboro and Charlottesville reports were studies of "tokenism" in action. Although considerable progress has been made by AFSC and other groups on opening new jobs to Negroes, there has been no massive breakthrough. In Charlottesville, the desegregation process has been peaceful—but only 67 Negro pupils, or 5.4% of the Negro school population, are in formerly white schools.

As to the role of the white Christian churches in Atlanta, Williams said they had done nothing.

THE BARRIERS: In the final session James McBride Dabbs, president of the Southern Regional Council, summed up the discussions and called on Southerners to draw upon the hidden human resources of the South to transform its institutions. The Rev. Charles Jones, white minister from Chapel Hill, N.C., articulated what the others present sensed: that even in a group like this—enlightened people, Negro and white, eager to break through artificial barriers—there remain tremendous emotional blocks to mutual trust.

A perceptive insight came from a young Negro minister, Rev. James Forbes, who last summer served as assistant in a white church in Chapel Hill, N.C., in a Union Theological Seminary project to place Negro student ministers in white churches and white students in Negro churches.

Conrad in the Denver Post
Withering Heights

Forbes, describing his experiences in Chapel Hill, said:

"I had accused white people of saying 'We know our Negroes'," he said, "but now I realized that I too had thought I knew my white folks. For the first time, I came to have truly genuine relations with white people—and I can tell you it was a period of suffering for me. It came to me how great is the distance between where the white people are and where the Negroes are, and it occurred to me that it is in this perhaps that we can meet, in a brotherhood of suffering—and it is this brotherhood of suffering that perhaps will form the bridge in this period of transition from desegregation to integration."

NEWARK, N.J.
AFRO-AMERICAN
SAT. 6,649

JAN 12 1963

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING Jr. of Atlanta, addressing a Nashville (Tenn.) convention sponsored by the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and the Southern Regional Council, declared last week political leaders should back the fight for integration with the same vigor they supported the government stand at Little Rock and at the University of Mississippi.

NORFOLK, VA.
JOURNAL AND GUIDE
SAT. 33,495

JAN 12 1963

Desegregation Aired At Sessions

NASHVILE, Tenn, (AcNS)—Southern churchm en and race relations s p ecialists d i s cussed desegregating last week at Vandebelt University in Nashv i l l e, The conference was sponsore by the Felowship of Southern Churchmen and the S o u t h ern Reg i o nal Council.

Dr. Martin Luther K i ng addressed the group on "An Analysis of The Et h i c a l Demands of Integrat i o n In The South.'

BALTIMORE, MD.
AFRO-AMERICAN
W. 28,778

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ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION
SUN. 502,157

JAN 13 1963

Howe of FDR's Success Explained With Dimension

ROOSEVELT AND HOWE. By Alfred B. Rollins Jr. 455 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $5.95.

By STAIGE D. BLACKFORD

The story of Roosevelt's long, difficult journey from the New York State Assembly to the White House and of the role Louis McHenry Howe played in its successful completion is one of tragedy and triumph, of heart breaking setback and hard-won success.

Alfred Rollins Jr.

That story is the subject of historian Alfred B. Rollins Jr.'s first book, and it is very well told indeed.

If Howe was, as many contended in 1932 and later, a kingmaker, he was about the most unlikely kingmaker in history.

ALWAYS THIN, plagued by ill health most of his life, with a face pitted and scarred by a childhood accident and fingers stained by countless cigarettes, this frail New York newsman scarcely seemed a Machiavelli, much less a Warwick.

Mr. Blackford is research director of the Southern Regional Council.

Yet, in the political arena few men could match him and none could surpass him.

HIS STRATEGY was almost invariably sound, his intelligence sharp and sure, his influence immeasurable.

The measure of his success can be gauged by the success of Franklin Roosevelt in overcoming the obstacles that faced him on the road to the presidency.

Indeed, one might say, if there had been no Howe, there would have been no FDR.

HOWE AND Roosevelt met each other in 1911, when one was a roving and restless reporter and the other a young, untried assemblyman. A year later, Howe was calling FDR "Beloved and Reverend Future President." Making that nickname a reality became Howe's dream—and his destiny.

Even when things hit rock bottom, with his hero crippled and apparently politically destroyed by polio, Howe never lost hope, never gave up—and never let Roosevelt give up either.

YOU WILL FIND no monuments to Louis McHenry Howe. But, as Rollins aptly and accurately observes, "Louis had left one monument that could never be erased. No one would ever write about the 20th century without mentioning Franklin Delano Roosevelt. No one would ever be able to write about Roosevelt without mentioning Louis McHenry Howe."

And no one who wishes to write about—or, for that matter, learn about—these two remarkable men can afford to overlook this book. Mr. Rollins is a young, relatively unknown historian, but he has a gift many older, more famous historians lack: The ability to combine style with scholarship, to make time past come to life again in time present. If this is his first book, one can only hope it will not be his last.

ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION
SUN. 502,157

JAN 13 1963

Viewpoint: James McBride Dabl

By REESE CLEGHORN
Atlanta Journal State Editor

MAYESVILLE, S.C., Jan. 12—Here in the homeland of James McBride Dabbs, planter and philosopher, leader and paradox, the Old South was battered and blown but it did not all go with the wind:

You pass swamp waters blackened by acids from the gaunt cypress trees, leave a U.S. highway to travel by shanties and expanses of now-bare cotton fields, turn into a winding dirt road overhung by crowded pine branches and lush bushes, and come abruptly into a clearing in the wilderness.

The road arches symmetrically to and from a great white house, its distant white columns obscured by veils of Spanish moss hanging from the oaks.

CLOSE BY, Negroes unload sacks of feed at an unpainted outbuilding. In the distance there is the ring of iron upon iron, as one of the plantation tenants does his own "blacksmithing."

Up the front steps into a broad hall, and then into a high-ceilinged room where an intruding gas heater has replaced the open hearth, and where walls are lined with Tocqueville, Nietsche, Lomax and Whyte, you come upon what may be the South's rarest plantation sight:

There over the mantel, under an old shotgun and a muzzle-loaded rifle hand-hewn a hundred years ago by a master of this house, hangs a golden plaque.

IT PRAISES James McBride Dabbs for "wise and dedicated efforts to unify the American people in their quest of the democratic ideal." It is dated April 9, 1961, and it is signed by the Detroit chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

A Southern planter with NAACP laurels is somewhat rarer than a day in June, but Dabbs is rare for other reasons, too.

"He is the only man I know who can intellectualize magnolias," a friend said of him, pointing toward this big, shaggy man's special genius.

DABBS LEADS one of the nation's most important civil rights organizations, the Southern Regional Council, but it is in the realm of the mind rather than in organization work that he has found a special place. He is a sort of poet-philosopher.

He writes of the South today with fervent intimacy, and yet he lives more in the past and the future than in the present. ("I admit that out here I'm not much in this modern world, except in the mind.")

When his book "The Southern Heritage" appeared in 1958, editor Hodding Carter of Mississippi called it "the most meaningful comment on the race situation yet made by a Southerner." It is a classic in the growing field of literature created by the South's coming to grips with itself.

THOUGH HE GOES to Atlanta about four times a year for Southern Regional Council business and makes occasional speeches elsewhere, he is rooted to his birthplace.

Twenty years ago he quit as chairman of the English department at Coker College in Hartwell, S.C., and went back to the land of the McBrides and the Dabbses, where his family has lived for more than 200 years. His stately home, built by the McBrides, is within a mile of the smaller house where he lived as a child.

It is also near a Presbyterian church founded by Scotch-Irish in 1745 and still attended mainly by their descendants. Dabbs, who believes Christianity is "the central fire" in the South, is a ruling elder in his church.

WITH PIPE in hand, dressed in unpressed corduroy trousers and a heavy, gray wo er to keep out the chi old house's poorly he rooms, he sits in his s tells of how he left u life to come home to the

Until 10 years ago, h the farm himself; h spending half his tin tractor in the fields, the rich soil that on this a cotton empire. T thousands of acres that ily owned have been to 125.

Now 67, Dabbs le farm to three Negro s pers. ("That word scares my liberal frie said.) The only occupa 12-room plantation h Dabbs, his Charleston- and their 18-year- Richard.

HIS OWN TIME is l voted to writing. Mo hundred of his artic been published in p and he expects his t to appear in 1965.

"I am trying to c Southerner," he said ject. "I want to set nature of the South, of the Southerner. P you can't do it—there Souths. But just a few Karl Barth, the great ologian, said that in across the United Sta sensed a different a in the South."

As far as Dabbs is it is "vive la differen that might surprise m region and even so neighbors. These are who regard Dabbs as to the South" becaus he joined in the fight rights.

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Staff Photos

JAMES McBRIDE DABBS AT HOME
Sweater Helps in Poorly Heated Rooms

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in hand, dressed
corduroy trousers
and a heavy, gray wool sweater to keep out the chill of the old house's poorly heated big rooms, he sits in his study and tells of how he left university life to come home to the land.

Until 10 years ago, he worked the farm himself; he recalls spending half his time on a tractor in the fields, turning the rich soil that once made this a cotton empire. Today the thousands of acres that his family owned have been reduced to 125.

Now 67, Dabbs leaves the farm to three Negro sharecroppers. ("That word always scares my liberal friends," he said.) The only occupants of the 12-room plantation house are Dabbs, his Charleston-born wife and their 18-year-old son, Richard.

HIS OWN TIME is largely devoted to writing. More than a hundred of his articles have been published in periodicals, and he expects his third book to appear in 1965.

"I am trying to corner the Southerner," he said of his subject. "I want to set forth the nature of the South, the nature of the Southerner. People say you can't do it—there are many Souths. But just a few days ago Karl Barth, the great Swiss theologian, said that in traveling across the United States he had sensed a different atmosphere in the South."

As far as Dabbs is concerned it is "vive la difference," a fact that might surprise many in his region and even some of his neighbors. These are the ones who regard Dabbs as "a traitor to the South" because long ago he joined in the fight for Negro rights.

(YOU STOP not far from where he lives, and one man calls him a hypocrite while another proclaims: "Nobody in South Carolina pays any attention to Dabbs.")

"Defending segregation as our way of life, we sell the South short," he asserted. "Have we lived here 300 years to accomplish only this? I can't believe it.

"I'm defending the South, but I'm defending it against the future rather than the past. Ross Barnett defended it against a remembered terror of 75 years ago.

"I WOULD NEVER leave the South, because it has something the rest of the country doesn't have."

To Dabbs, granting exceptions, the Southerner has these characteristics:

He loves the land, and draws from it some serenity that enables him to be more self-contained.

He is more devoted to leisure, and with it neighborliness and courtesy. At heart he is more a creature of manners than of money.

He is essentially religious, without the harshness of the Puritan.

More than the Midwesterner or the Westerner, he possesses a sense of having a place in the world as a particular individual, without the necessity of competing for it.

AND HE SENSES having a place just as a man, deserving some dignity of treatment and some privacy of living.

"You would not expect, in ordinary times, for a Ross Barnett to be a Southerner," he said. "The narrow, hard people ought to come out of New England, where the Yankee Puritans held sway. Barnett is an exception rather than a true Southerner, a creature of the imbalance that exists within our culture right now."

What is the imbalance?

It was born of conflict between the Southerner's natural desire for a peaceful, pastoral, personal life and the necessity to defend ugly institutions he knew were fundamentally wrong, Dabbs believes. First it was slavery, then segregation, that imposed the pressures bringing about distortion in the Southern character.

HE THINKS the conflict between industrialization and the values of a region traditionally bound to the land and leisure may create a new form of civilization not realized elsewhere in the nation, and he hopes the South's answer will become the nation's answer.

"If we could see the South for what it is, a region where men have striven greatly, endured greatly, and yet have managed through it all to keep a sense of human values, a sense of personal relationships so lacking in the modern world, a sense even of manners in a world gone mad for material gain, a sense of humor, sometimes playful, sometimes wry—if we could see our tragic history, whites and Negores involved together in more than two centuries of defeat . . . then we should come to realize that we have resources here valuable to both the nation and the world, and that segregation is not one of them."

A BELIEF in the special character of the South, he thinks, is in keeping with the aspirations of the Southern Regional Council, an organization of whites and Negroes with a 43-year history of seeking to improve race relations.

DABBS' PLANTATION HOME NEAR MAYESVILLE, S.C.
White-Columned House Almost Hidden by Moss Hanging From Oaks

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The council staff is at 5 Forsyth St. in Atlanta, and Dabbs, who has been president since 1957, drops in only occasionally. The council's endeavors have been in the realm of research, education and maintaining interracial communications rather than in legal and direct action.

Some of Dabbs' friends were a bit anxious when he was called upon in 1961 to address the national convention of another civil rights organization, the NAACP, in Philadelphia. After all, enemy of segregation or not, here was a Southern traditionalist who didn't quite fit any of the usual patterns of civil rights advocates—an elderly man, a lover of the past, a planter.

"BUT HE GAVE them a sort of cornpone talk that went over wonderfully," a friend recalls.

As usual, the human and folksy cornpone was interspersed with literary allusions, metaphorical flourishes, biting irony and the thunder of strong conviction, cut in no shape but his own.

It was pure Dabbs, and by his own definition of the species, pure Southerner.

The happy reception of his words seemed to confirm his view that the white South and the Negro have a special affinity for each other, and that time will draw them closer together as brothers under the skin.

Pressures for Integration Mount in North and South

Southern Reg. Council

South Moves Slowly

By CLAUDE SITTON

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA.

A decade under the Supreme Court decision against public school segregation has done little more than clear the way for its implementation in the South.

The passing of the decision's 10th anniversary May 17 will find 98.9 per cent of the 2,901,671 Negro students in the eleven Southern states still in all-Negro schools.

Even this minimum, token progress does not extend to one of the 11, Mississippi. It has yet to take the first step toward compliance with the court's ruling and its officials are still committed to a policy of defiant resistance.

Important advances have been made in the six border states and the District of Columbia. Of this area's 511,128 Negro students, 287,241, 56.2 per cent, are in school with whites.

The desegregation of public

Continued on Page 82, Column 5

Northern Negroes Active

By GENE CURRIVAN

Efforts to bring about school integration in de facto segregated neighborhoods have dominated the Northern education debate.

School authorities in many places thought they had done as well as could be expected, but the civil rights groups expressed dissatisfaction with the pace.

The principal complaint of those who are demanding greater integration is that some educators do not accept the premise that all segregated schools are psychologically and educationally unsound.

A recent report by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials on "Public School Segregation and Integration in the North" said that the urgent need "is not techniques, but purpose."

Such purpose, broadly interpreted, is true integration. The

Continued on Page 82, Column 6

The New York Times (by Patrick A. Burns)

SIT-IN AT SCHOOL OFFICE: Demonstrators protesting against racial imbalance in public schools by sitting in at office of Dr. Calvin E. Gross, left, School Superintendent.

The New York Times
D. 680,265 S. 1,306,418
JAN 16 1964

South Moves Slowly Toward Integration

NEGROES IN AREA 1.06% INTEGRATED

But Pressures Are Rising a Decade After Court Ban on School Segregation

Continued From Page 73

colleges and universities has moved ahead largely as a result of voluntary action or suits based on legal precedents set by the Supreme Court some years before its 1954 school decision. All of the institutions of higher learning in the border states are desegregated and 115 of the 212 in the South.

Over-all, however, the most significant changes have been those achieved in overcoming legalistic and psychological barriers. And, now, rising pressure from the Federal courts, the Justice Department and Negroes themselves promise a rapid acceleration of school desegregation.

Nevertheless, desegregation in sections of the Deep South with heavy Negro populations will present a critical problem for some time. The possibility of further violence and school closings cannot be ruled out.

Survey Shows Lag

Just how far the South has come in public school desegregation and how far it yet has to go are apparent from a recent survey by the Southern Education Reporting Service. This is a fact-finding agency established by Southern newspaper executives and educators with Ford Foundation funds.

In this school year, according to the service, the 11 states have 7,919,404 white and 2,901,671 Negroes enrolled. Only 30,798, or 1.06 per cent, of the Negroes are in schools with whites.

In the 1954-55 term, shortly after the Supremee Court decision came down to be followed a year later by its implementation ruling, only 23 Negroes, or .001 per cent of the total enrollment of 2,315,062, attended classes with whites. Twenty of them were in Arkansas and three in Texas.

During the 1962-63 school year, the white enrollment was 7,739,629 and that of the Negroes, 2,842,315. A total of 12,868 Negroes, .453 per cent of the total and 17,930 less than this year, were in school with whites.

Texas in the Lead

The greatest desegregation today in the South is in Texas, where about 14,000 Negroes, or 4.29 per cent of the 326,409 enrolled, are in desegregated schools.

North Carolina, which has the largest number of Negroes

Associated Press

STILL SEPARATE: A class in an all-Negro school in Arkansas. In the 11 Southern states 98.9 per cent of the 2,901,671 Negro students are still attending such segregated schools.

Negroes in North Pressing for Racial Balance

Continued From Page 73

techniques referred to include attempts such as transporting Negro children to predominantly white schools where they sometimes are again segregated while catching up educationally with other students.

Civil rights groups, while not in complete agreement on techniques, concur in the ultimate objective that school systems must be committed to a definite policy of integration.

This commitment, they believe comes about only after official pressure.

Two examples were New York and New Jersey, where the State Commissioners issued appeals to combat segregation. Both cases resulted from presure by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The action by the Commissioners was hailed by the N.A.A.C.P. as one of the highlights of the year. It was the first time since the United States Supreme Court decision of 1954 that state authorities had directed local school boards to speed integration, even though the boards were not charged with having brought about racial imbalance.

In New Jersey, Commissioner F. M. Raubinger ordered the Orange Public Schools to correct an "extreme racial imbalance" in the Oakwood School that, he said, constituted "a deprivation of educational opportunity for the pupils compelled to attend the school."

In New York, Dr. James E. Allen Jr., took similar action against the Woodfield Road School in the Malverne-Lake-

would mean the transfer of white children from their schools to make way for Negroes. The court held that this was in violation of the State law designed to bar discrimination in the public schools. The State Education Department will probably appeal the ruling.

The N.A.A.C.P. started a national drive against segregated schools in January of 1962 when only six school districts in the North were being pressed to desegregate. Since then the association has moved against 81 school systems in 17 states with varying results. The action included protests, boycotts, demonstrations and, in 16 of the cases, litigation.

By September of last year 26 systems had integrated or taken steps to do so.

Englewood, N. J., was the scene of one of the most publicized cases; others included Montclair and Morristown in New Jersey, Norwalk and New Haven in Connecticut, Freeport, L. I. and Cleveland, Ohio.

New York City made a new commitment for the integration of its schools in September, when it was threatened with a citywide boycott.

The boycott was called off when the Board of Education promised to produce a satisfactory plan by December. However, this plan was rejected by the civil rights groups including the N.A.A.C.P., the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Harlem Parents Committee.

Boycott is Urged

A boycott was again proposed by the Rev. Milton A. Galamison, chairman of the Citywide Committee for School Integra-

centers throughout the city to aid minority groups, the board was accused of not having produced a "meaningful plan."

Under open enrollment, pupils are sent to specified schools outside their districts where the racial balance is better. The free-choice transfer plan permits parents to choose any school in the city where there are accomodations.

But Miss Shagaloff held that under N.A.A.C.P. policy these plans are acceptable only when more effective plans cannot be used to achieve greater integration. Moving children by bus, she said, is not the answer.

Miss Shagaloff contended that at least 15 plans had been offered to the Board of Education and ignored. They included education centers with clusters of junior and senior high schools drawing from wide areas and changes in zones and feeding patterns for junior high schools.

On the national scene, Miss Shagaloff said, there is some recognition that de facto segregation is educationally undesirable "but there is an unwillingness by school officials to adopt meaningful plans which would fundamentally change racial patterns in the schools."

Dr. Calvin E. Gross, Superintendent of New York City Schools, said in a recent statement that the board was determined "to do everything that a school system can do to improve the ethnic distribution of our pupils and to correct to the extent feasible, the high racial concentrations imposed on the schools by segregated housing and employment patterns.

"We are just as determined to raise the educational standards and the quality of learn-

three in Texas.

During the 1962-63 school year, the white enrollment was 7,739,629 and that of the Negroes, 2,842,315. A total of 12,868 Negroes, .453 per cent of the total and 17,930 less than this year, were in school with whites.

Texas in the Lead

The greatest desegregation today in the South is in Texas, where about 14,000 Negroes, or 4.29 per cent of the 326,409 enrolled, are in desegregated schools.

North Carolina, which has the largest number of Negroes in its public school system—346,745, has 1,865, or .538 per cent, in school with whites.

The numbers of Negroes in school with whites in other Southern states and the percentages of total Negro enrollments represented are: Alabama, 11 and .004 per cent; Arkansas, 1,084 and .968 per cent; Florida, 3,650 and 1.53 per cent; Georgia, 177 and .052 per cent; Louisiana, 1,814 and .602 per cent; South Carolina, 10 and .004 per cent; Tennessee, 4,466 and 2.71 per cent, and Virginia 3,721 and 1.57 per cent.

In the border states, the percentages of Negroes in school with whites range from West Virginia's high of 87.9 per cent to Oklahoma's low of 48.1 per cent.

Teaching staffs, according to the Southern Education Reporting Service survey, are completely segregated in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina. Some teacher desegregation has begun in Florida, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia and in all of the border states and the District of Columbia.

In the early stages of desegregation, many Negro teachers lost their jobs in Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas and West Virginia.

More important from a psychological standpoint than the statistical gains registered last September with the opening of school was the beginning of desegregation in South Carolina and Alabama.

South Carolina, which had bowed to the will of the courts earlier in the year by accepting a Negro student at Clemson College, made the transition peacefully. No major incidents marked the admission of Negroes to previously white schools in Charleston.

Four school systems in Alabama were affected. The pattern there was not peaceful. disturbances in part to the defiant attitude of Gov. George C. Wallace. Tension aroused by racial crises in Birmingham also played a part.

When the school crisis arose, Governor Wallace already had staged a token show of defiance by temporarily blocking two Negroes as they sought to register at the University of Alabama. He stepped aside quickly when confronted by National Guard troops Federalized by the late President John F. Kennedy.

Governor Stepped In

Nevertheless, state troopers under the Governor's orders held up the opening of schools scheduled to be desegregated in Birmingham, Mobile, Huntsville and Tuskegee. But Mr. Wallace, who was under a Federal Court injunction, again relented.

However, the Governor's defiant action had given hard-core segregationists time to muster their forces. Ugly demonstrations followed in Birmingham and Mobile.

In Tuskegee, a rural community and a county where Negroes outnumber whites heavily, an apparent willingness to accept desegregation as inevitable turned into determined resistance. Whites withdrew their children from the desegregated high school and enrolled them in hastily organized private classes.

The situation in Tuskegee differs in one important respect from that in Prince Edward County, Virginia. The Alabama community did not attempt to close its public schools. But in Prince Edward, when the county faced the prospect of desegregation, it failed to reopen any of its public schools for the 1959-60 term. The county has been the only one in the nation since that time without any public education whatsoever.

A Federal District Court held in 1962 that the Prince Edward Schools could not be closed to avoid desegregation so long as the state continued to provide education in other counties. Action on the ruling was later stayed pending the outcome of litigation in the state courts.

The Virginia Court of Appeals held that the state had no responsibility to provide public education in Prince Edward County so long as the county refused to share its part of the cost. This ruling set the stage for further action in the Federal courts, expected this year.

Neither school closings nor the defiant resistance of state officials to Federal court orders are the chief factors responsible for holding desegregation to a minimum. Instead, this is accomplished largely through such devices as pupil placement plans and restricted transfers.

Dr. J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, pointed out that none of the placement laws of the 11 southern states mentions race as a criterion of assignment. These laws simply allow the operation of racially separate schools to shift to other grounds.

In a pamphlet distributed the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Dr. Morland says: "The limited amount of integration that has taken place has come through application for transfer from the school of initial assignment through provision of the placement law. . . . Thus, actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment . . ."

Restrictive transfer systems are usually employed where assignment is based on proximity to a school. Children assigned to a school in which they are in a racial minority are permitted to transfer, others are not. The result is usually total resegregation on only token desegregation.

Both pupil placement and restrictive transfers, when used as devices to maintain segregation, appear to be nearing the end of the legal road.

Long Delays Seen

The prevailing of the Federal judiciary toward token desegregation may well have been summed up by Justice Arthur Goldberg in a Supreme Court ruling last May on a case involving desegregation in the public parks in Memphis:

"It is far from clear that the mandate of the second Brown decision requiring the desegregation proceed with 'all deliberate speed' would today be fully satisfied by types of plans and programs for desegregation of public educational facilities, which eight years ago might have been deemed sufficient. Brown never contemplated that the concept of 'deliberate speed' would countenance indefinite delay . . ."

Further, some of the financial costs of breaching racial barriers may be shifted from the backs of Negroes. This is suggested by the action of the Federal District Court last October in ordering the Powhatan County, Virginia, school board to pay some of the legal fees of Negro plaintiffs because of the board's "long-continued pattern of evasion and obstruction" in a desegregation case.

All of these developments coupled with the growing determination of Negroes to obtain admission to desegregated schools undoubtedly will speed the process and extend desegregation beyond the token level in the South in the near future.

had directed local boards to speed integration, even though the boards were not charged with having brought about racial imbalance.

In New Jersey, Commissioner F. M. Raubinger ordered the Orange Public Schools to correct an "extreme racial imbalance" in the Oakwood School that, he said, constituted "a deprivation of educational opportunity for the pupils compelled to attend the school."

In New York, Dr. James E. Allen Jr., took similar action against the Woodfield Road School in the Malverne-Lakeview District of Long Island. He noted that the school was "commonly viewed in the community as a Negro school" and that "such imbalance constitutes a deprivation of equality of educational opportunity."

But Commissioner Allen received a setback when the State Supreme Court ruled that in the Malverne case the order [illegible] ber, when it was threatened with a citywide boycott.

The boycott was called off when the Board of Education promised to produce a satisfactory plan by December. However, this plan was rejected by the civil rights groups including the N.A.A.C.P., the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Harlem Parents Committee.

Boycott is Urged

A boycott was again proposed by the Rev. Milton A. Galamison, chairman of the Citywide Committee for School Integration, which includes these organizations. On Jan. 4 Frederick Jones, state representative of the N.A.A.C.P. and Miss June Shagaloff, special assistant for education of the organization announced Feb. 3 as the boycott date.

Despite such efforts as open enrollment, free-choice transfer and the establishment of would fundamentally change racial patterns in the schools."

Dr. Calvin E. Gross, Superintendent of New York City Schools, said in a recent statement that the board was determined "to do everything that a school system can do to improve the ethnic distribution of our pupils and to correct to the extent feasible, the high racial concentrations imposed on the schools by segregated housing and employment patterns.

"We are just as determined to raise the educational standards and the quality of learning for all our pupils. Any constructive integration plan that fails to embrace both these essential goals — ethnic distribution and quality education — is neither valid nor responsible. The vast majority of the parents in New York City consistently support the inclusion of both goals in any plan for integration."

FORT MYERS, FLA.
NEWS-PRESS
D. 20,290 S. 21,158

JAN 16 1963

In The Mailbag

The writer's name and address must accompany all letters. The name may be given in confidence and a pen name used for letters of general discussion but no pen name will be permitted when personal attacks are involved. Please keep letters short.

DEFENSE COUNSEL

Editor, News-Press—

This letter is being written with dual purpose. The first of these is of a selfish nature. The second is with consideration for others who find themselves involved with similar dilemmas. It is therefore imperative that I ask someone for help. I believe that your assistance in printing the truth in my case will actually be a service to the public. The following information is true in its entirety:

As of this writing I am incarcerated in the Lee County Jail awaiting trial on a breaking and entering charge. As to my guilt or non-guilt you would not be interested. However, I believe you will be interested in the other aspects of the case. Especially since a great many find themselves in like situations:

1. I have a past record.
2. I do not have funds with which to obtain legal counsel.
3. I do not understand law well enough to conduct my defense in a court of law.
4. Without legal counsel and with a prior record I haven't a chance of proving my innocence.

I feel that our society is remiss in permiting anything of this nature to remain in our democracy. It is my hope that you may be able to help remedy this unfair condition.

CLARENCE C. RAULERSON

* * *

MEREDITH EDITORIALS

Editor, News-Press—

Editorials from southern colleges in regard to the Meredith case have been compiled by the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St. N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga., and a copy will be mailed free of charge upon request. Those who disagree with the News-Press editorial of Jan. 13 might enjoy these editorials better.

Florida Council on Human Relations, P.O. Box 8292, Jacksonville 11, Florida, will also send the "Southern Student Reactions" free of charge upon request.

DORA FORBES

The Fifteenth Amendment Comes to Mississippi

BARBARA CARTER

Southern Regional Council

"ALL who are qualified to vote, both black and white," Senator James O. Eastland informed the Senate last spring, "exercise the right of suffrage in my state, as I am sure they do in Louisiana and other Southern states." The senator may find it easy to remain uninformed about other Southern states, but it must take a remarkable effort to remain unaware of the pressures and intimidations that prevent all but six per cent of the eligible Negroes from registering to vote in Mississippi.

The senator's home, a ranch-style house graced with three picture windows that look out on a deserted, tumble-down dwelling opposite, is the largest house in Doddsville, a tiny crossroads settlement in Sunflower County marked only by a traffic light. Just five miles to the north is the small community of Ruleville, where a Negro voting drive was launched last summer. Negroes who know the state call Sunflower County the "worst county in Mississippi" and Ruleville the "tightest town" in it.

In mid-August, a group of five Negro women from Ruleville drove to the county seat of Indianola to register. Indianola is the birthplace of the White Citizens Council, the militant segregationist organization whose influence still sets the tone for the county as a whole. The women were permitted to take the registration tests—a series of new and stringent requirements made it doubtful that they could pass anyway—and for the next two weeks a stream of Negroes from Ruleville made the trip to Indianola. Learning that the registrar's office would be closed for the month of September, the Negroes found a bus to use on the last day in August, and some twenty of them rode down to Indianola singing gospel and freedom songs on the way. On arrival, the driver of the bus was arrested and fined for driving a yellow bus: the color was too much like a school bus. Such imaginative uses of the law are not uncommon when Negroes attempt to register in Mississippi.

From the beginning, the mayor of Ruleville, Charles M. Dorrough (who had already run unsuccessfully for the more lucrative

position of county sheriff and wasn't sure whether he should try again), had been aware that the Negroes streaming into Indianola to register were acting as if all the barriers so carefully erected over the years had suddenly turned into swinging gates. His reactions were frantic and confused but nonetheless effective. He briefly arrested a couple of young Negro students who were helping with the campaign. He called meetings of the white citizens to discuss the "outside agitators" who were bringing trouble to his town. He shut down Negro businesses wherever he could find minor violations. One woman who had taken the test found the mayor on her front porch, tools in hand, turning off her water because she was three days late in paying her bill.

Negroes with city jobs who were connected with the registration movement were also handled directly by the mayor. He told a sanitation worker who was fired that he would have trouble finding any job in Ruleville. The white citizens were quick to co-operate with their mayor. Many Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers lost their jobs, and some were evicted from their homes as well. Even relatives of would-be voters felt the weight of the town's displeasure. One woman whose mother had taken the test lost the job she had held at the county hospital for many years.

One of the Negro tenant farmers, a Baptist minister named Jeff Surney, came from Senator Eastland's home town. Although he was not given time to complete his registration test, Surney was evicted anyway. He has had trouble finding work and a permanent home for his family. ("We have been moving ever since," he told me recently.) Surney, however, went to Washington and filed an affidavit with the Civil Rights Commission detailing the reprisals he had suffered. Within a month of his return, he was charged with passing a bad check at the gas station in Doddsville. The station's owner is very sorry about it all. He had often asked Surney to watch his children on evenings he and his wife went to dances. He admits that he was forced to bring charges, though he will not describe the pressure brought on him. "Jeff must have been misled and taken sides with the Communists," he has added as if in further explanation.

By this time, however, the Rule-

ville campaign was all over. It ended the night of September 10, when three Negro homes were fired into by unidentified night riders. One of them belonged to the husband of a would-be voter whom the mayor had warned: "We're going to freeze you out, Joe. We can't have anyone living with us and working against us." Another belonged to a woman whose granddaughter, Vivian Hilliet, eighteen, and her friend Marion Burke, twenty, had stopped on their way to Jackson State College to pay a visit. Both girls were wounded, one critically, and were taken to the county hospital. When the energetic mayor arrived at the hospital shortly thereafter, he found a Negro student, Charles Cobb, a slight young man from St. Louis, taking notes on the girls' condition. The mayor promptly arrested him and rushed back to the house where the girls had been shot to announce that he had captured the man responsible. Cobb was released the next morning without explanation.

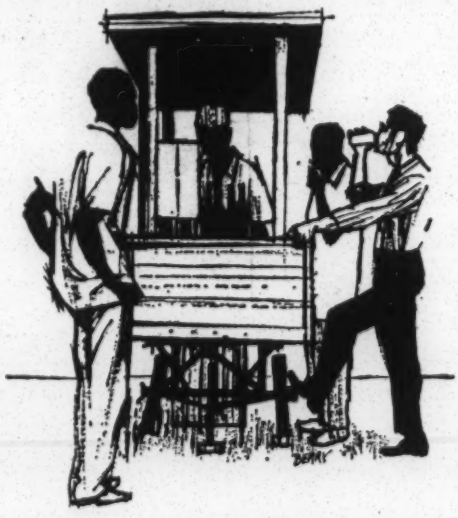
Mayor Dorrough still claims that he knows who was responsible for shooting into the Negro homes, but adds, "I don't want to pinpoint anyone personally, you understand." According to the mayor, "No local people were involved at all."

The Justice Department Moves

As head of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the senior senator from Mississippi must know that his state is the prime target of the Justice Department in its efforts to secure voting rights for Negro citizens under the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. Of thirty-two suits brought in the South since 1961, ten have been filed in Mississippi alone, more than in any other state. In addition, matters involving registration and intimidation are under "active investigation" in sixteen counties, with the senator's county heading the list; and voting records, which can provide evidence for further cases, have been requested or are being analyzed in at least eighteen counties.

The Justice Department's activities are not restricted to the courts. Every step of the way is preceded by talks and letters to avoid suit if possible. Washington officials make no secret of their presence when they arrive in Mississippi towns to photograph registration books and poll-tax receipts—that is, when they can get a court order requiring the registrars to co-operate. Rarely is the co-operation voluntary. Though the department is woefully shorthanded in the face of the magnitude of its task, the six to seven lawyers assigned full time to the state have piled up an impressive number of hours in the field, and numerous Mississippi Negroes have been visited by Washington attorneys and the local FBI, coming as friends. According to John Doar, who is first assistant in the Civil Rights Division, "These people see you and get to know you. They begin to have some confidence that you mean what you say."

Most of the department's cases seek to prove that a "pattern or practice" of discrimination exists, and are brought against various registrars or sheriffs. But "the really great case," according to Doar, is the one against the state of Mississippi, its governor, attorney general, and secretary of state as board of election commissioners, and the registrars of six counties. In this suit the department is challenging as unconstitutional all the recent legal devices designed to deprive the Negro of his vote.



The first of these came in 1954, when the Mississippi electorate (which is ninety-five per cent white) voted to amend the state constitution to require that all future voters be able to interpret any of its sections to the registrar's personal satisfaction. No standards for judgment are given, nor does a later amendment, that the applicant be of "good moral character," require anything beyond the registrar's own opinion. Moreover, the legislature recently permitted the registrar merely to write "Failed" on the tests without specifying the reason (unless it had to do with "character"), the logic being that to do otherwise "may constitute assistance to the applicant on another application." The most severe requirement, added last spring by the resourceful legislature, ruled that the names of all future applicants must be published for a two-week period in the local press. This permits economic pressure, or worse, to be brought easily, immediately, and directly.

The Federal government points out that these stringent requirements apply only to those not yet registered, and the department can prove by photostatic copies of voting records now in Washington how one-sided the application of these laws can be. Not only are Negroes asked to interpret the more difficult sections of the state constitution, but whites are forgiven the most inadequate answers to the far easier sections given them. Though no help is permitted on the tests and minor errors can rule out Negroes, the forms filled out by whites show helpful little check marks penciled in on an easily overlooked line where a second signature is required.

Under the Civil Rights Acts the Justice Department can initiate voting cases directly before the district courts. Mississippi is divided into two districts, the Northern and Southern, and the department prefers to spread its cases evenly between the two to avoid overloading.

The Judges

Presiding in the Southern District is Judge W. Harold Cox, a friend of Senator Eastland's, who has the distinction of being President Kennedy's first judicial appointee. He was selected for the bench in June, 1961, to ensure the senator's co-operation, as head of the Judiciary Committee, on other appointments and to facilitate the necessary working relationship of the Justice Department with his committee. Some say it was a trade for Thurgood Marshall's confirmation as Federal judge. At any rate, Cox's appointment illustrates how an earnest drive in the field of justice can be thwarted

by seemingly adroit moves in the field of politics. Judge Cox has acted on the bench like the staunch Mississippian he is. He seems to regard the entire effort of the Justice Department as a grave error in judgment, and evidently feels that his understanding of the Negroes and their situation in the South is somewhat beyond the comprehension of Washington officials. Here, for example, is his reaction when presented with the fact that Negroes are required to see the registrar personally while whites need go no further than the lower clerks: "I think the colored people brought that on themselves. I am thoroughly familiar with some of the conduct of some of the colored gentry and I am not surprised . . . You people up north don't understand what [the registrar] was talking about. I don't expect you to."

In the Northern District, the department faces Judge Claude F. Clayton, who has proved to be reluctant even to issue court orders requiring registrars to produce their records when they refuse the department's initial request. (The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals has recently ruled that such orders should be granted as "a matter of course.") Judge Clayton held up one such request for twenty-one months. Part of the delay was caused by his asking for lengthy arguments on the otherwise simple matter of substituting the present Attorney General's name for the former Attorney General's. The case had been filed a few days before the Kennedy administration took office, and usually in such matters the substitution of the new Attorney General's name is automatic.

Under Judge Cox, voting records have been slightly easier to get, and even a temporary restraining order has been won on one occasion. When he chooses, Judge Cox can act surprisingly fast. For instance, the contract of a Negro schoolteacher who had appeared as a government witness in a voting suit last spring was not renewed. When talks with the school board proved futile, the department did not hesitate to file suit. The case was heard within two months and Judge Cox handed down his decision in three days. Although his ruling went against the department, the case was at least released, and it is now on appeal.

Both of the Mississippi district courts seem to have ample time to hear all the motions that may be presented by the state attorneys and to require fuller statements from both sides. Their rulings on evidence have also created problems for the Justice Department. In an attempt to prove a pattern of discrimination, the department has tried to bring in Negro witnesses who during a ten-year period have tried without success to register. The courts, however, limit the government to witnesses who tried during the time when the present registrar has been in office, often no more than a two-year period. Instead of forty to fifty witnesses, the government is allowed only the handful who have applied

in that short period. In the toughest counties, the futility of trying to register has kept their yearly numbers down. Having limited the evidence to these few witnesses, the court is then unable to discover a "pattern" of discrimination, and the Justice Department's case is called "superficial at best."

But while the courts in Mississippi spin out the judicial processes, the Justice Department moves fast where it can. Take the case of John Hardy, a Negro student civil-rights worker. The year before last, Hardy was smashed in the head by a pistol butt wielded by the registrar of Walthall County when the student brought two Negroes in to register. Hardy was immediately charged with disturbing the peace and his case was promptly set for trial. The department sought an injunction against the trial but got an adverse ruling from Judge Cox the day before the trial was to begin. The department's attorney, John Doar, flew the same day to Montgomery, Alabama, to present the government's suit before Judge Richard T. Rives of the Circuit Court of Appeals. Judge Rives indicated that he would issue a stay, and the state thereupon agreed to put off Hardy's prosecution. Meanwhile, the government filed two suits against the registrar, one for intimidation and another for failing to register any of the Negroes in his county. (The trial date had to be postponed because the registrar's jaw was broken in a fight.) In Walthall County, at any rate, registrars have stopped beating student workers with their guns. But Negroes have also stopped trying to register.

The Student Workers

Student workers like John Hardy are presently conducting the Negro voting drive in Mississippi under the field direction of Robert Moses, a twenty-seven-year-old Negro with an M.A. in philosophy from Harvard. Moses is a member of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, pronounced Snick), and his co-workers are either from SNCC or CORE (Congress for Racial Equality), the NAACP or the National Urban League, or Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. For some time these Negro groups had separately been conducting voter-registration drives in the South along with sit-ins and Freedom Rides, but things were changed last spring when a Southwide Voter Education Project was formed under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, and some $450,000 was received in grants from the Taconic Foundation, the Edgar Stern Family Fund of New Orleans, and the Marshall Field Foundation of Chicago. Among the Southern states, Mississippi was considered unique. "Because of the extreme resistance, harassment, and intimidation in Mississippi," said Wiley A. Branton, director of the project, "we have

launched an entirely different program there." In Mississippi, the workers from various Negro organizations joined together in a new Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) to pool their efforts to get out the Negro vote, and workers for the council limit their activities strictly to registration drives.

Occasionally Robert Moses breaks into a quick grin, but usually his manner is grave and quiet. His job often requires him to urge much older people with family responsibilities to risk the little they have for the mere sake of registering, often unsuccessfully. He has been arrested several times and has spent some forty-five days in Mississippi jails. His latest offense was passing out leaflets to Negroes in front of the Indianola courthouse. Almost a year to the day earlier, he was beaten by a relative of the county sheriff when he accompanied two Negroes who attempted to register in Amite County. Nine stitches had to be taken in his head, and although the suit he brought against his assailant was unsuccessful, Moses feels that the publicity he got for being the first Negro to bring charges against a white man in Amite County has gained him "some kind of immunity" there. (On another visit there he wasn't beaten, but his traveling companion was.)

Moses has concentrated his efforts on the hard-core areas of the Mississippi Delta, counties where the Negroes outnumber the whites and their registered voters are few. In Amite County, for instance, only one Negro is registered. In Senator Eastland's Sunflower County, where the Negroes outnumber the whites three to one, only 1.2 per cent of the Negroes are registered. In thirteen counties the number of Negroes registered is zero, and in twenty others the percentage is .003. These are the areas where resistance to Negro voting will be the most determined.

Some Questions of Tactics

W. C. Patton, the NAACP field secretary from Memphis who has long been working to secure Negro voting rights, recently commented: "In all my years of voter campaigning no one in my group has been arrested. When they bring in sit-ins and freedom rides and someone is arrested, my campaign is shot. That's it." In the hard-core areas, he told me, "We should go in for a test case, and

then pull out and go where we can get people on the books and registered." Though the students working under COFO do not conduct sit-ins or freedom rides, Patton notes that $5,000 was recently spent for legal fees following harassment of voter workers in Mississippi's Fourth Congressional District, but only eighty-three Negroes were registered.

The best defense of Robert Moses' operations in the hard-core area was given by government attorney John Doar. "He has to go where it's tough," Doar said, "to prove that he has courage." Courage, it seems, can be as contagious as fear. Recently, nineteen Ruleville Negroes tried again to register and four were successful. "They're really determined to see this through," Moses explained.

"I hope they don't get discouraged," Doar said of the student workers. "I hope they stick it out and keep working. After all, they're only trying to urge people to register." However, he noted sadly, it is "very difficult" to do anything about retaliation when it begins. "I can't keep a crime from being committed," he said. "We try the very best we can to eliminate the lawlessness by seeking injunctions and restraining various forms of economic retaliation. But it is very difficult to win. We have to prepare and check out those cases very carefully."

In John Hardy's case, for instance, the registrar had admitted hitting the student. "Justice really moved fast on that one," Moses told me with a grin, but added, "I suppose it was because the case was so clear-cut." In cases where the issue is not so clear-cut, it seems to the student workers (who are often the first to bear the brunt of ugly reprisals) that the department is unwilling to act unless it is sure of winning. The same complaint has been lodged against the NAACP.

Economic reprisals against the would-be voters are especially difficult to prove. The Ruleville sharecroppers who lost their jobs, for instance, must prove that it was because they tried to register, not because the crop was thin last year. A temporary injunction has been obtained by the Justice Department against mass evictions of sharecroppers in Tennessee, but such injunctions can restrain only so long. If the sharecroppers' leases run out or legitimate-sounding reasons for eviction turn up, it is useless. The Justice Department's main aim is to help the Negro get the vote, and where injunctions prove ineffective as well as difficult to obtain, it may concentrate its efforts elsewhere. For instance, it is understood that the department will bring a suit to secure Robert Moses the freedom to distribute voting literature without harassment, and this will help the Negroes' voting drive. This concentration of action sometimes looks like inaction or, as the student workers put it, "politics." Washington views it as a matter of tactics.

Robert Moses has seen too much in his two years to take a patient view. With seven others, he has just brought suit against Robert Kennedy and J. Edgar Hoover to require them to send Federal marshals to the courthouses to protect Negroes when notified of a registration attempt. The Justice Department had refused on the basis that it can't act as a police force for the entire state.

ON THE OTHER HAND, the first Negro candidate to run for office in Mississippi since Reconstruction, the Reverend R. L. T. Smith, who ran for Congress last year, is really "heartened" by the department's work and most understanding about the difficulties it faces. "The Justice Department has moved in what appears to be a slow fashion," he said recently, "but the 1960 Civil Rights Act is not fully established in the courts. However, they are getting the precedents established,

and under somewhat trying conditions."

The story of Smith's candidacy has some interesting facets. When he announced his availability in November, 1961, it was treated by Negroes and whites alike as a grand joke. The president of one TV station in Jackson, WJTV, was eager in December to sell Smith program time for six appearances, but the candidate could afford only three appearances on a pay-as-you-go plan. After the first program, however, the station canceled the whole thing.

When Smith turned to the other TV station in Jackson, WLBT, it responded with a flat refusal to sell him any time at all. The first station, when appealed to again, explained that it had suffered so much intimidation since Smith's one appearance that it could consider his application only after he had appeared on the competing station. Smith reported his predicament to the FCC, and then accepted an invitation to speak at Brandeis University.

After his Eastern visit, Mrs. Roosevelt and James Wechsler, among others, wrote letters of protest to FCC Chairman Newton Minow. Smith also wrote to President Kennedy and got a quick reply from the President's office saying that the matter was being investigated. Within the week he received the letter, the second station notified him that it would sell him prime time, and an appointment was made with Fred L. Beard, its general manager.

It was an unusual interview. Beard confessed that he was afraid that if Reverend Smith made his appearance, "they" would blow up the station, topple the broadcasting tower, and shatter the plate-glass windows. He confided that if the Negro candidate was seen on the screen, "our two bodies will be found floating in the Pearl River," a peaceful stream just across the street from the station. He was kind enough to take the minister outside and point out where the barbed-wire fence would have to be erected, how the windows would be boarded up, and where on the roof he would have to station fifty armed guards. When they went back inside, Smith said he was ready to sign the contract. Nothing happened during or after his appearance, and he eventually was given one more showing on each of the two stations.

Though Smith did not win a seat in Congress and though Negro registration did not pick up significantly because of his campaign, he did win the right to run, the right to be accepted as a Democratic candidate in the counties and in the precincts, and the right to appear on television during his campaign.

The President's position is clear. After the shooting spree in Ruleville, he said: "I hope everybody will register in this country. . . . I commend those who are making the effort to register every citizen. They deserve the protection of the United States Government, the protection of the states, the protection of the local communities . . . And if it requires extra legislation, and extra force, we shall do that."

The Results

What have been the results of all the government's cases? "We have moved from no Negro registration to token registration," Attorney Doar pointed out. None of the cases has yet been won outright; some are on appeal and others have not been given a hearing so far. But in the counties where suits have been brought, the most obvious and blatant discrimination against Negro voters has ceased. Schoolteachers with Ph.D.'s, for instance, have recently been found qualified to pass the registration tests. And the department has, in effect, won one case though it is still pending. A temporary injunction against a registrar was obtained from the Court of Appeals before the case was decided in the district court. "We really bulled through on that one," John Doar recalled happily. The registrar is now in contempt, while the district court has yet to settle down for its long litigation over the issues involved. Furthermore, according to Aaron Henry, the head of the Mississippi COFO operation, if the Justice Department wins its omnibus case against the state and its voting laws it "will be a real breakthrough." The case is expected to open this month.

In the other pending cases, the department may win decisions finding a pattern of discrimination in the counties involved. The department will then, Doar told me, "in effect supervise voter registration there after that."

In Macon County, Alabama, for instance, where only nine Negroes had been able to register in a two-and-a-half year period, the department won such a case in 1961 with "dramatic" results. The decision had included a specific order to the registrars to report monthly on how many applied for registration, how many passed, how many were turned down, and for what reasons. In addition, the department had won the right of continuing record inspection. For three months after the court order, Negroes were allowed to correct inconsequential errors on their registration forms and applicants were processed at the rate of forty-four a day. As the shock of the court order began to wear off, however, another and more specific court order had to be issued to bring the registrars in line. The supervision of Mississippi registrars, obviously, will be a full-time job in itself.

Doar uses Macon County, where more than 2,800 Negroes are now registered, as an example of what lies ahead for Mississippi. "Every month now," he told me, "reports come across my desk from the registrar there, giving all the figures. We can check the reports by inspecting the records and if anything looks wrong send a man right to the spot."

DOWN the hall from Doar's office in the Department of Justice is a three-room section containing several machines that project microfilm onto screens for easy reading. Some fifteen members of the staff, including several Negroes, analyze and abstract the thousands upon thousands of Southern registration records that have already been photographed. Mississippi's records are at last beginning to come in.

RALEIGH, N.C.
NEWS & OBSERVER
D. 127,214 S. 139,363

JAN 18 1963

Area Council Head to Speak At Institute

KINSTON—The first session of Kinston's Human Relations Institute this year will be held Sunday, Feb. 10, at 8 p.m.

James McBride Dabbs of Maysville, S. C., president of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. since 1957, will be the featured speaker. He previously taught at Coker College in Hartsville, S. C for 20 years and was head of the English department there for 12 years.

At the second session, Feb. 17, Dr. Walter N. Ridley, president of the Elizabeth City State Teachers College, will give the address.

The Institute is sponsored by the Lenoir County Inter-Racial Committee.

ST. LOUIS, MO.
ARGUS
W. 9,214

JAN 18 1963

Desegregation Topic For Ga. Discussants

ATLANTA — A conference of southern churchmen and others concerned with regional race relations discussed integrating a desegrating South, Dec. 27-29 in Underwood Auditorium, located on the campus of Vanderbilt University in Nashville.

The consultation was sponsored by the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and the Southern Regional Council.

The meetings began at 7:30 p.m. Thursday, December 27, with an address by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., on "An Analysis of the Ethical Demands of Integration in the South." President James McBride Dabbs, of Mayesville, S. C., president of the Southern Regional Council, closed the conference at noon Saturday, Dec. 29, with a talk on "Observations and Insights."

Three studies of desegregation situations were presented and discussed. Thomas Hammond and Paul Gaston of the history department of the University of Virginia reported on "The Public Schools in Charlottesville, Va."; Sarah Herbin and Tartt Bell of the American Friends Service Committee on "Equal Employment in Greensboro, N.C.," and Dr. Samuel Williams, pastor of Friendship Baptist Church in Atlanta, and president of the Atlanta branch of the NAACP, on "The Role of Religion in Desegregation Efforts in Atlanta."

RICHMOND, VA.
AFRO-AMERICAN
W. 14,967

JAN 19 1963

Vivian Carter Mason to spark YW annual dinner

The annual membership dinner meeting of Phyllis Wheatley Branch YWCA is scheduled for Thursday, January 31, at 7 p.m., at Virginia Union University.

Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, of Norfolk, Virginia, will be the guest speaker. She is a former program director with the YWCA in Baltimore, and Norfolk. For a number of years she was director of Social Service with the Department of Welfare in NYC. She has written special articles and newspapers columns.

Mrs. Mason is an ardent civic worker. She is the founder of One Hundred Women in New York City and the Women's Council for Interracial Co-operation of Norfolk.

She was the third national president of the National Council of Negro Women, Inc., presently serving on the board of directors of this organization and the board of the Southern Regional Council on Human Relations.

SHE HAS traveled extensively in Europe, the United States, and West Indies.

She was with the Peace Corps in Washington, D.C. for approximately one year. She returned to Norfolk to fulfill commitments in regards to education and experimental school projects.

In 1962, a new book "American Women — The Changing Image," appeared by Benson Press. Mrs. Mason contributed the chapter on education.

SHE HAS received many honors for outstanding service from the American Cancer Society, the March of Dimes, the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, the National Council of Negro Women and others.

Mrs. Mason is now engaged in public relations in Norfolk.

Invitations have been released to the membership. For reservation call MI. 3-2803, deadline, Tuesday, January 29.

NORFOLK, VA.
JOURNAL AND GUIDE
SAT. 33,495

JAN 19 1963

South, Properly Led, Can Set Racial Progress Pace

From The Charlotte Observer

DR. DOW Kirkpatrick, a Methodist minister who has served both northern and southern churches, made an interesting prediction when he said the South will solve its "race problem" before the North does.

We hold with our Methodist brother, but with an important condition attached. The hedge is that the South must continue following the leadership offered by such men as former Gov. Leroy Collins of Florida and former Gov. Luther Hodges of North Carolina.

These men — joined belatedly by Ernest Vandiver of Georgia and Lindsay Almond of Virginia — guided their states peaceably into the first stages of desegregation. They created a climate in which the inevitable break with racial tradition was made calmly and sensibly.

Gov. Terry Sanford took over from Hodges and became a leading spokesman for racial moderation in the South. Florida elected segregationist Farris Bryant to succeed Collins, but he has not attempted to turn the clock back. Vandiver's appeal to reason in Georgia helped pave the way for racial moderate Carl Sanders to succeed him.

We now have the example of Oxford to demonstrate the probable results of the kind of leadership offered by Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi and Gov. John Patterson of Alabama. Five years ago we had Little Rock to guide us in shaping the South's racial future.

Out of this ferment has come the realization that people in some parts of the South have been misled by politicians. Their solution to the "race problem" will be delayed to the extent that false prophets continue to have influence.

The Methodist minister says that the southern people generally have a warmer person-to-person relationship with Negroes than northerners do. Much of this is paternalistic and stems from the old master-slave relationship with agree that southern whites and Negroes have a better foundation on which to build understanding.

We have a common birthplace, shared memories and countless thousands of interracial friendships that developed in spite of enforced separation of the races.

The problem, as Kirkpatrick stated, is to shift this existing good will out of the master-servant context and shape it to a society in which color is not synonymous with second place.

Enlightened leadership in the South no longer is keyed to "keeping the Negro in his place" but to providing a place for the Negro that is in keeping with his individual rights of citizenship and his personal abilities.

The Negro In The Vanguard

James M[illegible]de Dabbs of Maysville, S. C., president of Southern [illegible] Council, expressed himself thusly: "The Neg[illegible] [illegible]adership in [illegible]h. It is he who ma[illegible] [illegible]he [illegible]sponds, or more a[illegible] [illegible]ons now takin[illegible]

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,500

JAN 27 1963

Convocation Today At A.U. Center

The annual joint Atlanta University Center Convocation will be held Sunday, Jan. 27 at 3:00 p. m. in Sisters Chapel, Spelman College campus. The speaker will be Rabbi Jacob Rothschild of the Jewish Temple of Atlanta.

Rabbi Rothschild, who is chairman of the Community Relations Committee of the Jewish Community Council, is on the Executive Board of the Southern Regional Council and is a member of the Board of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

The public is invited to attend.

DAYTONA BEACH, FLA.
NEWS-JOURNAL
SUN. 36,784

JAN 27 1963

New Trend Predicted In Race Relations

A new trend in race relations is moving slowly across the South and may put the South in the leadership in building a truly democratic society in America, the Florida Council on Human Relations was told yesterday afternoon in its annual meeting here.

Addressing the state organization's dinner at Bethune Cookman College was Paul Anthony of Atlanta, field director for the Southern Regional Council. Anthony substituted for Wiley Brandt, also of Atlanta, an attorney who is conducting a voter education drive in the South for the S.R.C. Brandt missed his flight out of Atlanta and could not make the meeting.

BRANDT

Anthony cited such movements as the one by 27 Methodist ministers in Mississippi who announced their determination to do something to aid desegregation of schools in Mississippi; as the minister of the largest Methodist church in Mississippi announced his support of those 27 when they were attacked by segregationists; of the Governor of North Carolina declaring his support of merit employment on the state level and urging private industry to do the same; and of top businessmen in Birmingham, Ala., holding breakfast meetings weekly with Negro leaders.

"We have been saddled in the South with what we consider an ingenious procedure of 'tokenism'—a way to avoid the intent of court decisions," he said. "We have shoved a handful of Negro children into a sea of hostile White faces, and prided ourselves on our sense of inventiveness."

"But we haven't been smart at all. We've merely been indulging in one of the oldest practices in America. We're only catching up to an old American farce."

Anthony said the South yet can build the democratic society the World expects this nation to have.

"Ours is not a crusading organization, but we also are not just a band of people who want to do right," Anthony said. "There is no way we can have a committee meeting and have a good community, or just suddenly talk with the Mayor and achieve this good society. We must discipline ourselves with patience and realize we must never let an injustice remain, for in this way we have victims of the injustice who never can be compensated. Every man denied his equal opportunity and expression of his capability is another man damned. Every individual who is made to walk without dignity as a citizen is a person scarred." He urged all members of the council to support the organization's role as mediator in troubled areas and in urging progress in the South's desegregation move, putting emphasis on job opportunity.

The board of directors authorized the hiring of a new executive director by June 1st, contingent on raising the necessary funds in the budget.

Elected president of the Florida Council was Dr. Ralph Dreger, Jacksonville University professor, who replaces Mabel Norris Chesley, News-Journal associate editor.

Other officers are: Mrs. Henrine Banks, Daytona Beach, vice president; Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Miami, secretary; and Herbert Davidson, Daytona Beach, treasurer. Members of the executive board are: Mrs. Francis Miles, Daytona Beach; Rev. Caxton Doggett, Winter Park; Dr. Richard V. Moore, Daytona Beach; Rabbi J. Marshall Taxay, Clearwater; and Mrs. Chesley.

New members of the board of directors are: Mrs. Patricia Chesley, Gainesville; V. C. Johnson, Dinsmore; Mrs. George Lewis II, Tallahassee; and Mrs. Wilhelmina Rutledge, Jacksonville.

The organization set up a budget of $14,962, which includes $6,975 from the Southern Regional Council, to aid in the work to better race relations in Florida. Some $2,000 was contributed by the nearly 125 members attending yesterday's meeting. The rest is to be raised by other contributions and memberships.

ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION
SUN. 502,157

JAN 20 1963

Negroes Here Step Up Voter Registration Campaign

Atlanta's All-Citizen Registration Committee has stepped up plans to increase Negro voter registration this year, especially in Fulton County areas outside the Atlanta city limits.

The committee, after a meeting recently, approved plans for a "comprehensive campaign to increase registration in the Negro community," according to committee cochairmen Jesse Hill Jr. and Dr. C. A. Bacote.

The campaign will center on Negroes included on the 15,500-plus purge list and the "problem of the very low numbers of registered voters in the communities of Fulton County outside the Atlanta city limits.

The committee plans to contact those Negroes on the pending purge "to prevent the loss of registered voters.

The "crash program" to register new voters, especially those outside the city limits, will consist of two phases, Mr. Hill said.

ONE is directed at the heavy courthouse traffic of persons purchasing license tags and paying taxes. The second is directed at unregistered high school students.

Schedules have already been made for the mass registration of prep students from Howard, Washington, Turner, Carver and Price High Schools.

The All-Citizens Registration Committee was founded in 1946 shortly after the "white primary" was declared unconstitutional by the federal court. It has co-ordinated the voter registration efforts of Negroes since then.

AN ATLANTA attorney, meanwhile, reported that a recent voter education project for the Southern Regional Council was responsible for registering 27,839 Negroes in Atlanta, Memphis, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Baton Rouge, Jackson and southeast Virginia.

Wiley Branton, the attorney, said some of the drives had affected the outcome of elections, including the defeat of Rep. James C. Davis and the election of Leroy Johnson to the Georgia State Senate.

NEWARK, N.J.
AFRO-AMERICAN
SAT. 6,649

FEB 2 1963

WILEY BRANTON

WILEY BRANTON, Bluff (Ark.) attorney heading up a Southern Regional Council voter education project, last week in Atlanta said the campaign which resulted in 27,839 new voters in seven areas was responsible for the defeat of **Rep. James C. Davis** and the election of **Leroy Johnson** to the Georgia state senate.

* * *

MIAMI BEACH, FLA.
TIMES
W. 3,400

FEB 2 1963

Phil Ossofer Says . . .

It is gratifying to know that those religious leaders who met in the recent Conference of Religion and Race in Chicago have agreed that no religion in America can practice its convictions and preach racism. How we hope the representatives of the many denominations of Christianity who attended will return home and convince their brother clergymen to speak out for justice and dignity for all mankind.

An excellent example of the needed attitude is portrayed in Rabbi Mantiband of Temple B'nai Israel in Hattiesburg, Miss., who has continually spoken out against racial inequality. The October, 1962 issue of "New South", published by the Southern Regional Council, describes his outstanding courage against those who would maintain Southern tradition. The Rabbi decided early that in his personal life there would be no distinction between any of God's children, and vowed never to sit in the presence of bigotry and by his silence seem to give consent.

When he was asked by his Temple board to discontinue speaking on race, he refused. His congregation affirmed his valiant decision. He preached on the Emeett Till lynching and "What Mississippi has to atone for." He raised his voice in shame and anger over the unprosecuted lynch murder of Mack Parker.

He and Mrs. Mantinband have long welcomed Negro company in their home. When White Protestant neighbors inquire about the guests, he says. "They're some Christians friends of mine."

Isn't it ironic that one who has accepted Jesus Christ is living a true Christian life while his "Christian neighbors are not? How blind are the blind!

It is a shameful fact that in Mississippi the Christ light is darkened in the hearts of many of those who claim to worship Him, while it beams brightly in the heart of one who has not recognized Him, but who apparently lives His teachings. It is something to think about.

MIAMI, FLA.
TIMES
W. - CIRC. NOT AVAIL.

FEB 9 1963

LITTLE ROCK ATTORNEY IS SPEAKER

Thursday, Feb. 14 is a date everyone should remember because it is not only St. Valentine's Day, but also the day a very distinguished man will come to Miami to deliver the main address at a Crusade For Voters' mass meeting. The setting is in St. John's Baptist Church, 1328 NW 3rd Ave. at 8:15 p.m. and the man this article reference to is Attorney Wiley A. Branton, director of the Voted Education Project of Atlanta, Ga.

The Voter Education Project (VEP) which Atty. Branton heads is a special program of the Southern Regional Council, engaged in research relating to the causes for low registration of voters in 11 southern states. This is a cooperative effort, which includes the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) NAACP, National Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, as well as many local organizations.

Weldon Rougeau, field secretary for CORE and a representative of the VEP is currently in Miami working in voter registration.

Attorney Branton's greatest legal achievement lies in the desegregation of public schools in Little Rock in 1957 when he represented the 13 Negro students seeking admission. He has also worked on the Freedom Ride and Sit-in cases.

Among a few of the many awards and honors bestowed upon Atty. Branton are the C. Francis Stratford award by the National Bar Association at Chicago in 1958, the Democratic Minority Conference award at Los Angeles in 1959, the Arkansas Conference NAACP award for outstanding legal work in the field of civil rights in 1958 and on Sept. 14, 1962(Life Magazine cited him as one of the 100 most important young men and women in the U. S. As you can see, one will certainly miss a treat by failing to see and hear Atty. Branton.

Others on the program include Miss Bertha Johnson, soloist; the Dorsey Junior High School choir, and Dr. H. Franklin Williams, vice president of the University of Miami.

KINSTON, N.C.
FREE PRESS
D. 10,783

FEB 9 1963

Using Area Leaders

The program of the 8th annual Institute on Human Relations which opens at 8 p. m. Sunday in the Lenoir County Court-house is featuring state and regional leaders in the field of human relations this year. This approach should enhance the sponsoring Inter-Racial Committees objective of developing better race relations in this community.

The first speaker will be Dr. James N. Dabbs of Mayesville, S. C., who is president of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. He is an author, lecturer, teacher and student of human relations. He has spent many years studying the region and its problems. He has a contagious sense of humor. Those who know and appreciate his messages describe him as "a reasoned student and teacher."

The other speaker will be Dr. Walter N. Ridley of Elizabeth City. He is president of the Elizabeth City Teachers College. He speaks at 8 p. m. on February 17. His experience in human relations parallels a great deal of North Carolina's experience and action in this field. His observations should provoke further helpful thought. He is a "good neighbor" who seeks to help.

The entire program should appeal to a wide cross-section of citizens from Lenoir and adjacent counties. The fact that this is the eighth in a successful series indicates the sponsoring committee's efforts have met with continuing approval in these yearly Institutes.

GAINESVILLE, FLA.
SUN
D. 14,443 S. 14,683

FEB 13 1963

The New South Is Confab Topic

"Changing perspectives throughout the South" will be considered at the sixth annual institute of the Gainesville Council on Human Relations Friday and Saturday in the Presbyterian Student Center.

James McBride Dabbs, author of "The Southern Heritage" and "The Road Home" will be the keynote speaker.

He'll talk at 7 p.m. Friday. Dabbs is a plantation owner from Mayesville, S. C. and president of the Southern Regional Council on Human Relations.

Group discussions directed by experts in anthropology, sociology, psychology and religion will begin at 9 a.m. Saturday. After a covered dish luncheon, Sociologist Mary L. Divers will speak to the group.

BALTIMORE, MD.
AFRO-AMERICAN
W. 28,778

FEB 23 1963

Rabbi from Mississippi calls freedom rides publicity stunts

BALTIMORE

"Sit - ins, wade - ins and freedom rides were nothing but grandstand stunts for publicity."

The speaker, Rabbi Charles Mantinband, was addressing an audience at the Har Sinai Temple, Tuesday, on the subject: "The Deep South Is My Pulpit."

Rabbi Mantinband, a native of the South, whose congregation is in Hattiesburg, Miss., is thusly described in the Adult Institute program sponsored here by Jewish reform congregations and the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation:

An "outstanding advocate of civil rights and a vigorous opponent of segregation and of White Citizens Councils."

* * *

THE RABBI said during the lecture: "I don't like the word 'gradualism.' It will take something radical to work our way out of this Amercian dilemma."

But, he said, "I score the sit-ins and the freedom riders."

Rabbi Mantinband complained of "Yankee outsiders" leaving their "own soiled homes" to demonstrate in Mississippi.

He also chided Northern Rabbis for demonstrating in Mississippi without first consulting him.

"The greatest experts on Mississippi," he said, "are those persons who have never been there or those demonstrators who are there for 48 hours to get arrested and their names in the papers."

* * *

ACCORDING TO the rabbi, Mississippi is not as bad as it seems to be.

"It is dangerous to generalize," he said, "even about Mississippi.

"Mississippi is not a jungle. There are some other parts of the country equally as disgraceful.

"The best as well as the worst comes out of Mississippi."

To emphasize his point, he said that Leontyne Price, a Metropolitan Opera star, sang before an integrated audience of some 4,000 persons in her native Mississippi.

* * *

HE ALSO mentioned that Nobel Prize winner William Faulkner, Pulitzer prize winner Hodding Carter, and Olympic gold medal winner Ralph Boston, were all Mississippians.

"The way to measure Mississippi in 1963 is not to contrast her with other states," said the rabbi, "but with Mississippi in 1953 and 1943."

"We are making progress," he said.

* * *

RABBI MANTINBAND told of his own feelings, discussed the mood of the South and gave his views of the colored man's point of view.

He said that he decided, after searching his conscience and thinking the situation through very clearly, "never to sit in the presence of bigotry and hatred without giving my protest."

When he invited colored members of his congregation to his home, he said, it caused his Hattiesburg neighbors some embarrassment, but "they soon learned that it was my way."

Speaking about the South, Rabbi Mantinband said: "The South is rebellious. The word is 'Never!'

"Never in history has the Federal Government been in such ill - repute. The Governor (Ross Barnett) is considered a hero. Neighboring governors have pledged, with state funds, never to change.

* * *

"SOUTHERNERS no longer talk logically or listen to reason.

"The scene at the campus (University of Mississippi) was enough to make every American sick at heart."

With reference to Hitler, he warned the predominantly Jewish audience of the consequence of prejudice and hatred.

"The colored man is in revolt," said the rabbi, "but there is great unrest and confusion.

"There is discord and a lack of coordination. Their greatest leaders are not without doubts.

"Then there is the call for black supremacy. They have the NAACP and the Urban League.

* * *

"BUT THE most respected agency in the South is the Southern Regional Council (of which he is a member), whose purpose is to improve the entire South through extensive research and education."

With a prophet's glance into the future, the rabbi said: "Some day we will realize the folly of our day and set our house in order."

NEWSWEEK
NEW YORK, N.Y.
W. 1,529,440

FEB 25 1963

1962

INTEGRATION: Southern Regional Council

100 Years Later

Sitting with a few friends in his White House study, Abraham Lincoln paused for a moment to steady his hand before signing the Emancipation Proclamation. He wanted history to find no tremor in his signature, no sign of the months of legal, strategic, and social doubts he had put behind him. When at last he acted, he rested his case not on his own moral compunctions about slavery but on "military necessity." It was an act of war; Lincoln could only hope that, in peace, the two races "could gradually live themselves out of their old relation to each other."

Have they? In this centennial year of emancipation, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights handed President Kennedy a Lincoln's birthday present last week—a 246-page report taking the measure of the Negro's progress in the 100 years since Lincoln struck his chains. "We have come a far journey," the report concluded. And indeed, that same day, a President of the U.S. could welcome several hundred Negro VIP's, ranging from U.S. Court of Appeals Judge Thurgood Marshall to singer, dancer, actor, and Hollywood Clansman Sammy Davis Jr., to a White House reception. Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy and the Lyndon Johnsons posed with some of the visitors (photo). It marked another symbolic milestone on that painfully slow journey.

The commission found many such milestones clustered in the last fifteen years—a time, so it said, of "national awakening of the American conscience" and of a quickening tempo of progress. "Most momentous" was the Supreme Court's school desegregation ruling of 1954. "From this decision," the report said, "has flowed a series of court decisions making it clear that segregation is a dead letter in every area of public activity." If progress toward integration was slow, events had settled some issues: "Violence will not be tolerated . . . closed schools are not an answer; and, as time passes, the courts will demand something more than token compliance." The decision, besides, had injected new energy into the efforts of civil-rights groups on other fronts: voting, employment, housing. "As the century following emancipation draws to a close," the report said, "more forces are working for the realization of civil rights for all Americans than ever before in history."

But the picture was not all so sanguine—particularly for those Northerners who take the comfortable view that race is a Southern problem. In the South, the report said, "the irresistible force is moving the object which was thought to be immovable . . . It is [in the North] that the last battle for equal rights may be fought in America." The barriers there—de facto housing segregation, overcrowded ghetto schools, job discrimination—are "subtler forms of denial and the more difficult to eliminate."

Big Three: Not surprisingly, the acceleration of the Negro's progress has made him all the more ambitious and impatient to break the remaining barriers. At Detroit's Wayne State University last week, the new urgency and militancy pervaded a joint strategy symposium of the top executive officers of the NAACP, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Urban League.

The NAACP's Roy Wilkins plumped

Dick Darcey—Washington Post

Lincoln Day: The John F. Kennedys pose with Mrs. Robert Kennedy, the Lyndon Johnsons, and (standing, from left) Mr. and Mrs. Erwin Griswold, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Weaver, Mrs. Leroy Johnson, Johnson, Roy Wilkins, Mr. and Mrs. James Farmer, Mr. and Mrs. Spottswood Robinson III, Mrs. Whitney Young

for "selective" local boycotts, using the Negro's $20 billion buying power as a lever for equal job opportunity. The Urban League's Whitney Young promised "crash programs" to break down hiring barriers—not so much for Negro professionals, as in the past, as for "the 80 per cent . . . who could have a given job if they were white." And CORE's James Farmer said a cadre of young leaders would soon be fanning out, North and South, from "freedom task force" training schools that teach the history and philosophy of non-violent action—and the hard lessons of experience in the sit-ins and Freedom Rides.

"We now have new laws, new language," Young summed up, "and everyone is talking very sweetly. The problem from this point forward is . . . in implementing it [the law]." The alternatives? Young raised some of the specters: more crime, bigger welfare bills, waxing strength for such anti-white sects as the Black Muslims. Farmer saw the darker threat of bloodshed, North and South.

"If we have to wait another 100 years, there will be violence," he said. "The mood of the Negro is such that he cannot wait another 100 years. Frankly, we can't go another 25 years—or even fifteen years—in our Northern cities without violence. And in the South many of the homes—if not most—are armed. Had it not been for non-violent groups, there would have been violence long ago. Unless the process can be speeded up, the non-violent forces will fight a losing battle."

Progress or Publicity?

The record—on paper—was impressive. Since 1961, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity had been rounding up the signatures of major government contractors on "Plans for Progress"—voluntary action programs to eliminate job discrimination. John F. Kennedy himself boosted the program as a "historic step forward," and the figures seemed to bear him out. To date, 105 companies have taken the pledge—a source of pride along the New Frontier.

But even within the family, differences have cropped up. The committee, chaired by Vice President Lyndon Johnson, has its own "doves" and "hawks"—its advocates of friendly persuasion and its apostles of compulsory action. Executive director John Field was known among insiders as a hawk. Accordingly, when he announced his resignation two weeks ago, speculation buzzed that the policy split was at least one reason. The talk grew when executive vice chairman Hobart Taylor, by reputation a dove, was named Field's successor in effect (though he will carry the title of executive chairman on the committee's newly revised organization chart).

How effective has persuasion been in practice? Not very, according to a survey by the respected, interracial Southern Regional Council in its home town, Atlanta. Among 24 Plans for Progress firms with offices, plants, or regional headquarters there, the council found only three—Lockheed, Western Electric, and Goodyear—that showed a "vigorous desire to create job opportunities." Four others could offer some evidence that they tried to comply. But the remaining seventeen, despite the pledges, had "paid varying degrees of attention to Plans for Progress, ranging from ignorance to indifference."

But Not Here: A few, in fact, didn't even know what the plans were; one regional manager called the program "Alliance for Progress." Others dismissed them out of hand: "I have other things to worry about, like selling merchandise." Some felt they had done their part by hiring Negro janitors. Some pleaded the pressure of local custom. "We have to be localized in Atlanta," an airline man said. And a regional official for a national firm explained: "When we signed this Plans for Progress thing, we signed it as a corporation as a whole. It doesn't mean that down here we have to hire them."

As the report reached Washington last week, one man close to the President's committee saw comfort in the fact that as many as three firms were complying. But others were dismayed that seventeen were not. Berl I. Bernhard, staff director for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, found it a "highly disturbing" statistic that "raised questions about the other Plans for Progress promises." A Southern Regional Council official offered a bitter answer: "The Plans for Progress program has caused a lot more publicity than progress."

PENSACOLA, FLA.
JOURNAL
D- 52,230

FEB 27 1963

College Desegregation Up

IN THE LAST TWO YEARS some 89 colleges, both public and private, have desegregated in the 17 Southern and border states, most of them "with neither fuss nor fanfare," according to a Southern Regional Council compilation just made public.

This is an increase of 30 per cent in the number of desegregated colleges and universities since 1961 in the area covered, a rise from 108 public and 94 private to 161 public and 130 private. A few restrict Negro enrollment to graduate and professional level.

Now all Southern States have at least one desegregated institution of higher learning, including the University of Alabama which has been under court order since 1956 but which has no Negro students now.

Some other schools may have no Negro students but statements of governing boards have indicated admission regardless of race, or they are under court order.

NEW YORK, N.Y.
TIMES
WESTERN EDITION
D. 100,000

PAGE ONE CLIPPED

FEB 28 1963

U.S. Accused of Planning Illegal School Integration

9649

By CLAUDE SITTON

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTA, Feb. 27—The legally discredited "salt-and-pepper" desegregation plan has been accepted, in effect, by the Kennedy Administration for schools serving Southern military bases.

Such a system provides one school for whites, one for Negroes and one for pupils choosing to attend desegregated classes. Its proposed use by public schools was rejected by the United States Court of Appeals in both the Fifth and Sixth Circuits.

The disclosure that the Health, Education and Welfare Department was taking steps that would result in a "salt-and-pepper" system at six installments drew angry reaction today from civil rights leaders. Their comments ranged from "ridiculous" to "incredible."

One high Government official in Washington conceded: "You would hardly call it a blow for freedom."

Integration Ordered

The situation grew out of efforts by the Health, Education and Welfare Department to carry out a policy decision last year by its leader, Abraham Ribicoff, now Senator from Connecticut. He held that segregated schools were not "suitable" for children of personnel living on military bases.

The department then announced that, unless schools serving the bases were desegregated before September, 1963, it would build and operate class-

Continued on Page 1, Column 7

U.S. Is Accused of Illegal Plan To Integrate Its Pupils in South

9649

Continued from Page 1, Col. 3

rooms for the military dependents. This constituted an implied warning that the Government would withdraw the approximately $180 a year per pupil it contributes to school systems in these Federal areas.

In a companion Federal action, the Justice Department filed desegregation suits against some of the 242 Southern and border state school systems receiving these funds. The legal right to initiate these suits has been challenged, and the courts have not yet issued a final ruling.

Following the refusal of local school officials to promise desegregation, the Health, Education and Welfare Department moved to implement the Ribicoff ruling. But it decided to limit its immediate application to elementary schools and to those bases where a "substantial number" of pupils was involved—that is, more than 200.

Construction Planned

The installations affected included the following: Ft. McClellan, Ala., with 231 white pupils and 19 Negroes living on the base; Ft. Rucker, Ala., 878 whites and 14 Negroes; Ft. Stewart, Ala., 271 whites and 23 Negroes; Robins Air Force Base, Ga., 657 whites and 8 Negroes; Ft. Jackson, S.C., 185 whites and 18 Negroes; and Myrtle Beach Air Force Base, S.C., 354 whites and 20 Negroes.

James M. Quigley, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, said the department would build classroom space at each installation sufficient to house all its children of elementary school age. He noted that under Public Law No. 874 the responsibility for providing "suitable" education extended only to children of base residents.

Mr. Quigley, who was reached by telephone at his Washington office, said the estimated goal of construction was $2,000,000. Most of the projects likely will go to local contractors.

Local education officials will be offered the opportunity to operate these new schools, according to the Assistant Secretary.

Mr. Quigley said pupils might continue to attend segregated schools off the base if they so desired. And for each one who does, the local system will be paid the usual amount of Federal funds.

Some education officials in the affected areas have been quoted as having predicted that many of the white children would choose to remain in the segregated schools. Some observers said they believed this would leave the base institutions with an almost all-Negro group of pupils.

Mr. Quigley agreed that this might be the practical result of the Government plan and admitted that in other circumstances it would not be acceptable under the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decision.

"I think if this were being put forward by a school district as a suitable way of complying with the 1954 Supreme Court decision, it would be turned down," he said.

Mr. Quigley contended that because of the local officials' refusal to desegregate their systems, the department had no alternative but to construct classrooms for children on the base. Nevertheless he said he did not believe military officials had authority to force the pupils to use them.

One Washington source said this course of action was dictated by Administration officials who wanted to avoid an outright withdrawal of school-aid funds. They feared this would lead to a controversy with the Southern bloc in Congress.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, called on Anthony J. Celebrezze, the department's present secretary, to scrap the salt-and-pepper plan.

Policy Called 'Incredible'

In a statement issued in New York, Mr. Wilkins asserted:

"It is incredible that the Federal Government would adopt as an official policy in February, 1963, a program which the Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare admits would be thrown out by the United States Supreme Court if a local school board adopted it.

"The department's newly announced plan for continued subsidizing of Jim Crow schools nullifies the modest steps announced by former Secretary Abraham Ribicoff."

Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, said in Atlanta that if the department went ahead with the plan, "the Federal Government will appear ridiculous."

"One, it is establishing a tri-school plan repeatedly disallowed by the Federal courts," said Mr. Dunbar. "Two, it is saying, in effect, that segregated schooling is not 'unsuitable' for white children. Three, the Federal Government is offering to hire the services of local school administrators who will not operate their own schools according to the Constitution."

The Washington Post
WASHINGTON, D.C.
D. 407,089 S. 474,073

FEB 28 1963

Segregation Foes Rap On-Base School Plans

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

The Federal Government was accused yesterday of helping to perpetuate school segregation with its program to build integrated schools on military bases in the hard-core South.

The criticism came after James M. Quigley, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, conceded that the program could establish a three-school system around the bases — an integrated school on base and segregated schools for whites and Negroes off base.

"Incredible," was the reaction of Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP in New York, who called for a change in the HEW program.

"Fantastic . . . ludicrous," said Leslie Dunbar, Director of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

"We have to be practical and have a workable program," said Quigley, who also indicated that the Defense Department may decide to operate the base schools in a manner more satisfactory to civil rights advocates.

HEW announced last week that it will build integrated schools for the children of base personnel at Ft. Jackson and Myrtle Air Force Base in South Carolina, Ft. Stewart and Robins Air Force Base in Georgia and Ft. McClellan and Ft. Rucker in Alabama.

Children on these installations now attend public schools off-base. The local school boards have been receiving Federal grants to cover the cost. HEW's action came after the school boards refused to desegregate the schools.

Quigley said yesterday that the local school boards would [illegible]ven the option of operat[illegible] on-base schools and [illegible]eive grants for [illegible] said that the [illegible]e probably [illegible] choice of [illegible] inte-

plan, actually rewarding them financially."

In a tongue-in-cheek editorial, the Atlanta Journal noted that one Tom Linder, an also-ran gubernatorial candidate in 1954, advocated the three-school system as well as predicting the end of the world. Perhaps, said the Journal, another look should be taken at that prediction.

Quigley said HEW had no atuhority to operate the on-base schools once they are built, that either local school boards or the Defense Department would operate them. Perhaps, he said, the Defense Department will direct that all on-base children must attend the on-base schools.

The HEW official said the Department hopes to keep the on-base schools to the elementary level. Accreditation of high schools, he said, would pose a knotty problem.

Quigley also noted that the HEW program was only part of a two-pronged effort by the Federal Government to fight school segregation at Southern military bases. The Justice Department has filed desegregation suits against schools serving Biloxi-Gulfport, Miss., Shreveport, La., and Huntsville and Mobile, Ala.

NORFOLK, VA.
VIRGINIAN-PILOT
D. 5 710

FEB 28 1963

Integrationists Assail U. S. School Plan

By ROBERT E. BAKER

Special to The Virginian-Pilot

WASHINGTON — The federal government was accused Wednesday of helping to perpetuate school segregation with its program to build integrated schools on military bases in the hard-core South.

The criticism came after James M. Quigley, assistant secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), conceded the program could establish a three-school system around the bases — an integrated school on base and segregated schools for whites and Negroes off-base.

"Incredible," was the reaction of Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP in New York, who called for a change in the HEW program.

"Fantastic," "ludicrous," said Leslie Dunbar, director of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

"We have to be practical and have a workable program," said Quigley.

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Children on these installations now attend public schools off-base. The local school boards have been receiving federal grants to cover the cost. HEW's action came after the school boards refused to desegregate the schools.

Quigley said Wednesday that the local school boards would be given the option of operating the on-base schools and would receive grants for doing so. He said the children on the base probably would be given the choice of attending the on-base integrated schools or the off-base segregated schools.

Both the NAACP and the Southern Regional Council pointed out that federal courts have refused to permit Houston, Dallas and Nashville school boards to set up such three-school systems.

For the NAACP, Wilkins sharply attacked HEW's plan "to continue subsidizing Jim Crow schools." For the Southern Regional Council, Dunbar said:

"Far from penalizing the local school districts for non-compliance with the Constitution, the federal government will be, in the HEW plan, actually rewarding them financially."

Quigley said HEW had no authority to operate the on-base schools once they are built, that either local school boards or the Defense Department would operate them. Perhaps, he said, the Defense Department will direct that all on-base children must attend the on-base schools.

The HEW official said the department hopes to keep the on-base schools to the elementary level. Accrediation of high schools, he said, would pose a knotty problem.

Quigley also said the HEW program was only part of a two-pronged effort by the federal government to fight school segregation at southern military bases. The Justice Department has filed desegregation suits against schools serving Biloxi-Gulfport, Miss., Shreveport, La., and Huntsville and Mobile, Ala.

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LABOR REPORTS
NEW YORK, N.Y.
MONTHLY
FEB 1963

SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL

by Harry Gersh

We know from experience that segregationists will throw out the baby with the bath water, cut off their noses to spite their faces, and in general destroy their culture and economy rather than let Negroes share them - and add to them.

Still, every new manifestation of this self-destructive madness makes us wonder whether the news stories can possibly be true. Are those people for real?

For instance: When the sit-ins began, the sitters-in decided to open the Danville, Virginia, library to all people who loved books or needed to consult books. They didn't think that allowing a Negro to read Carl Sandburg's biography of Lincoln or the latest best-seller was either subversive, unconstitutional, or un-American.

The idea of a Negro borrowing the same copy of Tobacco Road as a white person was too much for Danville's city fathers. So they shut down the library altogether.

That was quite a hardship - on the whites. The Negroes hadn't been allowed in the library anyway. Now it was closed to whites too. Smart.

Eventually they caught on. They reopened the library on a stand-up basis. Negroes and whites could use the library - but they couldn't sit down. After some kids developed hernias and bursitis trying to hold the encyclopedia with one hand while making notes with the other - standing up - the city fathers relented.

Now Danville's library is integrated.

In Greensville, South Carolina, the story began to unfold the same way. But not with the same steps. There the city father's bowed to the inevitable. They opened their library on a racially integrated basis - but they segregated the sexes. Black and white can go to the same library at the same time in Greensville if they're the same sex. But if a high school student sits down in the library next to his girl friend - in come the police.

See. I said these stories are hard to believe.

Which brings up the whole problem of Negro access to culture in the South. The Southern Regional Council looked at the movie programs in 13 Southern cities on a single day to see what was being offered in white theatres and in Negro theatres.

In Richmond, Virginia, for example, whites had a choice of 12 movie programs ranging from The Music Man to Aida, from Bird Man of Alcatraz to Guns of Darkness. Negro moviegoers had a choice of three programs - Tarzan Goes to India, a double bill headed by Don't Knock the Twist, and another headed by Lonely Are the Brave.

Whatever the cultural values of movies, a choice between Tarzan and the Twist is at least a hardship; at most cruel and unusual punishment. That's unconstitutional.

Oddly, the live theatre picture is a lot brighter. Of 23 theatres, 10 are segregated, 13 are not. Still, Negroes living in and around Columbia, Jackson, Savannah, Charlotte, Dallas are barred from the legitimate theatre.

Libraries, museums, theatres, movies are not side issues. Schools are only part of the educational process. An integrated school alongside of a segregated library, museum, theatre means that three-fourths of the community's education facilities are closed to Negroes; and they have only one-fourth the opportunities of whites to learn and progress.

JLC Labor Reports

KANSAS CITY, MO.
STAR
D. 334,790 S. 363,420

MAR 1 1963

WOUNDED IN MISSISSIPPI.

Negro Voter Registration Worker Is Shot.

Greenwood, Miss. (AP) — A barrage of shots fired from a passing car wounded a Negro voter registration leader, a companion reported today.

The registration leader, Jimmy Travis, was hit in the neck near Greenwood late last night. At the Greenwood hospital he was reported in satisfactory condition.

The report on the shooting came from Robert Moses of Greenville, who, with Randolph Blackwell of Atlanta, accompanied Travis.

Travis and Moses, Negroes, are field secretaries for the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating committee. Blackwell, also a Negro, is associated with the Southern Regional council. Neither Moses nor Blackwell was injured.

KANSAS CITY, MO.
TIMES
D. 330,412

MAR 2 1963

Unite for Vote Drive in South

(© 1963, New York Times News Service.)

Atlanta — Four major civil rights organizations yesterday announced that they were joining forces immediately in a saturation campaign to register Negro voters in Leflore County, Miss.

The action followed the shooting of a Negro registration worker Thursday night on a highway west of Greenwood, seat of the rich farming and industrial county in the heart of the Mississippi Delta.

The victim, 20-year-old James Travis, was moved early yesterday to a Jackson hospital. He was being treated for a gunshot wound in the neck and was expected to recover.

The registration drive was announced here by Wiley A. Branton, director of the Voters Education project. The project was established last year by the Southern Regional council "to find the best ways of increasing the electorate in the South."

ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL
D. 257,694

MAR 1 1963

FLEXIBLE TACTICS

Notes on New Realities in Shifting Southern Race Relations History

I

By PAT WATTERS

THE HISTORY of race relations in the South (and its interlocking relationship with present crucial world history) is rapidly shifting, and whole new concepts and situations are only gradually becoming understood and reacted to.

Probably the best succinct presentation of many of these new developments to date was in a speech by Charles F. Wittenstein, Southeast area director of the American Jewish Committee, at that organization's recent annual dinner.

"There was a time," he said, "when we in Atlanta could talk of little but race relations. That time has passed, but for the region as a whole, race remains the central issue. But the way in which that issue is formulated has changed. We no longer wonder 'whether or not,' but we ask 'how' and 'when.' "

TACTICS

The speech goes into how—the tactics, listing as most important direct action, successful on lunch counters and in calling attention to injustices; litigation, most effective in desegregating public institutions, and negotiation, effective in desegregating privately owned facilities.

Negotiation, Mr. Wittenstein pointed out, "requires responsible Negro and white leadership. . . . Neither negotiation or picketing would have ever gotten James Meredith in Ole Miss. Sometimes negotiation has been effective only when combined with direct action or litigation, or when there is the threat that such other tactics may be used."

He cited Albany as an example of misused tactics. "I would liken the city fathers of Albany to the Pharoah in Egypt. Their hearts were hardened and no demonstration could persuade them to modify their policy of massive resistance. This situation was ideally suited for neither direct action nor negotiation, but litigation.

"Finally, a suit was filed by the NAACP — and it will be this suit (or one like it) that will eventually bring desegregation to Albany, not Martin Luther King, not the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and not the courageous but futile demonstrations by Negroes of the Albany movement, or their visiting Northern supporters."

He cited the contrast between federal intervention in Oxford and lack of it in Albany, saying the federal government, "rightly or wrongly" never found in Albany a handle like the Meredith court order. He also cited Albany's "ultimate refinement" of the Jackson, Miss., approach of jailing "everybody who publicly demonstrates against Jim Crow," and said an ensuing important debate is on the "duty of the federal government to actively protect its citizens in the exercise of freedom of speech and assembly against police infringement."

Then he went on to say calm negotiation offers the most hope where it is possible in good faith as in Macon and Brunswick.

OBSERVATION

Rounding out the presentation was the observation that Alabama is experiencing an undercurrent of public sentiment against massive resistance which "may be too little and too late but is encouraging," and the point that efforts are underway in Atlanta to translate locally the ideas of the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race.

Overall, this was a hopeful and constructive presentation, as well as informative. An interesting footnote to it, especially on the question of negotiation, is the Southern Regional Council report on results in Atlanta of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity's voluntary Plans for Progress agreements. Twenty-four firms here have signed them; only seven show "evidence of compliance," and "only three appear to have responded with vigor," these being Lockheed, Western Electric and Goodyear.

Mr. Wittenstein's main point would seem to apply here: "In matters of tactics . . . we must always be guided by the test of effectiveness."

Cider From The Georgia Press

Many nations apparently want to wrest in peace.—*Kate's Korner in The Dawson County Advertiser.*

HOUSTON, TEXAS
CHRONICLE
D. 215,198 S. 243,108

MAR 2 1963

Civil Rights War In Mississippi Declared

Greenwood, Miss. (UPI) — A civil rights leader, angered by the shooting of one of his workers, said Friday the nation's most powerful integrationist groups would pool their resources to make Leflore County "the testing ground for democracy."

The challenge was made to Gov. Ross Barnett in a telegram from Wiley A. Branton of Atlanta, director of the Voter Education Project, who also alerted Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy.

"The campaign will begin immediately. You must anticipate that this campaign will be met by violence and other harassment," Branton told Kennedy.

"We are notifying you in advance so that you can provide at once the necessary federal protection to prevent violence and other forms of intimidation against registration workers and applicants."

Branton said the shooting of Jimmy Travis, 20-year-old Negro voter registration worker, here Thursday night was not the first harassment of such workers.

Travis was struck twice by a fusilade fired at a car in which he and two other civil rights workers were riding. He was reported in satisfactory condition in a Jackson hospital.

Branton said "the time has come for us to pick up the gauntlet. We are accordingly . . . announcing a concentrated, saturation campaign to register every qualified Negro of Leflore County," he said.

The "full resources" of a number of co-operating agencies would be concentrated immediately in the county, Branton said. He listed among these agencies the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Congress of Racial Equality.

NYACK, N.Y.
JOURNAL-NEWS
D. 16,460

MAR 2 1963

Government Warned:

Negro Registration Shoots Off To Fighting Start In Mississippi

GREENWOOD, Miss. (UPI)—A civil rights leader, angered by the shooting of one of his workers, said Friday the nation's most powerful integrationist groups will pool their resources to make LeFlore County "the testing ground for democracy."

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A 45-caliber bullet lodged near Travis' spine was removed Friday and turned over to the FBI, which is investigating the incident. Travis, who also suffered a shoulder wound, was reported in satisfactory condition in a Jackson hospital.

Branton said "the time has come for us to pick up the gauntlet.

"We are accordingly...announcing a concentrated, saturation campaign to register every qualified Negro of LeFlore County," he said.

The "full resources" of a number of cooperating agencies would be concentrated immediately in the county, Branton said. He listed these agencies as SNCC, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
TRIBUNE
D. 229,837 S. 661,654

MAR 2 1963

Drive Set for Negro Voters in Mississippi

New York Times Service

ATLANTA, Ga. — Four major civil rights organizations Friday announced that they were joining forces immediately in a saturation campaign to register Negro voters in Leflore County, Miss.

The action followed the shooting of a Negro registration worker Thursday night on a highway west of Greenwood, seat of the rich farming and industrial county in the heart of the Mississippi Delta.

THE VICTIM, 20-year-old James Travis, was moved early yesterday to a Jackson, Miss., hospital. He was being treated for a gunshot wound in the neck and was expected to recover.

The registration drive was announced here by Wiley A. Branton, director of the Voter Education Project. The project was established last year by the Southern Regional Council "to find the best ways of increasing the electorate in the South."

Pledging support were the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Council, the Congress of Racial Equality and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Branton also telegraphed President Kennedy that he must anticipate that the campaign would be met with violence and should be prepared to provide federal protection. He said this protection had not been extended in the past.

SIMILAR telegrams went to Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy, Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi, Dr. John Hannah, chairman of the Federal Civil Rights Commission, and other federal officials.

MOUNT VERNON, N.Y.
WESTCHESTER OBSERVER
W. - CIRC.N.AVAIL.

MAR 2 1963

Civil Rights Reports Given President

WASHINGTON, D. C. — President Kennedy on Feb. 12 was presented a copy of a report on civil rights developments over the past one hundred years by Robert G. Storey, vice chairman of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, as part of the Emancipation Proclamation centennial observance at the White House the same evening.

Other participants in the brief ceremony were Commissioners Erwin N. Griswold, Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., Robert S. Rankin, and Spottswood W. Robinson III, Staff Director Berl I. Bernhard, Clarence Clyde Ferguson Jr., and M. Carl Holman, staff member.

A White House reception attended by government officials and civil rights leaders from all over the nation followed the presentation of the report.

THE TITLE of the report, "Freedom to the Free," comes from the passage in Abraham Lincoln's Second Annual Message to the Congress in December 1862 in which he said: "In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free — honorable alike in what we give, and what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope of earth."

Copies of the book-length report may be obtained by writing to the Supt. of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. Price $1 (paper cover).

The report was prepared by the commission at President Kennedy's request. In preparing the report, the commission's research staff benefited from a manuscript prepared for the commission by Dr. John Hope Franklin, chairman of the department of history at Brooklyn College, and papers developed under the direction of Dr. Charles Wesley, president of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and of Wilberforce (Ohio) University.

THE REPORT briefly sketches in the events which led up to the emancipation decree, then summarizes one hundred years of efforts by Negroes themselves, federal, state, and local governments, and civil rights groups to make equality under the law a reality for the American Negro.

Noting the halting pace at which gains were made in the decades between Reconstruction and the second World War, the report states: "the legally free Negro citizen was denied the franchise, excluded from public office, assigned to inferior and separate schools, herded into ghettos, directed to the back of the bus, treated unequally in the courts of justice, and segregated in his illness, his worship, and even in his death."

Nearly one-half of the commission's report deals with the post-World War II period since, according to Staff Director Bernhard, "the most positive and fundamental civil rights developments have taken place within the past ten or fifteen years."

THE 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decisions, the voting safeguards provided by the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, the ICC rulings of 1961 desegregating travel, and the Presidential executive orders in the fields of employment and housing are among the governmental actions recorded in this section of the report.

The report also chronicles the legal battles of the NAACP, the advances won through negotiation by the Urban League, and the successes gained through the nonviolent, direct-action approach employed in the sit-in movement and the "freedom rides."

ENLIGHTENED state and local governments, and such groups as the Southern Regional Council and some of the major religious bodies, are described as playing significant roles in recent civil rights progress.

In the final chapter of the report, entitled "The Task Ahead," the commission concludes that "We have come a far journey from a distant era in the 100 years since the Emancipation Proclamation. At the beginning of it, there was slavery. At the end, there is citizenship.

" . . . The condition of citizenship is not yet full-bloom or fully realized for the American Negro. There is still more ground to cover. The final chapter of the struggle for equality is yet to be written."

CHARLESTON, S.C.
NEWS AND COURIER
D. 61,500 S. 73,339

MAR 2 1963

Local Boards Given Option On Mixed Military Schools

Official's Remarks Irk Negro Leaders

By ROULHAC HAMILTON

WASHINGTON — Assistant Health, Education and Welfare Secretary James M. Quigley said Friday that local school boards are being given an option to operate integrated federal on-base schools at Myrtle Beach Air Force Base and Fort Jackson.

If the local boards reject the chance to operate the elementary schools which will be established next September at the two military bases, they will be operated by the Defense Department, Quigley said.

The HEW official, who signed the basic order to establish the schools because of refusal of local districts to desegregate, said that his own department has no authority to actually operate the schools through its office of education.

Quigley said that if the local boards elected to operate the on-base integrated schools at the two South Carolina military installations, and at four other southern bases, they would receive federal compensation for doing so.

ATTENDANCE OPTION

In addition, he said, parents of children resident on-base probably would be given the option of sending them to the integrated on-base schools or to segregated off-base local schools. But, the HEW official added, if the Defense Department operates the schools, it is possible that on-base children will be required to attend them, with off-base dependents of service personnel permitted to do so.

Quigley said his department hopes to keep the program for establishment of on-base schools at southern military posts at the elementary level. He said that accreditation of on-base high schools established in the fight against segregation would be a knotty problem.

Quigley conceded that the program set up by HEW, which might be extended to many more southern military bases a year from now, could result in establishment of a three - school system in the South — segregated for whites and Negroes off-base and racially integrated on-base.

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NEGRO LEADERS

Quigley's remarks brought down on his head accusations from Negro leaders that the federal government was helping perpetuate segregation with the on-base integrated school program.

"Incredible," said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "Fantastic, ludicrous," said Leslie Dunbar, director of the Southern Regional Council.

Wilkins said that under the HEW plan, the federal government would "continue subsidizing Jim Crow schools." Dunbar said that "far from penalizing local school districts for non-compliance with the constitution, the federal government will be, in the HEW plan, actually rewarding them financially."

Both Wilkins and Dunbar want HEW to cut off all impacted-area-aid to local school districts which continue segregation, despite the mandatory nature of the law providing such assistance to them.

Quigley said that "we have to be practical and have a workable program." But he indicated that the Defense Department might decide to operate on-base schools in a manner more satisfactory to the Negro leaders, if the local boards elect not to operate them, as appears to be the case in South Carolina.

NEW YORK, N.Y.
TIMES
WESTERN EDITION
D. 100,000

MAR 2 1963

NEGRO'S SHOOTING SPURS VOTE DRIVE

4 Rights Groups Will Press Mississippi Campaign

By CLAUDE SITTON
Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTA, March 1 — Four major civil rights organizations announced today that they were joining forces immediately in a saturation campaign to register Negro voters in Leflore County, Miss.

The action followed the shooting of a Negro registration worker last night on a highway west of Greenwood, seat of the rich farming and industrial county in the heart of the Mississippi delta.

The victim, James Travis, 20 years old, was moved early today to a Jackson hospital. He was being treated for a gunshot wound in the neck and was expected to recover.

The registration drive was announced here by Wiley A. Branton, director of the voter was established last year by the Southern Regional Council "to find the best ways of increasing the electorate in the South."

Mr. Branton also telegraphed President Kennedy that he must anticipate that the campaign would be met with violence and should be prepared to provide Federal protection. He said this protection had not been extended in the past.

Similar telegrams went to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi, Dr. John Hannah, chairman of the Federal Civil Rights Commission, and other Federal officials.

Latest 'Vicious Assault'

"This is but the latest of these vicious assaults against registration workers and applicants in Mississippi," the telegrams said. "This can no longer be tolerated. We are accordingly today announcing a concentrated, saturation campaign to register every qualified Negro in Leflore County."

Mr. Branton said the following organizations, all active in the voter education project, had pledged their full resources to the drive:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the Southern Christian Congress of Racial Equality, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Leflore joined Sunflower

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The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the Southern Christian Congress of Racial Equality, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Leflore joined Sunflower County, home of Senator James O. Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and birthplace of the militantly Councils. The locale of the campaign and the forces behind it promise to make it a major test of Mississippi's resistance to racial change and the Kennedy Administration's determination to enforce the rights of Negroes. This was underscored in the three-page announcement issued by Mr. Branton.

"The state of Mississippi has repeatedly thrown down a gauntlet at the feet of would-be Negro voters, not only by the discriminatory practices of the registrars, but also by economic pressures, threats, coercion, physical violence, and death to Negroes seeking the right to vote," he asserted.

Plan to Meet Challenge

"The time has come for us to pick up the gauntlet. Leflore County, Miss., has elected itself as the testing ground for democracy and we are accordingly meeting the challenge there."

Mr. Branton emphasized that methods would be peacable and lawful and that the campaign would be conducted openly through literacy schools, meetings, and individual contacts.

"Based on the unhappy experience of recent months we must anticipate that our efforts will be met by continued harrassment and violence," he said.

He contended that both the Federal Government and that of Mississippi has not only failed to provide this protection in the past, but, in fact, has cooperated with those who would deny basic rights to American citizens of color.

NASHVILLE, TENN.
TENNESSEAN
D. 131,339 S. 207
PAGE ONE
CERTIFIED
MAR 2 1963

Delta Shooting Starts Negro Voting Drive

4 Civil Rights Groups Join For Mass Registration Effort In Mississippi; U.S. Aid Asked

By CLAUDE SITTON
The New York Times News Service

ATLANTA—Four major civil rights organizations announced yesterday that they were joining forces immediately in a saturation campaign to register Negro voters in Leflore County, Mississippi.

The action followed the shooting of a Negro registration worker Thursday night on a highway west of Greenwood, seat of the rich farming and industrial county in the heart of the Mississippi delta.

The victim, James Travis, 20, was moved early yesterday to a Jackson hospital. He was being treated for a gunshot wound in the neck received when his car was fired on from a passing auto. He was expected to recover.

(Travis and two companions in the car at the time of the shooting, Robert Moses of Greenville, Miss., and Randolph Blackwell of Atlanta, are all active in a voter registration drive, the Associated Press said.

(MOSES SAID the bullets came from a white car that passed them about seven miles out of Greenwood on U.S. Highway 82 as they were driving toward Greenville.

(Several bullets ripped into the car and smashed windows, Moses said. Neither he nor Blackwell was hurt.

(Blackwell is associated with the Southern Regional Council's voter educational project. Travis and Moses are field secretaries for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a desegregation group.

(Moses said the same white car, carrying three white men, had been observed earlier circling around the committee office here.)

The registration drive was announced here by Wiley A. Branton, director of the voter education project. The project was established last year by the SRC "to find the best ways of increasing the electorate in the South.'

BRANTON ALSO telegraphed President Kennedy that he must anticipate that the campaign would be met with violence and should be prepared to provide

(Turn to Page 2, Column 1)

Delta Shooting Starts Negro

(Continued From Page One)

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Leflore joined Sunflower County, home of Sen. James O. Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and birthplace of the militantly white supremacist Citizen's Councils.

The locale of the campaign and the forces behind it promise to make it a major test of Mississippi's resistance to racial change and the Kennedy administration's determination to enforce the rights of Negroes. This was underscored in the three-page announcement issued by Branton.

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"The time has come for us to pick up the gauntlet. Leflore County, Miss., has elected itself as the testing ground for democracy and we are accordingly meeting the challenge there."

Branton emphasized that methods would be peaceable and lawful and that the campign would be conducted openly through literacy schools, meetings, and individual contacts.

"BASED ON the unhappy experience of recent months we must anticipate that our efforts will be met by continued harrassment and violence," he said.

Scranton contended that both the federal government and that of Mississippi had a responsibility to protect voter registration workers.

However, he said, "the state of Mississippi has not only failed to provide this protection in the past, but, in fact, has cooperated with those who would deny basic rights to American citizens of color."

"The federal Congress and executive have, in the past, failed to meet the minimum requirements for protecting the rights of Negro citizens in Mississippi."

Voting is a federally guaranteed right, declared Branton, and the United States has an obligation not only to punish community lawlessness that interfers with this right but also to put it down.

"We, therefore, call upon the President of the United States to use his executive powers to help make meaningful the provisions of the 15th Amendment—100 years late."

WINTER HAVEN, FLA.
NEWS-CHIEF
D. 6,924 S 7,300

MAR 3 1963

Mixing Backers Set Dixie Bid To Test Democracy

GREENWOOD, Miss. (UPI) —A civil rights leader, angered by the shooting of one of his workers, said Friday the nation's most powerful integrationist groups will pool their resources to make LeFlore County "the testing ground for democracy."

The challenge was made to Gov. Ross Barnett in a telegram from Wiley A. Branton of Atlanta, director of the Voter Education Project, who also alerted Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy.

"The campaign will begin immediately. You must anticipate that this campaign will be met by violence and other harassment," Branton told Kennedy.

"We are notifying you in advance so that you can provide at once the necessary federal protection to prevent violence and other forms of intimidation against registration workers and applicants."

Branton said the shooting of Jimmy Travis, 20-year-old Negro voter registration worker, here Thursday night was not the first harassment of such workers.

Travis was struck twice by a fusilade fired at a car in which he and two other civil rights workers were riding. One of the other occupants of the car, Bob Moses, Greenville, Miss., field worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), said the shots came from a car containing three white men. Neither Moses nor Randolph Blackwell, a companion, was hit by the bullets.

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"We are accordingly...announcing a concentrated, saturation campagin to register every qualified Negro of LeFlore County," he said.

The "full resources" of a number of cooperating agencies would be concentrated immediately in the county, Branton said. He listed these agencies as SNCC, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the ongress of Racial Equality (CORE).

DAYTONA BEACH, FLA.
NEWS-JOURNAL
SUN. 36,784

MAR 3 1963

Human Relations HQ Coming To Daytona

The Florida Council on Human Relations will return its headquarters from Jacksonville to Daytona Beach in June to be under the direction of Lou Mitchell of Birmingham, Ala., Dr. Ralph Dreger announced here last night.

Mitchell is resigning from the pastorate of the largest Episcopal Church in Alabama to accept the post of Executive Director for the state human relations group. Dreger, a Jacksonville University professor, has been serving as voluntary director since last July with the assistance of his wife, Dr. Georgia Dreger. Dreger recently was elected president of the organization.

The Florida Council has chapters in all of the state's larger cities and many at large members in smaller communities.

Founded about 20 years ago, the Council's stated purpose is to develop programs for youth and adult education to counteract prejudice based on racial, religious, nationality or ethnic grounds; to stimulate interest among community groups to further democratic attitudes and acceptance of the nation's multicultural society, and to cooperate with local, state, regional and national agencies to achieve the objectives.

The local organization, Halifax Area Human Relations Council, is headed by Mrs. Lilburn Moseley.

Mitchell, his wife and their five children will arrive here in June to establish their residence. He will travel the state in assisting groups to form constructive programs and arouse further interest in the work.

His salary and other expenses of the organization are paid through memberships, voluntary contributions and matching grants from the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta.

TAMPA, FLA.
TRIBUNE
D. 151,577 S. 166,246

MAR 3 1963

State Human Relations Council To Move Office

DAYTONA BEACH (AP) — The Florida Council on Human Relations will return its headquarters to Daytona Beach, site of its birth years ago under the direction of Lou Mitchell of Birmingham, Ala., Dr. Ralph Dreger announced here Friday night.

Mitchell is resigning from the pastorate of the largest Episcopal church in Alabama to accept the post of executive director for the state human relations group. Dreger, a Jacksonville University professor, has been serving as voluntary director since last July with the assistance of his wife, Dr. Georgia Dreger. Dreger recently was elected president of the organization.

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ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION
SUN. 502,157

MAR 3 1963

Emancipation Act Of Lincoln Studied

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. By John Hope Franklin. 156 pp. Garden City: Doubleday. $3.50.

By JOE LOUIS TUCKER

If contemporary American historians were to list men who have made outstanding contributions to their profession, John Hope Franklin undoubtedly would rank near the top of the list.

Historian Franklin is a competent and perceptive student of Negro life in America. He has written numerous books about the Negro before and after the Civil War.

From innumerable sources, newspapers, magazines, unofficial and official documents, manuscripts, books and diaries, Franklin has now produced a timely, scholarly, exciting history of the evolution of a document — the Emancipation Proclamation.

Mr. Tucker is in the research department of the Southern Regional Council.

THE PROCLAMATION has received considerable attention during the 100 years since it was promulgated by Abraham Lincoln. Franklin deals with the principal outlines of its history and discusses its general significance at the time of its enunciation as well as to later generations of Americans.

He traces Lincoln's emotional and mental struggle as the Great Emancipator moved toward the signing and explores the circumstances which imposed counteracting pressures on the President.

The book throughout is concerned with a factual rather than sentimental evaluation of the Emancipation Proclamation. Franklin measures the impact of the signing as a moral and military force.

WITHOUT underestimating the proclamation's importance, the historian explains why its signing was so long delayed — and why a century later its great expectations have not been fully realized. The proclamation actually freed no slaves in 1863, but there can be no doubt that it sounded the death knell of human slavery in America.

Those laymen who read this book will find John Hope Franklin's style easy to follow, his organization of materials masterly, his generalizations properly supported and his use of factual illustrations excellent.

WINTER HAVEN, FLA.
NEWS-CHIEF
D. 6,924 S 7,300

MAR 3 1963

Quotes From The News

(Reg. U.S. Pat. Off.)

By United Press International

GREENWOOD, Miss.—Wiley A. Branton, director of the Voter Education Project, telling atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennnedy that other integration groups will help register Negroes in a county where a civil rights worker was shot:

"We are notifying you in advance so that you can provide at once the necessary federal protection to prevent violence and other forms of intimidation against registration workers and applicants."

PENSACOLA, FLA.
JOURNAL
D- 52,230

MAR 5 1963

Report Says Progress Slow, and . . .

Negro Job Equality 'Rare'

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP)—Southern Negroes constantly are reminded of the two cardinal rules which apply to them when it comes to hunting for a job.

They must not work on an equal status with white persons, and

They must not, if it can at all be avoided, supervise white persons.

The Southern Regional Council has made several studies to determine what is being done to place Negroes in positions other than traditional jobs.

One study indicates that Macon, Ga., is doing a better job in raising the working standards of the Negro than any other Southern city.

There were these other findings:

Atlanta's image as a leader in the integration movement in the South is, for the most part, only an image.

While scattering of Negro clerks can be found among Atlanta's smaller downtown stores, the city's two biggest department stores have only one Negro clerk each.

This compares with more than 100 such positions held by Negroes in Macon.

Although there are about 1,500 persons in apprenticeship training programs in Dade County, Miami, Fla., none is a Negro.

Negroes at Houston, Tex., predominate as folders in laundries—hot and strenuous work paying $25 a week—and as shirt press operators, considered by laundry owners as highly skilled work.

Desegregation of various public facilities and upgrading of Negro employment has moved ahead quietly in Macon. Negroes there are being given such jobs as clerks, sales girls, cashiers and similar positions in stores which previously employed only white persons.

In 1961, President Kennedy issued an executive order giving the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity powers to require government contractors to eliminate job discrimination. The executive order was called the Plans for Progress.

The key to the plan was that it was voluntary. Eventually, more than 100 major companies in the United States with federal contracts signed the agreement. Of these, 24 were either located or had branch offices in Atlanta.

Of the 24, says the Southern Regional Council, only three lived up to the agreement: Lockheed's plant at nearby Marietta, Ga.; Western Electric Co., and Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.

Robert B. Troutman Jr., an Atlanta lawyer and a former member of the committee which drew up the Plans for Progress, said in his final report last summer that 37 firms throughout the nation which signed the agreement reported a 10 per cent increase in nonwhite workers in a six-month period.

The total increase in income for nonwhite workers was expected to have been about $7.8 million, but the report shows that actual income was $27 million.

The Southern Regional Council noted that only a small proportion of this additional income was paid in the South.

In salaried positions, as distinguished from hour-paid jobs, the 37 companies reported at the beginning that only one per cent of the jobs were held by nonwhites.

At the end of the six months Troutman reported, 6.6 per cent of the new salaried jobs were filled by nonwhites.

The council says that "except for a handful of the companies, the Plans for Progress were, for the regional offices in Atlanta, largely meaningless."

Only seven of the firms gave any evidence that they are trying to comply with their pledges, the council said.

Many employers in the South say they hire Negroes because it is good business to hire good workers. Most do not want any publicity.

A young Negro woman, hired as a maid by a jewelry store in Miami, does all of the store's bookkeeping and earns a bookkeeper's salary. The manager still requires her to wear a maid's uniform, so his customers won't know that she works in a white collar job.

In Houston, a bakery, two automobile dealers and a brewing company have hired Negro salesmen. But they work with Negro customers.

A national food processing firm at Houston says the company now has more Negroes in key positions than at any time in the firm's history. These include foremen, supervisors, and coffee processors.

And a taster in the coffee-blending department, a prestige position, is a Negro with long seniority.

DALTON, GA.
CITIZEN-NEWS
D. 6,972

MAR 4 1963

Quotes From The News

GREENWOOD, Miss.—Wiley A. Branton, director of the Voter Education Project, telling Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennnedy that other integration groups will help register Negroes in a county where a civil rights worker was shot:

"We are notifying you in advance so that you can provide at once the necessary federal protection to prevent violence and other forms of intimidation against registration workers and applicants."

BATON ROUGE, La.—U.S. District Court Judge E. Gordon West, condemning the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision:

"As far as I can see, all that has been accomplished (by the decision) is to create discontent and chaos without any real benefits. Even more regrettable is the fact that almost without exception, trouble has resulted from the decision."

WILMINGTON, DEL.
NEWS
D. 34,518

MAR 5 1963

Must Be 2d in Dixie

Studies Show Low Negro Job Status

By JACK STILLMAN
AP Writer

ATLANTA — Southern Negroes constantly are reminded of the two cardinal rules which apply to them when it comes to hunting for a job.

—They must not work on an equal status with white persons.

—They must not, if it can at all be avoided, supervise white persons.

The Southern Regional Council has made several studies to determine what is being done to place Negroes in positions other than traditional jobs.

One study indicates that Macon, Ga., is doing a better job in raising the working standards of the Negro than any other southern city.

THERE WERE these other findings:

Atlanta's image as a leader in the integration movement in the South is, for the most part, only an image.

While a scattering of Negro clerks can be found among Atlanta's smaller downtown stores, the city's two biggest department stores have only one Negro clerk in each.

This compares with more than 100 such positions held by Negroes in Macon.

ALTHOUGH there are about 1,500 persons in apprenticeship training programs in Dade County (Miami), Fla., none is a Negro.

Negroes at Houston, Tex., predominate as folders in laundries—hot and strenuous work paying $25 for a 50-hour week—and as shirt press operators' considered by laundry owners as highly skilled work.

Desegregation of various public facilities and upgrading of Negro employment has moved ahead quietly in Macon. Negroes there are being given such jobs as clerks, sales girls, cashiers and similar positions in stores which previously employed only white persons.

IN 1961, PRESIDENT Kennedy issued an executive order giving the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity powers to require government contractors to eliminate job discrimination. The executive order was called the plans for progress.

The key to the plan was that it was voluntary. Eventually, more than 100 major companies in the United States with federal contracts signed the agreement. Of these, 24 were either located or had branch offices in Atlanta.

Of the 24, says the regional council, only three lived up to the agreement: Lockheed's plant at nearby Marietta, Ga., Western Electric Co., and Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.

ROBERT B. TROUTMAN Jr., an Atlanta lawyer and a former member of the committee which drew up the plans for progress, said in his final report last summer that 37 firms throughout the nation which signed the agreement reported a 10 per cent increase in non-white workers in a six-month period.

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The council says that "except for a handful of the companies, the plans for progress were, for the regional offices in Atlanta, largely meaningless."

Only seven of the firms gave any evidence that they are trying to comply with their pledges, the council said.

Many employers in the South say they hire Negroes because it is good business to hire good workers. Most do not want any publicity.

OWENSBORO, KY.
MESSENGER-INQUIRER
D. 25,436 S. 24,307

MAR 5 1963

Byrelles

Some Dixie Areas Raising Negro Working Standard

By JACK STILLMAN

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Many employers in the South say they hire Negroes because it is good business to hire good workers. Most do not want any publicity.

A young Negro woman, hired as a maid by a jewelry store in Miami, does all of the store's bookkeeping and earns a bookkeeper's salary. The manager still requires her to wear a maid's uniform, so his customers won't know that she works in a white collar job.

In Houston, a bakery, two automobile dealers and a brewing company have hired Negro salesmen. But they work with Negro customers.

A national food processing firm at Houston says the company now has more Negroes in key positions than at any time in the firm's history. These include foremen, supervisors, and coffee processors.

And a taster in the coffee-blending department, a prestige position, is a Negro with long seniority.

A leading flower farm at Chattanooga, Tenn., with a large southeast clientele, employed a Negro flower designer who works with white colleagues.

President Kennedy in his address to Congress on Feb. 28 made no recommendation in the realm of racial discrimination in employment. He did however, caution labor unions which have been accused of discrimination. He said he hoped administrative and legal action would make legislation unnecessary.

AUGUSTA, GA.
CHRONICLE
D. 46,564 S. 57,597

MAR 5 1963

Macon is surprise leader in improving Negroes' jobs

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — Southern Negroes constantly are reminded of the two cardinal rules which apply to them when it comes to hunting for a job.

They must not work on an equal status with white persons, and They must not, if it can at all be avoided, supervise white persons.

The Southern Regional Council has made several studies to determine what is being done to place Negroes in positions other than traditional jobs.

One study indicates that Macon, Ga., is doing a better job in raising the working standards of the Negro than any other Southern city.

There were these other findings:

Atlanta's image as a leader in the integration movement in the South is, for the most part, only an image.

While scattering of Negro clerks can be found among Atlanta's smaller downtown stores, the city's two biggest department stores have only one Negro clerk each.

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Although there are about 1,500 persons in apprenticeship training programs in Dade County, Miami, Fla., none is a Negro.

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The key to the plan was that it was voluntary. Eventually, more than 100 major companies in the United States with federal contracts signed the agreement. Of these, 24 were either located or had branch office in Atlanta.

Of the 24, says the Southern Regional Council, only three lived up to the agreement; Lockheed's plant at nearby Marietta, Ga.; Western Electric Co., and Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.

Robert B. Troutman Jr., an Atlanta lawyer and a former member of the committee which drew up the Plans for Progress, said in his final report last summer that 37 firms throughout the nation which signed the agreement reported a 10 per cent increase in nonwhite workers in a six-month period.

MOULTRIE, GA.
OBSERVER
W. 2,297

MAR 6 1963

Macon Reportedly Doing Best Job Helping Negroes

ATLANTA (AP)—A study by the Southern Regional Council indicates that Macon, Ga., is doing a better job in raising the working standards of Negroes than any other southern city.

The Council made the study to determine what is being done to place Negroes in positions other than traditional jobs.

Two cardinal rules apply to Negroes who are job hunting, the bi-racial group reported. These are that Negroes must not work on an equal status with white persons and must not, if it can be avoided, supervise white persons.

Atlanta's image as a leader in the integration movement in the South was termed only an image by the council. A scattering of Negro clerks have been employed by small downtown Atlanta stores but the city's two largest department stores have only one Negro clerk each. The council said this compares with more than 100 such positions held by Negroes in Macon.

The council said desegregation of various facilities and upgrading of Negro employment moved ahead quietly in Macon. Negroes there are being given such jobs as clerks, sales girls, cashiers and similar positions in stores that previously hired only white persons.

In other findings the council reported:

More than 100 major companies holding federal contracts signed an agreement requiring them to eliminate job discrimination. The agreement was contained in an executive order by President Kennedy in 1961 giving the President's Committee an Equal Employment Opportunity power to require such compliance.

Of the 100 firms signing the agreement, 24 were either located or had branch offices in Atlanta. The Council said only three of the 24 lived up to the agreement. It listed these as Lockheed's Marietta, Ga., plant, Western Electric Co., and Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.

NORFOLK, VA.
VIRGINIAN-PILOT
D. 115,710

MAR 6 1963

Defense To Run 6 Schools

Special to The Virginian-Pilot

WASHINGTON — The Defense Department will operate the new integrated elementary schools which the government plans to build on six military bases in segregated Southern communities, Anthony J. Celebrezze announced Tuesday.

Thus, the local school boards operating segregated schools in these districts will lose federal funds for on-base children attending the integrated schools, added Celebrezze, secretary of health, education and welfare.

The secretary made the announcement to clarify the government's position after it was accused of helping to perpetuate segregation with its new on-base school building program.

ON 6 BASES

Last month HEW announced it will build integrated schools for the children of base personnel at Ft. Jackson and Myrtle Air Force Base in South Carolina, Ft. Stewart and Robins Air Force Base in Georgia and Ft. McClellan and Ft. Rucker in Alabama.

The criticism came last week from the NAACP and the Southern Regional Council after Asst. HEW Secretary James M. Quigley said local school boards would be given the option of running the on-base schools and would receive federal grants for doing so.

Quigley conceded the new program could establish a three-school system — integrated on-base schools and segregated schools for whites and Negroes off base. The NAACP and the Southern Regional Council noted that federal courts have refused to permit such three-school systems.

Celebrezze emphasized Tuesday that "the local school boards will not operate these schools."

They "will not, therefore, receive any federal funds with respect to the education of these children" attending the on-base elementary schools, he added.

As for the children living on-base who may want to continue attending an off-base segregated school, the secretary said the government does not expect this to happen. But he did not mention the on-base high school students who presumably will have to attend community schools.

Celebrezze said there are special programs available only in the local schools.

However, "with few exceptions, parents residing on these bases send their children to the on-base schools," he said.

The Washington Post
WASHINGTON, D.C.
D. 407,089 S. 474,073

MAR 7 1963

U. S. to Run On-Base Integrated Schools

The Defense Department will operate the new integrated elementary schools which the Government plans to build on six military bases in segregated Southern communities, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Anthony J. Celebrezze announced yesterday.

Thus, the local school boards operating segregated schools in these districts will lose Federal funds for on-base children attending the integrated schools, added Celebrezze.

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To Lose Federal Funds

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Celezrezze said there are special reasons for an elementary student to attend the local public schools. For instance, he said, mentally retarded children may require special programs available only in the local schools.

However, "with few exceptions, parents residing on these bases send their children to the on-base schools," he said.

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PINE BLUFF, ARK.
COMMERCIAL
D. 19,445 S. 19,607

MAR 7 1963

Attacks Aimed at Negroes Who Are Attempting to Vote

WILEY BRANTON
Former Pine Bluff Attorney

In a Press Release from the Voter Education Project

On the night of February 28, 1963, in LeFlore County, Mississippi, white men, from their moving car, shot and seriously wounded a young Negro registration worker. The victim was James Travis of Jackson, Mississippi, a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. This attack, with intent to kill, was made by men who had been observed throughout the evening watching a building in Greenwood where registration workers were meeting.

After the meeting, Travis, Robert Moses, Director of the Council of Federated Organizations, and Randolph Blackwell, Field Director of our Voter Education Project, drove from Greenwood down U.S. Highway 82. Some miles outside Greenwood the attackers' car drove alongside and opened rifle or pistol fire. Fortunately, only Travis was wounded.

TRAVIS WAS returned to a hospital in Greenwood. The local police and the Department of Justice were promptly notified. On March 1, Travis was moved to a hospital in Jackson.

This is but the latest of brutal attacks in Mississippi, southwest Georgia, and other areas of the South, against registration workers and would-be Negro voters. These registration workers are people cooperating with the Voter Education Project. This Project, which has the endorsement of the chairmen both of the Democratic and Republican National Committees, is a large scale effort to find the best ways of increasing or she has any desire to do so.

Our methods will, at all times, be peaceable and lawful and will be conducted in the best traditions of American democracy.

The campaign will be conducted openly. Voter registration is a civic duty, and registration workers will dignifiedly and publicly carry on their activities, which will include literacy schools, meetings, and individual contacts.

BASED ON the unhappy experience of recent months we must anticipate that our efforts will be met by continued harassment and violence. The state of Mississippi and the United States government each have a responsibility to protect those seeking the right to vote for all citizens. The state of Mississippi has not only failed to provide this protection in the past but, in fact, has cooperated with those who would deny basic rights to American citizens of color. The federal Congress and Executive have, in the past, failed to meet the minimum requirements for protecting the rights of Negro citizens in Mississippi.

Recently, the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has said: "This Committee finds that the Federal Government has not provided the citizens of Mississippi the protection due them as American citizens." We concur in this finding.

REGARDLESS OF past attitudes and actions, we are advising the Governor of Mississippi

hospital in Greenwood. The local police and the Department of Justice were promptly notified. On March 1, Travis was moved to a hospital in Jackson.

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BUT IN certain outlaw communities registration workers have been constantly harassed and put in danger of life. Negroes seeking to register have been cruelly treated.

These are intolerable conditions to expose people to, and they cannot be allowed to continue. Accordingly, there is a need to establish once and for all that in this land people do not have to be afraid to be free.

The state of Mississippi has repeatedly thrown down a gauntlet at the feet of would-be Negro voters, not only by the discriminatory practices of the registrars, but also by economic pressures, threats, coercion, physical violence, and death to Negroes seeking the right to vote. The time has come for us to pick up the gauntlet. LeFlore County, Mississippi, has elected itself as the testing ground for democracy and we are accordingly meeting the challenge there.

WE ARE, therefore, announcing that the full resources of the agencies cooperating with us in the Voter Education Project will be immediately concentrated in LeFlore County, Mississippi. Mr. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Mr. James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Mr. James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality, have agreed with us today to put all necessary support at once into a concerted campaign to get every qualified Negro in LeFlore County registered to vote, if he

have, in the past, failed to meet the minimum requirements for protecting the rights of Negro citizens in Mississippi.

Recently, the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has said: "This Committee finds that the Federal Government has not provided the citizens of Mississippi the protection due them as American citizens." We concur in this finding.

REGARDLESS OF past attitudes and actions, we are advising the Governor of Mississippi of our plans for action in LeFlore County and have asked that the state of Mississippi provide protection.

We have also notified the Attorney General of the United States that this campaign is being undertaken and we have called to his attention our past experiences regarding the failure of the state and federal governments to protect the citizens of Mississippi. We have requested that federal protection be provided immediately to assure the personal safety of those working in voter registration or who seek the right to vote. We are asking the Justice Department to take the necessary legal action to see to it that discriminatory practices by the registrar cease and desist.

Voting is a federally guaranteed right, and when its exercise is prevented by community lawlessness, the United States government has an obligation not only to punish that lawlessness but to put it down.

We, therefore, call upon the President of the United States to use his executive powers to help make meaningful the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment — 100 years late.

ATLANTA, GA.
INQUIRER
W. 18,960

PAGE ONE
CERTIFIED

MAR 9 1963

1962

"SHOOTINGS WON'T STOP MISSISSIPPI VOTE DRIVE"

Field Secretaries for the Atlanta-based Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) have vowed that the near-fatal shooting of one of their workers outside Greenwood, Mississippi last Thursday night won't stop their drive to register Negro voters in Mississippi.

Jimmy Travis, 20, of Jackson, Mississippi, was shot twice in the hail of bullets that broke out three windows in the rented car he was driving. Two other occupants of the car - SNCC's Bob Moses and Randolph Blackwell of the Voter Education Pro-

CONTINUED TO PAGE 7

Mississippi

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

ject- were unhurt.

Travis was operated on at the University Hospital in Jackson on last Saturday night. Doctors removed a slug from the base of his neck that they said would have killed him instantly if it had hit a little harder.

"The Travis shooting is not the first incident of violence we've faced in Mississippi," one worker told the Inquirer. "Last summer, two girls were shot in Ruleville and four of our workers just missed being lynched in Greenwood when they jumped out of a second story office window to escape a mob of white men carrying ropes, chains and pipes."

SARASOTA, FLA.
HERALD TRIBUNE
D. 20,177 S. 24,183

MAR 10 1963

U.S. Surveying 24 Atlanta Firms

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The government has started a survey to determine whether some 24 Atlanta area firms are complying with non-discrimination agreements.

A spokesman for the President's Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity said that the survey is being conducted by the Defense Department and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the two major government contractors.

The compliance survey was based on a report by the Southern Regional Council—an independent biracial research group — which claimed that the companies were discriminating.

At the direction of Hobart Taylor Jr., executive vice-president of the President's committee, a preliminary survey was made.

The spokesman said not all of the comapnies would be checked because some were very small.

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,500

PAGE ONE CERTIFIED

MAR 10 1963

Job Survey Cites Real City Image

According to studies made by the Southern Regional Council, Macon, Ga., is doing a better job in raising the working standards of the Negro than any other southern city.

The report charges that Atlanta's image as a leader in the integration movement in the South is, for the most part, only an image.

The Southern Regional Council study said that while a scattering of Negro clerks can be found among Atlanta's downtown stores, the city's two largest department stores have only a few Negro clerks.

This compares with more than 100 such positions held by Negroes in Macon.

QUIET ADVANCE

Desegregation of various public facilities and upgrading of Negro employment has moved ahead quietly in Macon. Negroes are being given such jobs as clerks, sales girls, cashiers and similar positions in stores which previously employed only white persons, the sources stated.

In 1961, President Kennedy issued an executive order giving the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity powers to require government contractors to eliminate job discrimination. The executive order was called the Plans for Progress.

KEY TO PLAN

The key to the plan was that it was voluntary. Eventually, more than 100 major companies in the United States with federal contracts signed the agreement. Of these, 24 were either located or had branch offices in Atlanta.

Of the 24, says the Southern Regional Council, only three lived up to the agreement: Lockheed's plant at nearby Marietta, Ga., Western Electric Co., and Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.

Robert B. Troutman Jr., an Atlanta lawyer and a former member of the committee which drew up the Plans for Progress, said in his final report last summer that 37 firms throughout the nation which signed the agreement reported a 10 per cent increase in non-white workers in a six - month period.

The total increase in income for non - white workers was expected to have been about $7.8 million, but the report shows that actual income was $27. million.

The Southern Regional Council noted that only a small proportion of this additional income was paid in the South.

In salaried positions, as distinguished from hourly - paid jobs, the 37 companies reported at the beginning that only 1 per cent of the jobs were held by non - whites.

At the end of the six months, Troutman reported, 6.6 per cent of the new salaried jobs were filed by non - whites.

The council says that "except for a handful of the companies, the plans for progress were, for the regional offices in Atlanta, largely meaningless."

Only seven of the firms gave any evidence that they are trying to comply with their pledges, the council said.

President Kennedy in his address to Congress Feb. 28 made no recommendation in the realm of racial discrimination in employment. He did, however, caution labor unions which have been accused of discriminnation. He said he hoped administrative and legal action would make legislation unnecessary.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.
TIMES-PICAYUNE
D: 191,751 S: 302,524

MAR 10 1963

LA. DELAYS BID FOR U.S. GRANT

Non - Discrimination Provision Involved

Louisiana remains the lone holdout among 50 states in the federal manpower development and training program which began last September.

The state has yet to sign a contract for its trade schools to participate, according to the Southern Education Reporting Service of Nashville, Tenn.

The reporting service, which distributes periodic summaries of school desegregation activities in the South, said that Louisiana's officials have not offered explanations.

But, according to the service report, "reliable informants pointed to the non-discrimination clauses in the grants."

REJECT FEDERAL AID

Participation in the program could bring more than $1 million in federal funds to the state training schools, SERS says.

The service also noted that St. Tammany Parish has rejected federal aid, and is promoting a $1.9 million bond issue, to expand school facilities in view of the influx of about 1000 new pupils expected to come with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Mississippi Test Facility.

The report also revealed that a Department of Health, Education and Welfare plan for cutting off funds to segregated schools in federally impacted areas is not running according to its timetable.

Almost a year ago, the department announced that in the fall of 1963, segregated public schools would no longer be considered "suitable" to receive federal funds for educating the children of parents living or working on federal institutions.

HEW CHANGES PLAN

The department tried to persuade the school districts to desegregate, but only 15 — all in Texas and Florida — complied.

Since then, the department has backed away from its statement of a year ago. Instead of cutting off the money, HEW has decided:

—to establish some desegregated schools on armed forces bases — but only at the elementary level.

—to estalish these only where relatively large numbers of federally connected children are involved.

—to give the federally connected parents a choice of sending children to the desegregated on-base school or to an all-white or all-Negro school off the base. Aid payments will continue for the cost of educating the children who choose to attend the segregated schools.

APPLICATION LIMITED

And the department isn't applying the new plan to areas where desegregation suits have been filed against the school systems —in Bossier Parish, Louisiana; Biloxi, Gulfport-Mississippi, and Huntsville and Mobile, in Alaba-

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And the department isn't applying the new plan to areas where desegregation suits have been filed against the school systems —in Bossier Parish, Louisiana; Biloxi, Gulfport-Mississippi, and Huntsville and Mobile, in Alabama.

HEW's assistant secretary, James Quigley, also has said he "had a feeling" that nothing will be done this year about segregation in Dougherty county, Ga.

The county, which includes strife-afflicted Albany, has a Marine Corps depot and Turner Air Force Base. Quigley said the school board voted against mixing schools this year but sought a solution. This, he said, indicates "there is a possibility that they can next year, or the next."

The new on-base schools will be built — for about $2 million — at Ft. Jackson and Myrtle Beach Air Force Base in South Carolina, Ft. Stewart and Robins Air Force Base in Georgia, and Ft. McClelland and Ft. Rucker in Alabama.

CHARLESTON LEFT OUT

Desegregation advocates, critical of the plan, note that it doesn't include Charleston, which has the largest number of federally connected people in South Carolina.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Southern Regional Council have attacked the plan, comparing it to the "salt-and-pepper" plans overruled by federal courts in Houston, Dallas and Nashville.

Mississippi's NAACP president, Aaron Henry, told the state advisory committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights that the federal government is "dragging its feet on the civil rights issue."

He said federal money is subsidizing segregated state agencies and perpetuating "a system which denies the Negro a first class citizenship."

In Alabama, Gov. George C. Wallace said that a firm stand by his state's congressional delegation forced HEW to back away on its threat. Gov. Wallace said Alabama's congressmen have said they will kill the entire impacted aid program if any funds are withheld.

CHICAGO, ILL.
DAILY DEFENDER
D. 35,795

MAR 13 1963

On-Base Integration

The announcement by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare that the Defense Department will operate the new integrated elementary schools which the government plans to build on six military bases in segregated Southern communities, is indeed gratifying.

Thus, the local school boards operating segregated schools in these districts will lose Federal funds for on-base children attending the integrated schools.

The Secretary made the announcement to clarify the government's position after it was accused of helping to perpetuate segregation with its new on-base school building program.

Last month HEW announced that it will build integrated schools for the children of base personnel at Ft. Jackson and Myrtle Air Force Base in South Carolina, Ft. Steward and Robins Air Force Base in Georgia, and Ft. McClellan and Ft. Rucker in Alabama.

The criticism came from the NAACP and the Southern Regional Council after Assistant HEW Secretary James M. Quigley said that local school boards would be given the option of running the on-base schools and would receive Federal grants for doing so.

Mr. Quigley conceded that the new program could establish a three-school system—integrated on-base schools, segregated schools for whites and Negroes off base. The NAACP and the Southern Regional Council noted that Federal courts have refused to permit such three-school systems.

But HEW Secretary Anthony J. Celebrezze emphasized that "the local school boards will not operate these schools. They will not, therefore, receive any Federal funds with respect to the education of the children attending the on-base elementary schools."

The government's belatedness in reaching that decision has brought grief that might have been avoided had its on-base integration policy been established sooner and with greater clarity. The Kennedy Administration simply cannot afford to bow to stupid Southern traditions.

CHICAGO, ILL.
DAILY DEFENDER
D. 35,795

MAR 13 1963

U. S. Uses Courts, Funds To Push Desegregation

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — The federal government continues to press for more school desegregation in the South, using court action and the administration of its aid programs, Southern School News reports.

The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, using the threat of withdrawal of federal "impacted area" funds, has arranged for 15 Texas and Florida districts to desegregate. HEW announced it would provide on-base schools at six military installations where local authorities refuse to co-operate.

The U.S. Department of Justice filed four suits to desegregate public schools serving large numbers of military dependents and has joined in a fifth suit to force the reopening of Prince Edward County, Va., schools, closed since 1959.

President John F. Kennedy, in his first Congressional message devoted exclusively to civil rights. proposed new legislation on schools. He asked Congress to approve federal technical and financial assistance to districts that are in the process of desegregating.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

The President said "the Executive Branch will continue its efforts to fulfill the constitutional objective of an equal, non-segregated educational opportunity for all children."

Although the Department of Health, Education and Welfare announced plans to establish desegregated schools on six military bases, some military dependents will continue to attend segregated schools next year, and the districts will receive federal "impacted area" funds.

Almost a year ago the department announced that in the fall of 1963, segregated public schools would no longer be considered "suitable" to receive the federal funds for educating children of parents living or working on federal installations. HEW tried to persuade the segregated school districts to desegregate, but only 15 Texas and Florida school districts complied.

Instead of withdrawing all military dependents and federal aid from the remaining segregated districts, HEW adopted these policies:

On-base schools will be established at the elementary level.

The schools will be established only at military bases.

The children of federal personnel will be given a choice of attending a desegregated on-base school, or an all-white or all-Negro school off the base.

SNUB MISSISSIPPI

Associate Commissioner of Education Arthur Harris said Mississippi was not included in the plans because of pending school suits there. The Department of Justice has filed desegregation suits against schools serving military dependents at Biloxi-Gulfport, Miss.; Shreveport, La.; and Mobile, Ala.

Civil rights organizations have attacked some of HEW's policies. Both the NAACP and the Southern Regional Council compared the option of attending segregated or desegregated schools to the "salt-and-pepper" plans overruled by the federal courts for Houston, Dallas and Nashville.

In Mississippi, the state NAACP president, Aaron Henry, told the state advisory committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights that the federal government is "dragging its feet on the civil rights issue" there.

TO KILL AID PROGRAM

Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace said the Alabama Congressional delegation had forced the Department of Health, Education and Welfore to back away from its threat to withhold federal funds from segregated school districts.

The Huntsville and Madison County, Ala., school districts, which are defendants in one of the Justice Department suits, have 11,000 children of military and civilian personnel at Redstone Arsenal. These include 750 Negroes.

Fort Rucker, Ala., which is scheduled to receive one of the HEW on-base schools, has about 1,000 federally connected white students and 18 Negroes.

Small numbers of Negro students would be involved at the two Georgia bases scheduled to receive on-base schools. Houston County, which serves Robins AFB, has eight Negro military dependents and Liberty County has 22 or 23 Negroes from Fort Stewart.

34 DISTRICTS GET AID

James Quigley, HEW assistant secretary, said he "had a feeling" that nothing would be done this year about the segregated schools in Dougherty County, Ga., (Albany), which has a Marine Corps depot and Turner Air Force Base.

Thirty-four South Carolina school districts have received $29.8 million in federal "impacted area" aid since the plan began in 1950. Critics of the new HEW policy noted that the department did not include Charleston, location of the greatest number of federally connected people in the state.

Fort Jackson, where HEW plans an on-base school, has about 300 children attending a Richland County school off the base. The other installation scheduled to have its own school, Myrtle Beach AFB, has 400 white and some 20 Negro dependents attending Horry County elementary schools.

A few years ago, the government purchased two Beaufort County schools near Parris Island Marine Base and Beaufort Marine Air Station. The Marine installations took over operation of the schools and desegregated them.

KEEP AID

A Florida school district agreed in February to desegregate next fall rather than to lose the federal school funds. Okaloosa County's school board plans to assign 28 Negro students from Eglin Air Force Base and Hulbert Field to previously all-white schools. The board also agreed to start work on a plan for assignment of all federally connected students living off the bases — about 5,500 whites and 500 Negroes.

The school board members said government representatives not only threatened to cut off future funds, but also to sue for recovery of $5.5 million granted the county in previous years.

Louisiana is the only one of the 50 states that has not signed a contract agreement with the federal government for its trade schools to participate in the manpower development and training program which began last September. The state stands to lose over $1 million in federal funds.

In Atlanta, officials have desegregated voluntarily a vocational school financed largely by state and federal funds.

Smith-Hughes became the first desegregated vocational school in Georgia by admitting two Negro students.

Educators in the Houston area have urged the removal of racial barriers because, among other things, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration center is being built there. Federal grants to schools for education and research are administered under non-racial policies.

MERIDEN, CONN.
JOURNAL
D. 9,128

MAR 14 1963

Equality Of Employment Opportunity Comes Slowly For Negroes In South

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP)—Southern Negroes constantly are reminded of the two cardinal rules which apply to them when it comes to hunting for a job.

They must not work on an equal status with white persons, and they must not, if it can at all be avoided, supervise white persons.

The Southern Regional Council has made several studies to determine what is being done to place Negroes in positions other than traditional jobs.

One study indicates that Macon, Ga., is doing a better job in raising the working standards of the Negro than any other Southern city.

Other Findings

There were these other findings:

Atlanta's image as a leader in the integration movement in the South is, for the most part, only an image.

While scattering of Negro clerks can be found among Atlanta's smaller downtown stores, the city's two biggest department stores have only one Negro clerk each.

This compares with more than 100 such positions held by Negroes in Macon.

Although there are about 1,500 persons in apprenticeship training programs in Dade County, Miami, Fla., none is a Negro.

Negroes at Houston, Tex., predominate as folders in laundries—hot and strenuous work paying $25 a week—and as shirt press operators, considered by laundry owners as highly skilled work.

Progress In Macon

Desegregation of various public facilities and upgrading of Negro employment has moved ahead quietly in Macon. Negroes there are being given such jobs as clerks, sales girls, cashiers and similar positions in stores which previously employed only white persons.

In 1961, President Kennedy issued an executive order giving the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity powers to require government contractors to eliminate job discrimination. The executive order was called the Plans for Progress.

Voluntary Plan

The key to the plan was that it was voluntary. Eventually, more than 100 major companies in the United States with federal contracts signed the agreement. Of these, 24 were either located or had branch offices in Atlanta.

Of the 24, says the Southern Regional Council, only three lived up to the agreement: Lockheed's plant at nearby Marietta, Ga.; Western Electric Co., and Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.

Robert B. Troutman Jr., an Atlanta lawyer and a former member of the committee which drew up the Plans for Progress, said in his final report last summer that 37 firms throughout the nation which signed the agreement reported a 10 per cent increase in nonwhite workers in a six-month period.

The total increase in income for nonwhite workers was expected to have been about $7.8 million, but the report shows that actual income was $27 million.

The Southern Regional Council noted that only a small proportion of this additional income was paid in the South.

In salaried positions, as distinguished from hour-paid jobs, the 37 companies reported at the beginning that only one per cent of the jobs were held by nonwhites.

At the end of the six months, Troutman reported, 6.6 per cent of the new salaried jobs were filed by non whites.

The council says that "except for a handful of the companies, the Plans for Progress were, for the regional offices in Atlanta, largely meaningless."

Only seven of the firms gave any evidence that they are trying to comply with their pledges, the council said.

Don't Want Publicity

Many employers in the South say they hire Negroes because it is good business to hire good workers. Most do not want any publicity.

A young Negro woman, hired as a maid by a jewelry store in Miami, does all of the store's bookkeeping and earns a bookkeeper's salary. The manager still requires her to wear a maid's uniform, so his customers won't know that she works in a white collar job.

In Houston, a bakery, two automobile dealers and a brewing company have hired Negro salesmen. But they work with Negro customers.

A national food processing firm at Houston says the company now has more Negroes in key positions than at any time in the firm's history. These include foremen, supervisors, and coffee processors.

And a taster in the coffee-blending department, a prestige position, is a Negro with long seniority.

A leading flower farm at Chattanooga, Tenn., with a large southeast clientele, employed a Negro flower designer who works with white colleagues.

President Kennedy in his address to Congress on Feb. 28 made no recommendation in the realm of racial discrimination in employment. He did however, caution labor unions which have been accused of discrimination. He said he hoped administrative and legal action would make legislation unnecessary.

JET
CHICAGO, ILL.
W. 335,101

MAR 14 1963

1962

WILL U. S. DOLLARS BRING INTEGRATION TO ALA.?

ALA. CITY DROPS BIAS TO KEEP FROM EMBARRASSING SPACE WORK

As the Kennedy Administration continues to spend millions of dollars in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi for National Defense and economic development, the old adage "money is the root of all evil," appears to be changing to "Federal Funds is the basis for the only good" in the dear old Southland. Despite the outspoken Dixie opposition to the government's strongest civil rights program since the Emancipation Proclamation, there was growing evidence that the land below the Mason-Dixon line was ready to accept public desegregation to keep the United States funds flowing in.

Among the fast-rising cities offering proof that "The South Will Rise Again—Integrated," is the rocket City of Huntsville, Ala., deep in the Heart of Dixie. Known as the Space Capital of the World, Huntsville is the home of the

After Huntsville sympathizers picketed N. Y., Chicago stock exchanges, space center businessmen quickly met with Negroes

60,000 acre Army Missile Command and the 1,600 acre George C. Marshall Space Center headed by former German U-2 wizard Wernher von Braun. While new Alabama Gov. George Wallace rants and raves about keeping the state segregated with his last drop of blood and state funds, Huntsville authorities were quietly setting a pace for desegregation that observers predict will be followed by the rest of the state and the south.

Commenting on the successful integration of the city's major lunch counters (Sears, Woolworths, G. C. Murphy's, all except Walgreen's Drug Stores), public parks, auditoriums, bus station, taxicabs and proposals for the desegregation of schools and the local branch of the University of Alabama, J. E. Harris, Atlanta Life Insurance district manager and member of the recently formed Mayor's R. B. Searcy Bi-Racial Committee, stated "the businessmen downtown realize that Alabama can not survive segregated."

Teamed together at integrated Alabama arsenal, troops were forced to go separate ways in town until race bars dropped.

Dr. Cashin, S. W. Hereford, Jane Reed, Mrs. Cashin, Dwight Crawford and Lois Jones (l-r) plan more integration for city.

stone Arsenal (Only 80-90 Negro employees); A virtual radio, television and newspaper blackout covered the city to keep from embarrassing the nation's space program; outraged ministers finally ordered their congregations to wear overalls and rags to church Easter Sunday "just like Jesus Christ" to dramatize the plight of Alabamans caught in the Southern System. And Mrs. Burnett personally appealed to President Kennedy to get her daughter in school.

Although it was a highly organized Negro effort which brought about the change, Huntsville sympathy demonstrations before the New York and Chicago stock exchanges was the finally crushing blow. Huntsville leaders immediately called for a meeting with Negro leaders and Negroes were soon appointed to the local bi-racial committees including the powerful Community Advisory Committee, personally headed by Von Braun.

For most Huntsvillians, like America's gigantic space effort, the human relations job was far from finished. Said one longtime resident "before we get a man on the moon 18,000 miles away, I'd like to see us get a Negro child in school right across the street from the arsenal."

Chicago Savings-Loan Exec Named Vice-President

Hervey

Henry P. Hervey, general manager of Chicago's Service Federal Savings & Loan Assn., was appointed vice president and managing officer, Dr. Theodore K. Lawless, president announced. Dr. Lawless reported a $815,000 increase from $5,814,000 in assets in 1961 to $6,629,000 in 1962 and a mortgage-in-force total of $5,753,000.

New Orleans Insurance Exec A. P. Bedou Retires

One of the original founders and board members of New Orleans' People's Life Insurance Co., Arthur P. Bedou has resigned as vice president of the firm. Once the official photographer of Booker T. Washington, Bedou was considered an outstanding portrait photographer in addition to being a top insurance executive.

Third Atlanta Bakery Drops Discrimination

The Atlanta Baking Company became the third such firm agreeing to a non-discriminatory policy in a drive by 400 Negro ministers dubbed Operation Breadbasket.

Once Famous Pershing Hotel Abandoned By Owners

Announcing the temporary closing of the Pershing Hotel in Chicago, manager Edward Flagg said it would be reopened as soon as repairs were made and the place put back in good condition.

Negro Buys Home; Atlanta Judge Orders Wall Down

As Atlanta officials scurried to rebuild a street barrier torn down between a white and Negro community, Mayor Ivan Allen confirmed reports that the Negro owner of Thorton Real Estate Investment Co., C. C. Thorton, purchased a home from a white owner on the "white side" of the barricade. In a separate action, a Fulton Superior Court judge ruled that the barricade must come down. Although the mayor called it "regrettable that any action has been taken by any resident in this area that would add to the tensions" already in the area, he revealed no plans to appeal the court ruling.

Businessmen Believe Ala. Can't Survive Segregated

The Rev. Ezekiel Bell, chairman of the tightly knit Community Service Committee which led the campaign to change Huntsville, added: "It wasn't only the integration of the lunch counters that was important . . . it was the pride the Negro community felt in proving they could stick together . . . now we can go on to more important things like jobs and voting . . ." Dr. John Cashin Jr., pioneer dentist whose pretty wife, Joan, took her four-month old baby to jail with her during the local sit-ins, simply declared "You can believe we worked miracles in this town. Everything is going so smooth now, I can hardly believe it myself."

Although most Huntsville citizens are proud of developing the rocket power which sent America's astronauts into orbit and may place the U. S. on the moon, human relations experts are calling the city's partial desegregation the real "miracle of Huntsville." The city has already been selected as a pilot area by the Southern Regional Council which recently hired former Alabama A. and M. Prof. R. T. Blackwell, a leader in the Huntsville movement. A look at the background of the Rocket City will explain "the miracle of Huntsville."

Just before Easter last year, the Space Capital was on the verge of exploding into a bitter racial battleground. Local high school and college students had sat in at lunch counters for three months; Representatives from the NAACP, CORE and SNCC were barred from the city by new state laws still being appealed; (CORE leader Henry Thomas was chased out of town after being doused with mustard gas). Children, two to five years old joined their elders in "poster walks" carrying signs reading: *"I ordered a hamburger and was served a warrant,"* and *"You're Worried About Laos and Berlin. What About Alabama and Mississippi?"* Governor candidate Wallace (now elected) harangued unruly crowds on the Courthouse steps while Negroes prayed across the street. The city's 19,500 Negroes worked as laborers and domestics while most of the 60,000 whites enjoyed the $55 million annual payroll of the Red-

Dr. Cashin, S. W. Hereford, Jane Reed, Mrs. Cashin, Dwight Crawford and Lois Jones (l-r) plan more integration for city.

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LOUISVILLE, KY.
DEFENDER
W. 3,897

MAR 14 1963

Urban League Dinner Notes . . .

For you who missed the Urban League's Annual Dinner, we who were there are sorry, for here was an occasion that lent itself to execution of one's civic duties, stimulation of the mind by a speaker who brought a message of truth, and an occasion to chat with people you don't see too often. *Mr. James M. Dabbs*, President of the Southern Regional Council, guest speaker for the dinner, pointed out that, "A strange and exciting thing is happening in the south. The old life is moving in new channels driven and guided largely by Negro citizens."

The *Urban League Guild* under the Chairmanship of Mrs. John Gregory served as hostess and among the charming Guild hostesses were Miss Eleanor Young, Miss Alyce Holden, Miss Marlene Sweet and Mrs. Roscoe Bryant. Presiding for the dinner was Mr. Thomas Ballantine with invocation by Rev. F. G. Sampson, vocal selections by Miss Roslyn Morris accompanied by Mr. Philip Buckman; annual report by Mr. Charles Steele, introduction of speaker by Miss Dorcas Rutherburg and remarks by membership chairmen Mr. Jos. Kaplan and Mr. J. E. Smith presented his personal membership drive check for $100.

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,500

PAGE ONE CERTIFIED

MAR 16 1963

1962

Job Survey Cites Real City Image

According to studies made by the Southern Regional Council, Macon, Ga., is doing a better job in raising the working standards of the Negro than any other southern city.

The report charges that Atlanta's image as a leader in the integration movement in the South is, for the most part, only an image.

The Southern Regional Council study said that while a scattering of Negro clerks can be found among Atlanta's downtown stores, the city's two largest department stores have only a few Negro clerks.

This compares with more than 100 such positions held by Negroes

(Continued On Page Two)

Job Survey

(Continued from Page One)

in Macon.

QUIET ADVANCE

Desegregation of various public facilities and upgrading of Negro employment has moved ahead quietly in Macon. Negroes are being given such jobs as clerks, sales girls, cashiers and similar positions in stores which previously employed only white persons, the sources stated.

In 1961, President Kennedy issued an executive order giving the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity powers to require government contractors to eliminate job discrimination. The executive order was called the Plans for Progress.

KEY TO PLAN

The key to the plan was that it was voluntary. Eventually, more than 100 major companies in the United States with federal contracts signed the agreement. Of these, 24 were either located or had branch offices in Atlanta.

Of the 24, says the Southern Regional Council, only three lived up to the agreement: Lockheed's plant at nearby Marietta, Ga., Western Electric Co., and Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.

Robert B. Troutman Jr., an Atlanta lawyer and a former member of the committee which drew up the Plans for Progress, said in his final report last summer that 37 firms throughout the nation which signed the agreement reported a 10 per cent increase in nonwhite workers in a six - month period.

The total increase in income for non - white workers was expected to have been about $7.8 million, but the report shows that actual income was $27. million.

The Southern Regional Council noted that only a small proportion of this additional income was paid in the South.

In salaried positions, as distinguished from hourly - paid jobs, the 37 companies reported at the beginning that only 1 per cent of the jobs were held by non - whites.

At the end of the six months, Troutman reported, 6.6 per cent of the new salaried jobs were filed by non - whites.

The council says that "except for a handful of the companies, the plans for progress were, for the regional offices in Atlanta, largely meaningless."

Only seven of the firms gave any evidence that they are trying to comply with their pledges, the council said.

President Kennedy in his address to Congress Feb. 28 made no recommendation in the realm of racial discrimination in employment. He did, however, caution labor unions which have been accused of discriminnation. He said he hoped administrative and legal action would make legislation unnecessary.

RICHMOND, VA.
AFRO-AMERICAN
W. 14,967

MAR 16 1963

More Deliberation Than Speed

That unfortunate phrase, "all deliberate speed," is affecting Southern progress in more ways than school desegregation alone. A recent report of the Southern Regional Council shows that employers in the South are being very "deliberate" about letting down the bars that face qualified colored persons seeking better-paying jobs.

The duty to widen job opportunities was one that the employers imposed on themselves voluntarily. In line with President Kennedy's "Plans for Progress," 100 major companies that made money from government contracts agreed to eliminate job discrimination.

More than a year later, only three of the 24 companies located in the South have lived up to their agreement.

The record in the North is not much better. The relatively few companies which have "desegregated" higher-paying jobs have done so only to a "token" extent.

That is, they have hired two or three colored persons in white-collar jobs, made a great deal of self-congratulatory noise about it, and have gone back to their old hiring practices. They do, however, have a secretary or a salesman or two to exhibit when they are asked if they fulfilled their promise.

The picture in the South is, as usual, much worse. Despite their pledges to Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, who heads the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, they still have not kept their word.

This is the kind of failure that makes non-Southern observers wonder just how truthful are the reports that the die-hard segregationists who shout "segregation forever" are not representative of the "better" people of the South.

We read in the slick magaines that in Atlanta, Birmingham and other Southern cities, there is a large body of intelligent, rational, substantial people who decry the more violent manifestations of racial prejudice.

These people are usually identified as those in the business - executive class — the employers. This liberal image of the Southern businessman is, however, marred by the realization that in his area of influence (employment), he is just as "unreconstructed" as the hoodlum is in his area (violence).

Even when the Southerner makes an uncommon excursion into the realm of recognizing a colored employee's true worth, he does it in a way that would shame a decent man.

In Miami, Fla., for instance, a jewelry store has a young colored woman keeping its books. For this, the owners pay her a book-keeper's salary.

The shameful part is that they require her to wear a maid's uniform so that white customers won't be offended.

Fear of retaliatory boycott by whites in this and many other instances seems to be one of the major barriers to fair hiring. In some cities like Philadelphia, Washington and Baltimore, the colored communities have launched "selective buying campaigns" to counteract the fear of a possible boycott by staging an actual one in order to show the economic strength and moral unity of the colored group.

This tactic has been spectacularly successful.

Until this strategy was adopted, Northern employers were just as reluctant to hire colored white-collar workers as Southerners were.

The Dixie-based businessman can read of these developments, can recall how such movements spread throughout the country and can make a decision.

His decision, in its baldest terms, will be whether to desegregate voluntarily or be remembered forever as the company that had to be forced—by selective buying campaign or by federal suit.

BALTIMORE, MD.
AFRO-AMERICAN
W. 28,778

MAR 16 1963

U. S. Begins Probe Of Job Equality Pledges

(Editorial on Page 4)

WASHINGTON

The Plans for Progress program, under which firms doing business with the government voluntarily signed pledges to hire on the basis of merit, is a flop in Atlanta.

According to a survey by the Southern Regional Council, the Kennedy Administration program — except for a handful of companies — "for the regional office in Atlanta is largely meaningless."

FROM ALL indications a follow-up investigation by representatives of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity supports the charges by the private bi-racial agency.

And in that light, Hobart Taylor Jr., executive vice chairman of the committee, reportedly has called a conference with officials of government agencies doing business with the firms to order a crackdown.

VOLUNTEER signers are American Machine and Foundry, Burroughs Corp., Chrysler Corp., Collins Radio, Continental Motors, Ford Motor Co., Garrett Corp., General Dynamics, General Electric, General Motors, Goodyear Tire and Rubber;

Hercules Powder, International Business Machines, International Harvester, Kaiser Industries, Lockheed Aircraft, Minneapolis - Honeywell Regulator on., Pan-American World Airways, Philco Corp., Radio Corp. of America, Raytheon Corp.,

And also Thompson Ramo-Wooldridge, Western Electric and Westinghouse.

BATON ROUGE, LA.
NEWS-LEADER
SAT. 10,500

MAR 16 1963

Editorials

Higher Education in South

It has been said that figures do not lie — but do they?

The Southern Regional Council recently released a report, which was heartening, indeed, if one did not stop to reflect too much on the matter.

The report indicates there has been an increase during the past two years of approximately 30 percent in the number of desegregated colleges and universities in 17 southern and border states and the District of Columbia. The total number of secondary schools desegreated were 89, "most of them without fuss or fanfare."

On the latter we happily agree. Most of the schools were desegregated quietly. But the report goes on to state that all southern states today have at least one mixed institution of higher learning, and at this point the council's optimistic figures do not reflect the true status of Negro enrollment in southern schools of higher learning.

Alabama is a notable exception to the council's statement that all southern states have at last one mixed institution of higher learning. True, the courts ordered the University of Alabama desegregated in 1956 and Autherine Lucy was enrolled — but she certainly did not stay very long and since that time no Negro has been enrolled in that school.

If one choses to split legal hairs he may say that the University of Alabama is, in fact, desegregated but a play on words — or on figures — does not alter a situation which does not admit of Negro enrollment at that university. For all practical purposes of academic pursuit it is, as it was before 1956, all white.

Other "desegregated" schools were also listed in the report, their inclusion apparently justified by "expressions of willingness" of their governing boards to admit students without regard to race. Expressions of willingness to perform, no matter how sincere, does not necessarily mean that it will be accomplished.

The report was interesting. We regret, however, that it did not more accurately reflect the possibilities for higher education of the Negro.

RICHMOND, VA.
AFRO-AMERICAN
W. 14,967

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DAYTONA BEACH, FLA.
NEWS-JOURNAL
SUN. 36,784

MAR 17 1963

Southern Regional Council Director Will Be Final Forum Speaker

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, will be the speaker today at the conclusion of the Daytona Beach Open Forum series.

Dr. Dunbar will discuss "The South at Political Crossroads." Herbert M. Davidson, editor and publisher of The News-Journal papers, will be moderator.

The Daytona Beach Civic Ballet company, composed of more than 50 Daytonans, will perform the ballet immediately preceding the speaker at the Peabody Auditorium. The senior company, made up mostly of high school and college students, will present four numbers, and the junior group, from 10 to 12, will perform two.

The Southern Regional Council, an all Southern interracial organization with headquarters in Atlanta, has become widely known for its research and as an information center in the field of race relations.

Dr. Dunbar, who was born in Lewisburg, W.Va., holds degrees from the Maryland State Teachers College, the University of Maryland, Johns Hopkins University, the University of Maryland law school and Cornell University.

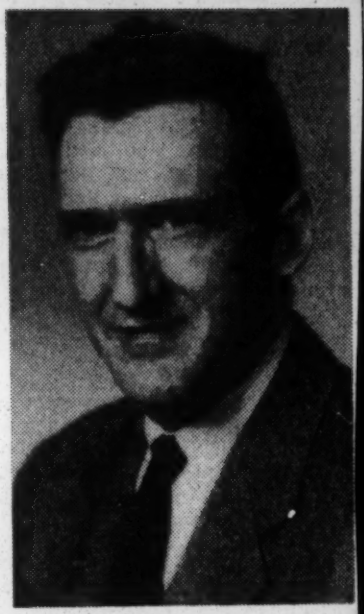
He holds an M.A. degree and a Ph.D from Cornell.

In 1948, he was named instructor in the extension division of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, and later that year received an appointment as instructor in political science at Emory University, Atlanta.

He was assistant professor of political science at Emory from 1949 until 1951 when he was named to the Atomic Energy Commission. He served on the commission until 1954.

In 1955, he was appointed assistant professor of political science at Mt. Holyoke College and remained in that position

(See FORUM on Page 2A)



DR. LESLIE W. DUNBAR
. . . to discuss South

A Matter Of Environment

"Now," he continued, "the custom begins to die out, save in the back country, or bush, as we call it. We can see the forces of environment at work. In the past it was good economic sense to have a plurality of wives. Now, in the towns and cities, it is not. The cost is too great. The services are near. The market is reasonably close by. It is not possible to have a plot of land and to grow food in the urban centers. Nor is there fruit to pick free. So an extra wife is not a necessity, but a costly burden. It never entered the head of the African, as it does not the Moslems in the Arabian countries, and as it did not Old Testament heroes, that a plurality of wives was immoral or wrong.

"It is the same with other old

MIAMI, FLA.
NEWS
D. 157,012 S. 135,810

MAR 17 1963

Is The South Changing? A Southerner Says 'Yes'

By REESE CLEGHORN
Special To The Miami News

MAYESVILLE, S.C. — Here in the homeland of James McBride Dabbs, writer and philosopher, plantation squire and paradox, the Old South was battered and blown but it did not all go with the wind:

You pass swampwaters blackened by acids from the gaunt cypress trees, leave a U. S. highway to travel by shanties and expanses of now-bare cotton fields, turn into a winding dirt road overhung by crowded pine branches and lush bushes, and come abruptly into a clearing in the wilderness.

The road arches symmetrically to and from a great white house, its distant columns obscured by veils of Spanish moss hanging from the oaks.

Close by, Negroes unload sacks of feed at an unpainted outbuilding. In the distance there is the ring of iron upon iron, as one of the plantation tenants does his own "blacksmithing."

Up the front steps into a broad hall, and then into a high-ceilinged room where an intruding gas heater has replaced the open hearth, and where walls are lined with Tocqueville, Nietzsche, Lomax, and Whyte, you come upon what may be the South's rarest plantation sight:

There over the mantle, under an old shotgun and a muzzle-loaded rifle hand-hewn a hundred years ago by a master of this house, hangs a golden plaque.

It praises James McBride Dabbs for "wise and dedicated efforts to unify the American people in their quest for the democratic ideal." It is dated April 9, 1961, and it is signed by the Detroit Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

A southern planter with NAACP laurels is somewhat rarer than a day in June, but Dabbs is rare for other reasons, too.

Dabbs On Steps Of Home

"He is the only man I know who can intellectualize magnolias," a friend said of him, pointing toward this big, shaggy man's special genius.

Dabbs leads one of the nation's most important civil rights organizations, the Southern Regional Council, but it is in the realm of the mind rather than in organization work that he has found a special place. He is a sort of poet-philosopher of his region, many believe a profound one.

He writes of the South today with fervent intimacy, and yet he lives more in the past and the future than in the present. ("I admit that out here I'm not much in this world, except in the mind," he said.)

WHEN HIS BOOK "The Southern Heritage" appeared in 1958, editor Hodding Carter of Mississippi called it "the most meaningful comment on the race situation yet made by a Southerner." It is a classic in the growing field of literature created by the South's coming to grips with itself.

Though he goes to Atlanta about four times a year for Southern Regional Council business and makes occasional speeches elsewhere, he is rooted to his birthplace.

Twenty years ago he quit as chairman of the English Department at Coker College in Hartwell, S.C., and went back to the land of the McBrides and the Dabbses, where his family has lived for more than 200 years. His stately home, built by the McBrides, is within a mile of the smaller house where he lived as a child.

It is also near a Presbyterian church founded by Scotch-Irish settlers in 1745 and still attended mainly by their descendants. Dabbs, who believes Christianity is the "central fire" in the South, is a ruling elder in his church.

With pipe in hand, dressed in unpressed corduroy trousers and a heavy gray wool sweater to keep out the chill of the old house's poorly heated big rooms, he sat in his study and told of how he left university life to come home to the land.

Until 10 years ago, he worked the farm himself; he recalls spending half his time on a tractor in the fields, turning the rich soil that once made this a cotton empire. Today the thousands of acres that his family owned have been reduced to 125.

NOW 67, Dabbs leaves the farm to three Negro sharecroppers. ("That word always scares my liberal friends.") Though his name appears on other mail boxes nearby, the only occupants of the 12-room plantation house are Dabbs, his Charleston - born wife, and their 18-year-old son, Richard.

His own time is largely devoted to writing. More than a hundred of his articles have been published in periodicals, and he expects his third book to appear in 1965.

"I am trying to corner the Southerner," he said of his subject. "I want to set forth the nature of the South, the nature of the Southerner. People say you can't do it — there are many Souths. But just a few days ago Karl Barth, the great Swiss theologian, said that in traveling across the United States he had sensed a different atmosphere in the South."

As far as Dabbs is concerned, it is "vive la difference," a fact that might surprise many in his region and even some of his neighbors. These are the ones who regard Dabbs as a "traitor to the South" because long ago he joined in the fight for Negro rights.

(You stop not far from where he lives, and one man calls him a hypocrite while another asserts: "Nobody in South Carolina pays any attention to Dabbs.")

★ ★ ★

"DEFENDING segregation as our way of life, we sell the South short," he said with feeling. "Have we lived here 300 years to accomplish only this? I don't believe it.

"I'm defending the South, but I'm defending it against the future rather than the past. Ross Barnett defended it against a remembered terror of 75 years ago.

"I would never leave the South, because it has something the rest of the country doesn't have."

To Dabbs, granting exceptions, the Southerner has these characteristics:

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James Dabbs' Home Built By Grandfather A Century Ago

He loves the land, and draws from it some serenity that enables him to be more self-contained.

He is more devoted to leisure, and with it neighborliness and courtesy. At heart he is more a creature of manners than of money.

He is essentially religious, without the harshness of the Puritan.

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MORE THAN the Midwesterner or the Westerner, he possesses a sense of having a place in the world as a particular individual, without the necessity of competing for it.

And he senses having a place just as a man, deserving some dignity of treatment and some privacy of living.

"You would not expect, in ordinary times, for a Ross Barnett to be a Southerner," he said. "The narrow, hard people ought to come out of New England, where Yankee Puritans held sway. Barnett is an exception rather than a true Southerner, a creature of the imbalance that exists within our culture right now."

What is the imbalance?

It was born of conflict between the Southerner's natural desire for a peaceful, pastoral, personal life and the necessity to defend ugly institutions he knew were fundamentally wrong, Dabbs believes. First it was slavery, then segregation, that imposed the pressures bringing about distortion in the Southern character.

"I think we will have to hammer out from scratch new values for an industrial, urban society," he said. "I don't believe the country has done it yet. I would hope that somehow we can transfer to this new order some of the values of the earlier, agrarian order, to leave us a life with some dignity."

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A BELIEF in the special character of the South, he thinks, is in keeping with the aspirations of the Southern Regional Council, an organization of whites and Negroes with a 43-year history of seeking to improve race relations.

The council staff is in Atlanta, and Dabbs, who has been president since 1957, drops in only occasionally. The council's endeavors have been in the realm of research, education and maintaining interracial communications rather than in legal and direct action.

Some of Dabbs' friends were a bit anxious when he was called upon in 1961 to address the national convention of another civil rights organization, the NAACP, in Philadelphia. After all, enemy of segregation or not, here was a Southern traditionalist who didn't quite fit any of the usual patterns of civil rights advocates — an elderly man, a lover of the past, a planter.

"But he gave them a sort of cornpone talk that went over wonderfully," an associate recalled.

As usual, the human and folksy cornpone was interspersed with literary allusions, metaphorical flourishes, biting irony and the thunder of strong conviction, cut in no shape but his own.

It was pure Dabbs, and by his own definition of the species, pure Southerner.

The happy reception of his words seemed to confirm his view that the white South and the Negro have a special affinity for each other, and that time will draw them together as brothers under the skin.

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CONSERVATIVE OR LIBERAL?

James McBride Dabbs is called a liberal. He does not like the racial pattern established in the South half a century ago.

"Well, of course, I am a conservative," he said. "I want to save as much of the old order as possible. All the thrust of my thinking is to find in the past the chief values in hope that some can be transferred to modern society.

"That's the way of the conservative."

★ ★ ★

DAYTONA BEACH, FLA.
JOURNAL
D. 30,308

MAR 18 1963

Decline Of Southern Leadership Deplored

Forum Speaker Notes Changing Scene In Politics, Interests

By DRIW MURPHY

The "deterioration" of Southern statesmanship was singled out yesterday as "the one most alarming" thing in any picture of the contemporary South.

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, said "an abysmal failure of intelligence . . . among our political leaders" is even more alarming than the South's economic and educational shortcomings."

Addressing this year's last Open Forum audience, Dr. Dunbar said the sophistication and realism which once characterized the South's politics, especially its presidential and congressional politics, have all but disappeared.

Questioned as to why Southern political leadership has declined, Dr. Dunbar said he thinks the cause lies in undue preoccupation with race questions.

"Southern leaders have been too absorbed with this one problem," Dr. Dunbar said. "They have had time for little else."

He added he thinks it is "discouraging" that Southern statesmen, once noted for traditional interest in national questions (foreign policy, for instance), have been sidetracked by the race question.

This sidetracking, which has led to what Dr. Dunbar called "Southern oppositionism," dates back to 1947 when Pres. Truman appointed his Civil Rights Committee and "subsequently espoused its recommendations."

"From this time on, Democratic politicians from the South have retreated from the Democratic Party," Dr. Dunbar said. "and step by step have come to oppose virtually everything for which the national Democratic Party stands.

"At the very time that the South was moving economically toward the rest of the nation," he continued, "the South politically has been pulling away."

The South now has reached a fork in the road, according to Dr. Dunbar.

One way leads toward keeping a "politics which is not really anything except a politics of opposition, based on a crude and defeatist belief that the South must defend itself against the invader—even if the invader be the spirit of democracy, and even if the invader be the religious spirit of brotherhood," Dr. Dunbar said.

"The other fork of the road leads us toward union with the political and intellectual life of the country as a whole," he added.

Dr. Dunbar gave three "optimistic" reasons why he thinks the South will choose the last course. They were: the improved racial climate, reapportionment, and the emergence of a realistic two party system in some Southern states.

The improved racial climate was termed "the greatest asset the South has today" by Dr. Dunbar.

Reapportionment should help in coping with "our most critical problems in the next decades," which will be urban, Dr. Dunbar said.

An active two party system in the South could keep the region from remaining "oppositionist," he added, "with Southern Democrats truly allied to the national Democratic Party, and Southern Republicans truly allied to the national Republican Party."

Dr. Dunbar called the growth of a two party system the "best means for ending Southern isolation," and issued a call to "stop defending what is bad in Southern traditions, give up oppositionism, and cast our lot with the nation."

Five "landmark dates" were picked by Dr. Dunbar to illustrate changes in American society which "are a special challenge to the South." The dates were:

—1944, and the Supreme Court decision in the case of Smith vs. Allwright. This decision outlawed the White primary in the South and made the power of Negro voting a decisive factor.

—1954, and another Supreme Court decision in Brown vs. Topeka. This ruling meant the desegregation of public schools.

Calling progress in desegregation "cruelly and stupidly slow," Dr. Dunbar pointed out that the Supreme Court ruling and the resulting controversy exposed the fact that both the North and the South have practiced practical segregation of Negroes.

—1960, and John F. Kennedy's election as President. Dr. Dunbar called the election of the country's first Catholic President symbolically important, confirming the fact that non-Protestants have a "share in the power to make the highest decisions for this country."

—1962, again a decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Baker vs. Carr. Here the Court ruled that when the apportionment of legislative seats in a state is grossly unfair, the federal courts can give relief. Resulting reapportionment moves should permit urban opinion to play a much bigger part in the South, Dr. Dunbar said.

—1940, the last year of a peacetime economy. Tracing ups and downs of employment levels since that time, Dr. Dunbar said it is a "tragic irony" in our society that while our Negro population represents "the only remaining large supply of underused labor," Negroes always are the last hired.

Entertainment for 45 minutes before Dr. Dunbar's talk was supplied by the Daytona Beach Civic Ballet, Dr. Hollace Arment of the Daytona Beach Junior College, and DBJC student Richard Huff, a baritone.

Moderator for yesterday's Open Forum was Herbert M. Davidson, editor and publisher of The News-Journal, himself a director of the Southern Regional Council.

ERIE, PA.
NEWS
D. 24,370

MAR 19 1963

Negro Jobseekers In South Face 2 Traditional Thorns

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP)—Southern Negroes constantly are reminded of the two cardinal rules which apply to them when it comes to hunting for a job.

They must not work on an equal status with white persons, and they must not, if it can at all be avoided, supervise white persons.

The Southern Regional Council has made several studies to determine what is being done to place Negroes in positions other than traditional jobs.

One study indicates that Macon, Ga., is doing a better job in raising the working standards of the Negro than any other Southern city.

There were these other findings:

Atlanta's image as a leader in the integration movement in the South is, for the most part, only an image.

While scattering of Negro clerks can be found among Atlanta's smaller downtown stores, the city's two biggest department stores have only one Negro clerk each.

This compares with more than 100 such positions held by Negroes in Macon.

Although there are about 1,500 persons in apprenticeship training programs in Dade County, Miami, Fla., none is a Negro.

Negroes at Houston, Tex., predominate as folders in laundries—hot and strenuous work paying $25 a week—and as shirt press operators, considered by laundry owners as highly skilled work.

Desegregation of various public facilities and upgrading of Negro employment has moved ahead quietly in Macon. Negroes there are being given such jobs as clerks, sales girls, cashiers and similar positions in stores which

any evidence that they are trying to comply with their pledges, the council said.

Many employers in the South say they hire Negroes because it is good business to hire good workers. Most do not want any publicity.

A young Negro woman, hired as a maid by a jewelry store in Miami, does all of the store's bookkeeping and earns a bookkeeper's salary. The manager still requires her to wear a maid's uniform, so his customers won't know that she works in a white collar job.

In Houston, a bakery, two automobile dealers and a brewing company have hired Negro salesmen. But they work with Negro customers.

A national food processing firm at Houston says the company now has more Negroes in key positions than at any time in the firm's history. These include foremen, supervisors, and coffee processors.

And a taster in the coffee-blending department, a prestige position, is a Negro with long seniority.

A leading flower farm at Chattanooga, Tenn., with a large southeast clientele, employed a Negro flower designer who works with white colleagues.

President Kennedy in his address to Congress on Feb. 28 made no recommendation in the realm of racial discrimination in employment. He did, however, caution labor unions which have been accused of discrimination. He said he hoped administrative and legal action would make legislation unnecessary.

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Desegregation of various public facilities and upgrading of Negro employment has moved ahead quietly in Macon. Negroes there are being given such jobs as clerks, sales girls, cashiers and similar positions in stores which previously employed only white persons.

In 1961, President Kennedy issued an executive order giving the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity powers to require government contractors to eliminate job discrimination. The executive order was called the Plans for Progress.

The key to the plan was that it was voluntary. Eventually, more than 100 major companies in the United States with federal contracts signed the agreement. Of these, 24 were either located or had branch offices in Atlanta.

Of the 24, says the Southern Regional Council, only three lived up to the agreement: Lockheed's plant at nearby Marietta, Ga.; Western Electric Co., and Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.

Robert B. Troutman Jr., an Atlanta lawyer and a former member of the committee which drew up the Plans for Progress, said in his final report last summer that 37 firms throughout the nation which signed the agreement reported a 10 per cent increase in nonwhite workers in a six-month period.

The total increase in income for nonwhite workers was expected to have been about $7.8 million, but the report shows that actual income was $27 million.

The Southern Regional Council noted that only a small proportion of this additional income was paid in the South.

In salaried positions, as distinguished from hour-paid jobs, the 37 companies reported at the beginning that only one per cent of the jobs were held by nonwhites.

At the end of the six months, Troutman reported, 6.6 per cent of the new salaried jobs were filed by nonwhites.

The council says that "except for a handful of the companies, the Plans for Progress were, for the regional offices in Atlanta, largely meaningless."

Only seven of the firms gave

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ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,500

MAR 23 1963

Vote Campaign Stepped Up Despite Gunfire Terror

GREENWOOD, Miss — Undaunted by shotgun terror and other forms of intimidation, the NAACP this week expanded its efforts to register Negro voters in Leflore County where the White Citizens Council maintains its headquarters.

Arriving here immediately after the second shooting within a week at young Negro registration workers, W. C. Patton, NAACP field secretary for voter registration, arranged for employment of a team of five young persons to engage in a two-month intensive campaign to get Negroes on the voting rolls. Also he engaged the services of Amzie Moore, veteran civil rights fighter and former president of the Cleveland Miss., NAACP branch.

These NAACP workers, Mr. Patton said, would augment the personnel already engaged in voter registration work here under supervision of Robert Moses who heads the Voter Education Project activity in this area.

The decision to step up the drive followed attempts by unidentified white persons to frighten the youthful campaigners at gun point. On Feb. 23, James Travis was seriously wounded by gunfire in his neck and shoulders when a car occupied by three white men sped by and shot into the automobile in which he, Mr. Moses and Randolph Blackwell were driving. On the night of March 6, three young registration workers — Samuel Block, 23, Willie Peacock, 25, and Miss Peggy Marye, 19 were injured by flying glass when the parked car in which they were seated was shot into.

MIAMI, FLA.
TIMES
W. 4,412

MAR 23 1963

Desegregation in Higher Education

Southern Regional Council has just distributed revised report listing formerly all-white colleges and universities of the 17 southern and border states and District of Columbia which are known to be desegregated. An increase of approximately 30 percent in two years. A few copies of the full report are available at FCHR office; the Florida colleges are listed here:

PUBLIC: Dade County Junior, Miami; Daytona Beach Junior, Daytona; Fla. State Univ., Tallahassee; Manatee Junior, Bradenton; Palm Beach Junior, Lake Worth; St. Petersburg Junior, St. Pete; Univ. of Fla., Gainesville; Univ. of South Fla., Tampa.

NON-PUBLIC: Barry College, Miami; Florida Presbyterian, St. Pete; Stetson Univ., DeLand; Univ. of Miami, Coral Gables.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
STAR
D. 267,282 S. 313,407

MAR 24 1963

Conference On Liberties Scheduled

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas will speak at Thursday's dinner meeting of the 15th annual conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House. His topic will be "Education for a Society under the Bill of Rights."

Equality in housing, prayer in the schools and the mood of the Negro will be among the subjects aired at the two-day meeting, March 28 and 29, at the Sheraton-Carlton Hotel Representatives of more than 100 citizens' organizations, as well as Government officials, are scheduled to attend.

Gov. David L. Lawrence, chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, will open a session on "Housing Discrimination — Whose Responsibility?" at 2 p.m. Thursday. Other speakers on this problem will be Nathaniel H. Rogg, director of economics of the National Association of Home Buildings, and Whitney M. Young, jr., director of the Urban League.

The issue of prayer in the public schools will be discussed at 9:30 a.m. Friday by William B. Ball, general counsel of the Pennsylvania Catholic Welfare Committee; the Rev. Dean M. Kelley, director of the National Council of Churches' Department of Religious Liberty, and Dr. Theodore Powell, of the Connecticut State Department of Education.

Speakers at Friday's luncheon will be Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People; James Farmer, national director of CORE, and Leslie W. Dungar, director of the Southern Regional Council

ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION
SUN. 502,157

MAR 24 1963

Photo—Fred Powledge

VOTER REGISTRATION CLASS CONDUCTED IN LIBERTY COUNTY
Sheriff Robert V. Sikes (Standing) Speaks to Group on Procedures

AID FOR NEGROES

'Citizen'?---Class Probes And Takes Step to Voting

voter education project

By FRED POWLEDGE
Atlanta Journal Staff Writer

MIDWAY, Ga., March 23—The teacher wrote "citizen" on the blackboard. Then she wrote "Constitution" and "amendment." Then she turned to her class of 30 adult students.

"What do these mean, students?" she asked. She got a variety of answers, and when the discussion died down, the teacher was able to make a generalization:

"This is the reason we know we are citizens: Because it's written in an amendment to the Constitution."

An elderly Negro minister from Arkansas took notes on a yellow legal pad. A machine operator from Atlanta raised his hand to ask another question.

THIS WAS an opening session in an unusual citizenship education program held near here in a big brick building erected 29 years ago for the purpose of helping Negroes in the task of educating themselves.

By the time this week's session was over, those three words on the blackboard had become the basis of a new education in citizenship for the 29 Negroes and one white who attended the five-day workshop.

Now they have left for their homes in Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, and South Carolina with what the school's directors hope is a burning desire to start their own voter registration schools among their own communities.

tricts there are and how many congressional districts; and I find that people who can't read or write have very good memories."

THE INSTRUCTORS are proud of some of their former students, like "a little old lady from Clinch County," Ga., who finished her course, went home, and started sending in reports that she had registered 300 voters. The school checked and found that she had operated 13 home-town registration schools on her own.

Another students went home to Louisiana and initiated action which got 500 voters restored to the registration list. And a woman from Virginia turned her home into a voter registration center.

The membership of the school is, unlike the membership of many civil rights organizations, not all young people. In this week's class were middle-aged and elderly people who work as domestics and housewives or who are retired or unemployed.

THEIR STUDIES in Liberty County have been uninterrupted partially because of the county's history of racial cooperation—or at least of noninterference. The U. S. Civil Rights Commission, in its 1961 report on voting, found that Liberty County Negroes make up 50.2 per cent of the registered voting age population. There were 8,348 whites and 6,139 nonwhites in the county in 1960.

Another reason for the tranquil atmosphere at Dorchester Center is the fact that, aside from singing such "freedom songs" as "We Shall Overcome," the Negroes are simply students who spend long hours in class and who didn't come here to sit-in or picket.

THEIR CLASS hours are largely spent in learning simple things—and in learning how to teach those same principles to the people back home: Simple things like pronunciation. This week the students worked hard on the word "registration."

One of the students pronounced it "reddish" in Mrs. Cotton's class. She asked:

"Could that be improved on, class? Let's pronounce it, class. You'll be working in a voter registration campaign and you wouldn't want to say 'reddish.' . . ."

The class pronounced the word. Then a middle-aged woman tried it, again and again. She finally pronounced the word correctly.

"That's good," said a man who had only recently mastered the word himself. The class applauded.

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THE PROGRAM, sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is one of several different projects now under way to increase Negro voting strength in the South. The program at Dorchester Center, near here, has resulted in the training of about 275 persons in the best methods to stimulate registration back in their home towns.

Funds for the school — about $95,000 for the first year—come from the Field Foundation. The program is being conducted jointly by the Board of Home Missions of the United Church of Christ and by the SCLC, an Atlanta civil rights organization headed by the Rev. Martin Luther King Junior.

THE PERSONS who instruct at Dorchester, Mrs. Septima P. Clark, Mrs. Dorothy F. Cotton, and Rev. Andrew Young, estimate that the school's first five classes, conducted between July 1962 and January 1963, resulted in the registration of more than 8,000 voters in the South.

There is a variety of instruction, ranging from discussions of simple words like "amendment" to practice in correct pronounciation of words like "register." The students talk about the sources of political power, and they hear speeches from outsiders.

LAST WEDNESDAY the sheriff of Liberty County, Robert V. Sikes, explained the functions of county officers to the interracial gathering. He was followed by Mayor F. W. Mingledorff of nearby Hinesville, who explained the functions of his city.

The sheriff said at the beginning that he was about as nervous as his son, who was preparing to quarterback in a school football game that night. But as he fielded questions from the students his nervousness disappeared.

THE STUDENTS learn, in addition to some of the more abstract concepts of democracy, hard political facts. One class is devoted to a discussion of voting requirements in the various states.

For those who cannot read or write, the requirements are stiffer. In Georgia, for instance, illiterates must correctly answer 20 out of 30 questions about state government; in Alabama they must answer 21 out of 21 questions. The class moaned this week when Georgia's list was read, but Mrs. Clark said:

"It sounds like a lot, but it is awful good history to learn about your state this way. It's good to know how many senatorial dis-

operated 13 home-town registration schools on her own.

Another students went home to Louisiana and initiated action which got 500 voters restored to the registration list. And a woman from Virginia turned her home

partially because of the county's history of racial cooperation—or at least of noninterference. The U. S. Civil Rights Commission, in its 1961 report on voting, found that Liberty County Negroes make up 50.2 per cent of the registered voting age population. There were

PROVIDENCE, R.I.
JOURNAL
D. 61,910 S. 191,554

MAR 24 1963

'For Wise and Dedicated Efforts'

NAACP Honors Southern F

By REESE CLEGHORN
Special to The Sunday Journal

Mayesville, S. C. — Here in the homeland of James McBride Dabbs, writer and philosopher, plantation squire and paradox, the Old South was battered and blown but it did not all go with the wind.

You pass swampwaters blackened by acids from the gaunt cypress trees, leave a U.S. highway to travel by shanties and expanses of now-bare cotton fields, turn into a winding dirt road overhung by crowded pine branches and lush bushes, and come abruptly into a clearing in the wilderness.

The road arches symmetrically to and from a great white house, its distant columns obscured by veils of Spanish moss hanging from the oaks.

Close by, Negroes unload sacks of feed at an unpainted outbuilding. In the distance there is the ring of iron upon iron, as one of the plantation tenants does his own "blacksmithing."

Up the front steps into a broad hall, and then into a high-ceilinged room where an intruding gas heater has replaced the open hearth, and where walls are lined with Tocqueville, Nietzsche, Lomax, and Whyte, you come upon what may be the South's rarest plantation sight.

Golden Plaque Tells NAACP Appreciation

There over the mantle, under an old shotgun and a

"He is the only man I know who can intellectualize magnolias," a friend said of him, pointing toward this big, shaggy man's special genius.

Mr. Dabbs leads one of the nation's most important civil rights organizations, the Southern Regional Council, but it is in the realm of the mind rather than in organization work that he has found a special place. He is a sort of poet-philosopher of his region, many believe a profound one.

Writes of His South With Understanding

He writes of the South today with fervent intimacy, and yet he lives more in the past and the future than in the present. ("I admit that out here I'm not much in this world, except in the mind," he said.)

When his book "The Southern Heritage" appeared in 1958, editor Hodding Carter of Mississippi called it "the most meaningful comment on the race situation yet made by a Southerner." It is a classic in the growing field of literature created by the South's coming to grips with itself.

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With pipe in hand, dressed in unpressed corduroy trousers and a heavy gray wool sweater to keep out the chill of the old house's poorly heated big rooms, he sat in his study and told of how he left university life to come home to the land.

Until 10 years ago, he worked the farm himself; he recalls spending half his time on a tractor in the fields, turning the rich soil that once made this a cotton empire. Today the thousands of acres that his family owned have been reduced to 125.

Now 67, Mr. Dabbs, leaves the farm to three Negro sharecroppers. ("That word always scares my liberal friends.") Though his name appears on other mail boxes nearby, the only occupants of the 12-room plantation house are Mr. Dabbs, his Charleston-born wife, and their 18-year-old son, Richard.

Time Largely Given To Writing Ventures

His own time is largely devoted to writing. More than a hundred of his articles have been published in periodicals, and he expects his third book to appear in 1965.

"I am trying to corner the Southerner," he said of his subject. "I want to set forth the nature of the South, the nature of the Southerner. People say you can't do it—there are many Souths. But just a few days ago Karl Barth, the great Swiss theologian, said that in traveling across the

South Carolina pays any attention to Dabbs.")

"Defending segregation as our way of life, we sell the South short," he said with feeling. "Have we lived here 300 years to accomplish only this? I don't believe it.

"I'm defending the South, but I'm defending it against the future rather than the past. Ross Barnett defended it against a remembered terror of 75 years ago.

"I would never leave the South, because it has something the rest of the country doesn't have."

To Mr. Dabbs, granting exceptions, the Southerner has these characteristics:

He loves the land, and draws from it some serenity that enables him to be more self-contained.

He is more devoted to leisure, and with it neighborliness and courtesy. At heart he is more a creature of manners than of money.

He is essentially religious, without the harshness of the Puritan.

Finds Special Traits In Southern Persons

More than the Midwesterner or the Westerner, he possesses a sense of having a place in the world as a particular individual, without the necessity of competing for it.

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There over the mantle, under an old shotgun and a muzzle-loaded rifle hand-hewn a hundred years ago by a master of this house, hangs a golden plaque.

It praises James McBride Dabbs for "wise and dedicated efforts to unify the American people in their quest for the democratic ideal." It is dated April 9, 1961, and it is signed by the Detroit Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

A Southern planter with NAACP laurels is somewhat rarer than a day in June, but Mr. Dabbs is rare for other reasons, too.

"He is the only man I know who can intellectualize magnolias," a friend said of him, pointing toward this big, shaggy man's special genius.

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Though he goes to Atlanta about four times a year for Southern Regional Council business and makes occasional speeches elsewhere, he is rooted to his birthplace.

Twenty years ago he quit as chairman of the English Department at Coker College in Hartwell, S. C., and went back to the land of the McBrides and the Dabbses, where his family has lived for for more than 200 years. His stately home, built by the McBrides, in within a mile of the smaller house where he lived as a child.

Feels Christianity Is Dominant Spark

It is also near a Presbyterian church founded by Scotch-Irish settlers in 1745 and still attended mainly by their descendants. Mr. Dabbs, who believes Christianity is the "central fire" in the South, is a ruling elder in his church.

With pipe in hand, dressed in unpressed corduroy trousers and a heavy gray wool sweater to keep out the chill of the old house's poorly heated big rooms, he sat in his study and told of how he left university life to come home to the land.

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As far as Mr. Dabbs is concerned, it is "Vive la difference," a fact that might surprise many in his region and even some of his neighbors. These are the ones who regard Mr. Dabbs as a "traitor to the South" because long ago he joined in the fight for Negro rights.

Denies Segregation Is Real Way of Life

(You stop not far from where he lives, and one man calls him a hypocrite while another asserts: "Nobody in South Carolina pays any attention to Dabbs.")

"Defending segregation as our way of life, we sell the South short," he said with feeling. "Have we lived here 300 years to accomplish only this? I don't believe it.

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"You would not expect, in ordinary times for a Ross Barnett to be a Southerner," he said. "The narrow, hard people ought to come out of New England, where Yankee Puritans held sway.

"Barnett is an exception rather than a true Southerner, a creature of the imbalance that exists within our culture right now."

What is the imbalance?

It was born of conflict between the Southerner's natural desire for a peaceful, pastoral, personal life and the necessity to defend ugly institutions he knew were fundamentally wrong, Mr. Dabbs believes. First it was slavery, then segregation, that imposed the pressures bringing about distortion in the Southern character.

"I think we will have to hammer out from scratch new values for an industrial, urban society," he said. "I don't believe the country has done it yet. I would hope that somehow we can transfer to this new order some of the values of the earlier, agrarian order, to leave us a life with some dignity."

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Gives Cornpone Talk And Scores Success

"But he gave them a sort of cornpone talk that went over wonderfully," an associate recalled.

As usual, the human and folksy cornpone was interspersed with literary allusions, metaphorical flourishes, biting irony and the thunder of strong conviction, cut in no shape but his own.

It was pure Dabbs, and by his own definition of the species, pure Southerner.

The happy reception of his words seemed to confirm his view that the white South and the Negro have a special affinity for each other, and that time will draw them together as brothers under the skin.

ANCESTRAL HOME near Mayesville, S.C., of Southerner whose modern views on race question irk his neighbors.

DAYTONA BEACH, FLA.
NEWS-JOURNAL
SUN. 36,784

MAR 24 1963

Bigotry Has No Props

IT WAS LAST SUNDAY that a number of Greater Daytona Beach Area citizens heard the warning that the contemporary South must restore responsible leadership if this area is to face up to its problems of education and employment.

It was the close of Open Forum for another year, and the speaker was Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, executive secretary of the Southern Regional Council. The Council is a southwide organization undergirded financially by grants from foundations concerned with promoting democracy in the U.S. as a way of life far superior to one of boasted opulence and material well being.

Dr. Dunbar was showing us that in too many areas of the South, men in political power have contented themselves with avoiding doing anything about racial equality, or have been satisfied with "tokenism" in granting the Negro his rights. Or they have pointed fingers at the North and cited incidents of racial ill feeling there, or crime statistics, or other faults of "the other side" — as if one side of the country were democratic and the other side still living in the magnolia and mansion era of our history.

* * *

TRUE, the North has its racial problems. But much of it has been caused by the press of poorly educated Negroes who have quit the repressive South and crowded into already troubled urban areas, threatening all there with their demands for scarce jobs or their costs on public welfare.

Some have turned to crime — economic lack historically has caused men to turn to crime.

But we can't abide forever with stereotypes. Some Negroes who have left the South for the North have established themselves as responsible citizens, and they have reared their children proudly. Better educated than their parents, some of these children have grown up to make distinctive contributions to the American scheme as they became engineers, scientists, doctors or educators.

Negroes do not have the same opportunity in the South because the barriers in education, housing and economic equality are far higher here.

* * *

IT WAS AFTER his discourse at Peabody Auditorium that Dr. Dunbar talked with friends of the troubled areas of the South that go beyond the sham that is tokenism.

He talked of the "Deep South" states —of Mississippi, Alabama and parts of Georgia—where men's lives are threatened if they attempt to claim their right to the basic American tenet—that every adult has political power.

Dr. Dunbar told of gunfire as Negroes set out for the Registrar's office in Mississippi, of fires started in homes and churches of Negro civil rights leaders, of police brutality beyond belief.

The description of the ugly resistance to democracy made Mississippi and her sister states practicing these things sound more like events in South Africa.

In Albany, Ga., where every device has been tried by the White power structure to deny civil rights to Negroes, a pregnant woman, her three small children clinging to her, was beaten by police for participating in a nonviolent demonstration, and her baby was born dead.

* * *

SOMEONE SAID that you can't knock the props out from under the structure of bigotry because it doesn't have anything to stand on. Obviously, a nation built on the foundation of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights does not have in these the underpinnings for bigotry.

And yet, the ugly force is built into some Americans. It is there as a hangover from the cave era when early man believed in the survival of the fittest, and not in the brotherhood of man. The strain of the belief was passed down through the genes of humanity that emerged as the unholy conquerors, and in modern times they have stood out as the Mussolinis, Hitlers, Stalins, Trujillos and still alive communist or fascist leaders. Pipsqueaks who mimic them run throughout our country today, mouthing ugly slogans of racial and religious discrimination, and they are aided and abetted by politicians who begin an after dinner speech with a racial or religious joke.

Since the nonexisting legs of such discrimination can't be eliminated by force or by persuasion, then the belief must be controlled by law.

It will take further action on the part of the Civil Rights Commission to investigate brutality and other means of denial of constitutional rights in any area of the country, and action to follow by the Justice Dept.

Bigots, perhaps, can be persuaded to discard their beliefs if they have to forego their own liberties for a term in jail, and there meditate on what democracy is all about.

DALTON, GA.
CITIZEN-NEWS
D. 6,972

MAR 25 1963

Bernard J. Roswig

Many Negroes in South Try to Elevate Themselves

Voter Education project

ATLANTA (UPI) — Across the South thousands of middle-aged Negroes are attempting to win their spurs as full-fledged citizens by mastering such complexities as the alphabet, "beginner's arithmetic" and how to write a "friendly letter."

The studies—aimed at passing voter registration tests—go on in the open where possible, in secret where not.

In two years, and with a limited budget, the program—under the direction of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference claims to have brought about the registration of 21,000 additional Negroes.

Workers in the program say they have barely scratched the surface and that the illiterate Negro population in the states of Georgia, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi numbers in the tens of thousands.

The classes are conducted by an estimated 200 volunteer teachers, all recruited by four members of the SCLC.

The four are the Rev. Andrew Young, program administrator; Mrs. Septima P. Clark, supervisor of teacher training; Mrs. Dorothy F. Cotton, educational consultant; and Miss Anell Ponder, field secretary.

The Ford Foundation, sole supporter of the infant organization, granted $55,000 during the first year. This year, a $95,000 grant was awarded—not even half the amount necessary to meet essential needs.

But Young said staff and financial problems are among the smallest.

Participants in the program have been subjected to harassment and economic reprisals, he said. In one instance, a staff member in Mississippi was shot at four separate times.

In other areas where there is little attempt to block voting efforts, Young said, apathy "generally is deeply etched upon the habits of the Negro community."

The SCLC has aimed its program at men and women over 40. The young generation is more able to help itself, the educators say.

The SCLC trains its teachers at the Dorchester, a rambling house at McIntosh, Ga.

The prospective teachers get a week's training in reading and writing teaching methods, basic politics and civics and the general Negro movement across the South.

Then they return home and begin the tedious task of getting their illiterate neighbors started to the polls.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
STAR
D. 267,282 S. 313,407

MAR 27 1963

Civil Liberties Group To Hear Justice Douglas

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas will be among eatured speakers on civil rights nd liberties issues at the 15th nnual conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing Iouse tomorrow and Friday.

Justice Douglas will speak at dinner meeting of the conerence at 7 p.m. tomorrow at he Sheraton-Carlton Hotel His topic will be, "Education or a Society Under the Bill of Rights."

The conference will begin at p.m. tomorrow with a panel liscussion on the topic, "Housng Discrimination—Whose Reponsibility?" Former Pennsylvania Gov. David L. Lawrence, chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, will act as moderator.

Other speakers at the panel discussion tomorrow include Nathaniel H. Rogg, director of policy planning and economics for the National Association of Home Builders, and Whitney M. Young, jr., director of the National Urban League.

Religion in the public schools will be discussed at 9:30 a.m. Friday with speakers William B. Ball, general counsel of the Pennsylvania Catholic Welfare Committee; the Rev. Dean M. Kelly, director of the department of religious liberty of the National Council of Churches, and Dr. Theodore Powell of the Connecticut State Department of Education.

The conference will close with a luncheon meeting at 12:30 p.m. Friday with Roy H. Millenson, Washington representative of the American Jewish Committee, as chairman.

Speakers at the final session include Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, and Leslie W. Dunbar, director of the Southern Regional Council.

NEW YORK, N.Y.
TIMES
EUROPEAN EDITION
DAILY - CIRC.N.AVAIL.

MAR 29 1963

POLICE SET A DOG ON NEGRO GROUP

Minister Marching With 41 in Mississippi Vote Drive Is Bitten

By CLAUDE SITTON

Special to The New York Times

GREENWOOD, Miss., March 28—Policemen set a snarling dog at the heels of 42 Negroes today as they marched homeward after having applied to register as voters.

The German shepherd lunged again and again at the group and seized the left ankle of the Rev. D. L. Tucker. The minister apparently was not bitten seriously.

A half dozen policemen and auxiliary policemen armed with nightsticks drove the other Negroes along a sidewalk in the heart of the business section until they dispersed. White bystanders yelled at the patrolmen handling the dog, "Turn him loose!" and "sic 'em, sic 'em."

Mayor Charles E. Sampson was asked why the police had dispersed the Negroes, who were marching by two's along the sidewalk and stopping for traffic signals.

"They had a report up there that them niggers was going to

Continued on Page 9, Column 1

POLICE SET A DOG ON NEGRO GROUP

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

the Alice Cafe for a sit-in," the Mayor replied.

The only arrest made was that of Dick Perez, identified by the police as a Columbia Broadcasting System television cameraman. He was released without charges after his film of the incident had been confiscated.

The dispersal of the Negroes was the latest in a series of incidents accompanying a voter registration campaign in this farming and industrial center in the Mississippi Delta.

Racial tension, whipped up by the voting drive and attacks on Negroes, created an explosive situation. Officials conceded readily that they were alarmed.

Greenwood's 30-man police force was reinforced by 24 auxiliary policemen, by sheriffs and deputies from Leflore and surrounding counties, and by state troopers.

Two Justice Department attorneys and six or more agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation moved into this city, which is on the banks of the Yazoo River.

Roughly dressed whites stood on sidewalks in the vicinity of the court house and muttered threats. More than 150 gathered at the City Hall this afternoon during the trials of nine of 11 Negroes arrested yesterday while marching toward the courthouse to protest against the shotgun attack on a Negro's house Tuesday night.

City Judge L.O. Kimbrough, sitting as a Justice of the Peace, postponed the trial of James Forman pending the arrival of Mr. Forman's legal counsel. The Negro is secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee of Atlanta, one of four civil rights organizations cooperating in the voter registration campaign.

Mr. Forman told Judge Kimbrough that Wiley A. Branton, a civil rights lawyer and director of the Voter Education Project, would defend him. The project, with headquarters in Atlanta, was established last year by the Southern Regional Council and is providing financial assistance in the voter drive here.

Henry Smith of Greenwood, the second Negro who was not tried, was released this morning by Gray Evans, the city's prosecuting attorney, for lack of evidence.

Lawrence Guyat, a coordinating committee field secretary from Chicago, was cited for contempt by Judge Kimbrough. Despite warnings from the judge, Mr. Guyat repeatedly objected to testimony being given against him by Chief of Police Curtis Lary.

PROVIDENCE, R.I.
BULLETIN
D. 143,970

MAR 29 1963

Miss. Negroes Plan New March for Vo

Greenwood, Miss. — (AP) — Vowing to make Greenwood and Leflore County "a testing ground for democracy," Negroes planned another march on the county courthouse today in their drive to register as voters.

Police, using a trained dog and aided by civilian volunteers, equipped with riot clubs and wearing yellow Civil Defense helmets, have twice dispersed the marchers.

The Rev. D. L. Tucker, a Greenwood Negro pastor who led yesterday's march, claimed he was bitten by a police dog. Police said he was faking.

Police Commissioner B. A. Hammond said Mr. Tucker was examined and definitely was not bitten. However, Dr. Mabel T. Garner of Greenwood said she treated the minister for "several severe bites" on his left ankle.

Mr. Tucker described the incident later as another in a series of voter registration rallies being held at his church, the Turner Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church.

"All at once a large police dog jumped out," Mr. Tucker said. "Somebody yelled, 'There's that black nigger preacher.'

"The dog lunged. The whites yelled 'Kill him.' The dog knocked me down and grabbed my leg.

"A policeman said, 'Get up you black nigger, you're not hurt.'

"I tried. I couldn't. Two of my brothers carried me."

The policeman told him, Mr. Tucker said, to get a cab. The minister quoted the officer as saying "I can't hold them back much longer. They want to kill you."

No arrests were made yesterday. The previous day 11 marchers were jailed and six have been convicted in city court of disorderly conduct. Sentencing was delayed. One man was released. Two cases were dismissed, another was postponed and one defendant, Lawrence Guyat of Chicago, was cited for contempt.

Mr. Guyat was cited after he interrupted testimony by Police Chief Curtis Lary to object to the chief's opinion that the demonstration threatened to turn into a riot.

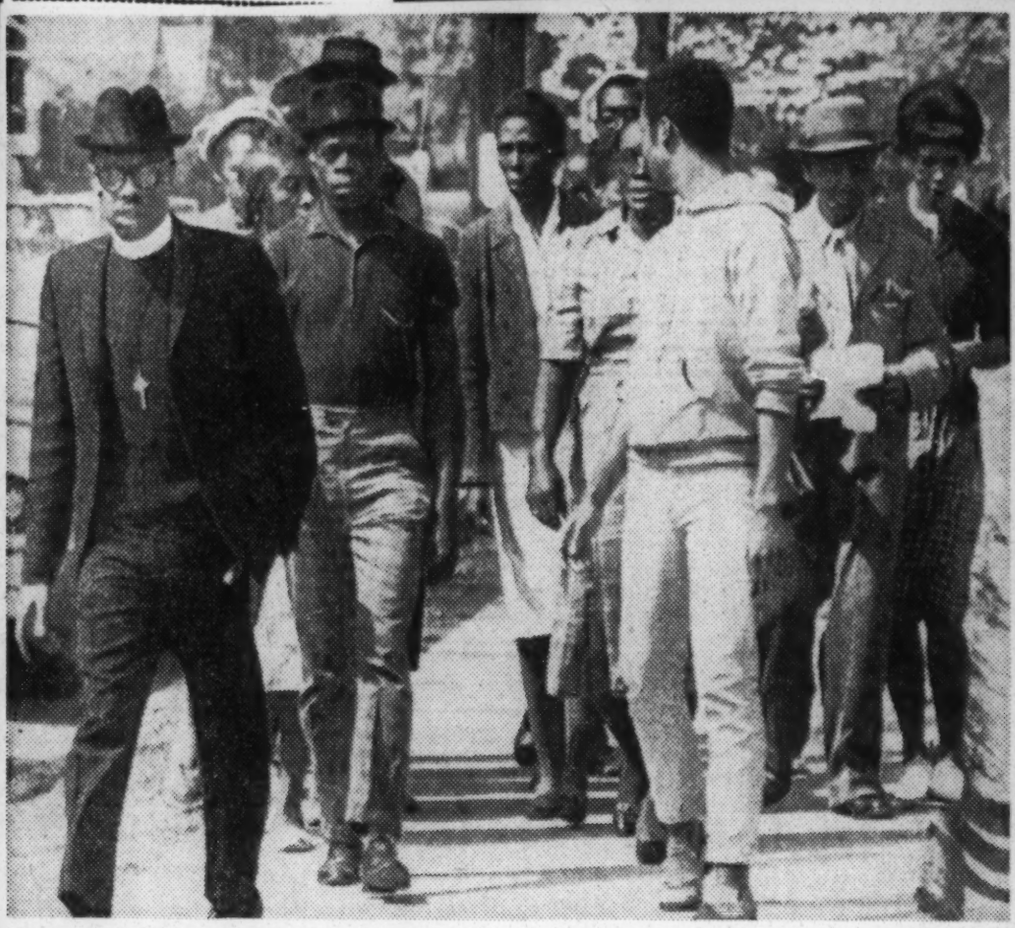
Mr. Tucker urged the 400 persons at the rally to continue the vote registration drive.

Wiley Branton an attorney who heads the Southern Regional Council's voter education project with offices in Atlanta, said Negro leaders want to make Leflore County "a testing ground for democracy."

"In a matter of h not necessarily days, an end to viciousness wood," said Mr. Bra mocracy is on mora Greenwood."

PROVIDENCE, R.I.
JOURNAL
D. 61,910 S. 191,554

MAR 29 1963



The Rev. D. L. Tucker led group of Negroes in Greenwood, Miss., yesterday to register as voters at the county courthouse. Group encountered no trouble in latest attempt.

—Associated Press Wirephoto

Dog Used to Disperse 42 Negro Applicants

© N.Y. Times News Service

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"They had a report up there that they were going to a cafe for a sit-in," the mayor replied.

The only arrest made was that of Dick Perez, identified by the police as a Columbia Broadcasting System television cameraman. He was released without charges after his film of the incident had been confiscated.

The dispersal of the Negroes was the latest in a series of incidents accompanying a voter registration campaign in this farming and industrial center in the Mississippi delta.

Racial tension, whipped up by the voting drive and attacks on Negroes, created an explosive situation. City officials conceded readily that they were alarmed.

Greenwood's 30-man police force was reinforced by 24 auxiliary policemen, sheriffs and deputies from Leflore and surrounding counties, and by state troopers.

Two Justice Department attorneys and six or more agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation have moved into the city.

More than 150 gathered at the city hall yesterday afternoon during the trials of nine of 11 Negroes arrested Wednesday while marching toward the courthouse to protest the shotgun attack on a Negro's house

ister apparently was not bitten seriously.

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City Judge L. O. Kimbrough, sitting as a justice of the peace, postponed the trial of James Forman pending the arrival of Mr. Forman's attorney. The Negro is secretary of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee of Atlanta, one of four civil rights organizations cooperating in the voter registration campaign.

Mr. Forman told Judge Kimbrough that Wiley A. Branton, a civil rights lawyer and director of the Voter Education Project, would defend him. The project, with headquarters in Atlanta, was established last year by the Southern Regional Council and is providing financial assistance in the voter drive here.

Henry Smith of Greenwood, the second Negro who was not tried, was released yesterday morning by Gray Evans, the city's prosecuting attorney, for lack of evidence.

Lawrence Guyat, a coordinating committee field secretary from Chicago, was cited for contempt by Judge Kimbrough. Despite warnings from the judge, Mr. Guyat repeatedly objected to testimony being given against him by Chief of Police Curtis Lary.

Negroes scheduled a mass meeting last night to hear James Farmer, chief of the Congress of Racial Equality, a national organization based in New York. CORE, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the South Christian Leadership Conference are working in the drive with the student coordinating committee.

The Washington Post
WASHINGTON, D.C.
D. 407,089 S. 474,073

MAR 30 1963 Bruxelles

Wilkins Sees Possi[illegible]ty Of Shift to GOP by [illegible]egroes

By Wallace Terry
Staff Reporter

Roy Wilkins yesterday predicted a wholesale transfer of Negro support from the Democratic Party to the GOP unless the Government—at both Federal and local levels—answers Negro needs.

As a last resort, warned the chief executive officer of the NAACP, the Negro may "be driven to try it alone" politically to achieve equal opportunity—operating outside of either major party.

He himself would not advocate this last resort, Wilkins told the windup session of the 15th annual conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House at the Sheraton Carleton.

Negro Responsibility Cited

Leslie W. Dunbar told the same session that the pace of integration should be set by Negroes—"not by white liberals and certainly not by white moderates and not by the Department of Justice."

He recalled that his organization, the Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council, had publicly defended the Attorney General's plea for a "cooling off" in the Freedom Ride two years ago. But timing was not an issue at that point, he said; the demand had already been made.

"Whenever white liberals or government officials seek by either persuasion or maneuver to postpone Negro pressure for some legitimate objective," he asserted, "they—and not the Negroes—are guilty of the subsequent and inevitable estrangement."

Dunbar also joined Wilkins and Clarence Mitchell Jr. in a sweeping attack on Justice Department policies in dealing with voting and education crises in the Deep South.

He indicated that Justice has the responsibility to provide law and order in racially embattled LeFlore County, Miss., which he described as existing in a state of "anarchy."

"I think Justice has its political theory mixed up," he said. A Federal system provides for division of government on county and state levels as well as national, he allowed.

"But in LeFlore you don't have government," he said. "If that government force does not come from LeFlore or the state of Mississippi, it has to come from Washington."

Prince Edward Status Noted

Dunbar also called on the Administration to provide a new program of action in Prince Edward County, Virginia, where Negro children have been without formal education since public schools were closed by the County Board in 1959.

"For this Administration or any other to continue to ap[illegible] this situation as solely [illegible] one is very wrong," he [illegible]

Mitchell asked the Administration to make "the presence of the Federal Government" felt in LeFlore by sending marshals or troops to protect Negroes engaged in voter registration drives. He is the NAACP's Washington representative.

In the area of civil rights, Wilkins said, the Negro stands today "where he should have stood in 1870" and he is "impatient and dissatisfied" with the speed at which his rights are being achieved.

'In the Cause of Freedom'

Dunbar urged Negroes not to lose sight of how far they have come in gaining equal rights, for the distance traveled demonstrates "that American political and legal processes can be made to work in the cause of freedom."

But he also looked into the future with this warning: "If white people lose sight of how very much there still is to do, they will consign the country straight to a holiday of hell . . . a succession of Albanys, McCombs, Greenwoods . . . the Thanksgiving Day brawl here . . . and tortures not yet dreamed of."

He further underscored the importance of Negroes not to "acquiese" segregation whether by law, custom, or contrivance. "Jim Crow cannot live without Uncle Tom, and Uncle Tom is dying fast."

Dunbar also said he believed that the Southern Negro was capable of carrying on his own protest against segregation without "witnesses" from Chicago, New York and elsewhere.

"I don't believe the white South hears the transient witness from abroad," he said.

In an apparent criticism of CORE and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Dunbar observed that the "unity of the Negro movement" is more threatened by "the self-adulation" of leaders in the direct action movements than by the Black Muslims and the Marxists.

DALLAS, TEXAS
EXPRESS
W. 5,045

MAR 30 1963

A Changing World

The report labeled 'Report L-23B, Revised,' gotten out by the Southern Regional Council, said that all southern states have at least one desegregated institution of higher learning in them up to date. The University of Alabama is not actually desegregated, but it is under court order since 1956 (it will be remembered that Miss Autherine Lucy was ordered into the University of Alabama in 1956.)

We cite the above facts to say further that today all southern states have at least one desegregated institution of higher learning. Furthermore, to note that in the past two years 89 colleges and universities have desegregated, most of them "with neither fuss nor fanfare." We suggest that our readers compare the statistics cited here with those of May 17, 1954, when the Supreme Court gave down the decision in the Brown case.

ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION
SUN. 502,157

MAR 31 1963

MENTAL MECHANISMS

Why Is There Not More Moral Resistance to Mississippi Evil?

By PAT WATTERS

"The peace of the United States is broken and shattered by the lawlessness in Mississippi." — Voter Education Project news release.

WE HAVE read so much of mass and cosmic murder, insanity and suicide that we are numbed, and react helplessly and hopelessly to these entirely human horrors (and all the array of lesser acts of inhumanity) as we do to the impersonal destructions of nature.

It takes something like the quietly terrifying book by Hannah Arendt on the Eichman trial to penetrate numbness and make clear and understandable that the ultimate horror of the Nazi race murder thing was, indeed, entirely human, involving millions more of normal, decent people, passively and even actively, than abnormal monsters.

INDIVIDUALS

Mental mechanisms involved were many. Good conscience could come by respecting authority, not questioning what authority did or compelled one to do. One did not accept evil, only the power to do it, and one tended to shift the blame from the persecutors to those unlucky enough to be persecuted. Individuals were not the vehicles of decency and morality.

In only a very few countries occupied by Germany was there a show of resistance, of decent humanity's and civilization's contempt and horror at the "final solution" of murdering every Jew — man, woman, child. But, and Miss Arendt reiterates the point, wherever there was resistance, it succeeded.

The question, crying out from such a book, is why wasn't there more? Why not more people ready to die if necessary for life? Why?

Now, 250 miles away, in Mississippi there builds the climax to years of a pattern of violence and intimidation against Negroes. Racism has not of course reached the extremes and its ultimate in Mississippi that it did in Nazi Germany, but enough has happened to raise the same question of why is there not more moral resistance, why don't Americans protest and stop what is happening? Why?

Pat Watters' column appears regularly in the daily Atlanta Journal.

One of a number of pointings up of the pattern is the news release by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, a respected source of race news information in the nation, which sets out 64 acts of "violence and intimidation" since January, 1961, against Negroes in Mississippi.

The release says the list is based on newspaper stories. Certainly over the years, the casual reader could piece out from these casual tellings of terror the pattern. The impact of this news release is the totality of reading such a list all at once.

This ranges from the charges of senseless, you might almost say playful, brutality—lassoing from a car, a 9-year-old girl with wire and dragging her along a street—to the purposeful bombings and shotgun blastings of homes and people. Always, the worst of it, are the stories and incidents showing police and courts and governments (power and authority) supporting the intimidation, the violence.

Fully half the incidents in this particular study are related to efforts of Negroes to register to vote. And that is what the current crisis, the police dog dispersal of marchers, is about.

COMPLICATED

America reacted to the sit-ins and freedom rides with much the mechanism of Europe to Nazism. It deplored what happened, but accepted use of power to put down Negroes, and somehow shifted blame to Negroes for being in a position to suffer from such use of power.

The rights in question then were legally complicated. But the right involved in Mississippi now is the basic one of voting. Can we shift blame again to the victim?

Federal help, long overdue, is being called for — the "entire strength" of the nation to protect constitutional rights. But where is the "entire strength," far more powerful than formal federal action, of America's moral opinion, civilization's horror and contempt and condemnation of what has been going on in Mississippi? Why is there not more individual indignation? Why?

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800

MAR 31 1963

More Than Tears

By SADIE BELLE BARROW
Executive Director
Y. W. C. A. Branch
New Orleans, Louisiana

Accepting an invitation from the noted Mrs. Dorothy Tilly, Director of Women's Work of the Southern Regional Council, I went to Atlanta, Georgia, recently for participation in "The Fellowship of The Concerned'.' On the evening of the day I arrived, I had the opportunity to view the beautiful fountain dedicated that day on the Clark College Campus as a memorial to the late Bishop J. W. E. Bowen. The impressive fountain with its constant flow of sparkling, fresh water is an on-going tribute to a Christian gentleman and ,churchman of distinction by his beloved widow and inspiration to youth through the years, Dr. Margaret Davis Bowen. As I stood with Mrs. Bowen and an interracial group of friends on a crisp Atlanta evening while the sounds of students moving to and fro on the campus mingled with the sound of the flowing water and the sounds of night, my mind focused on the deep significance of the tribute Bishop Bowen's widow had given evidence of expression beyond that of tears.

How often is our grief contained in tears; our sorrow expressed thereby; and our tribute ended therewith; What greater tribute can be paid loved ones who depart than by helping the causes to which they gave their devotion and substance!

An inspiring college meditation room given by Mrs. Bowen as a memorial when her mother died, an impressive fountain given by Mrs. Bowen as a memorial when Bishop Bowen died are but two ilustrations to which you, the reader might add of instances known to you in which persons paid tribute that was more than tears.

Vast resources are possible for the improvement of our churches and church - related institutions if just some of the money spent for frills and fading flowers in connection with deaths would be converted into building improvements, scholarship assistance to the deserving, aid to the needy, etc., as ON-GOING TRIBUTE TO THE DEPARTED THROUGH HELP TO THE LIVING. Like Mary and Martha of old, we continue to choose different things to which we give priority. Our challenge, however, is to choose the greater flow of human good long after the human body shall have mingled with the dust of earth.

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
D. 355,898 S. 451,270
V + I rept
APR 1 1963
Byfuller

Associated Press

OUTSIDE—Policeman holds taut leash as his dog growls at Rev. D. L. Tucker at Greenwood, Miss., courthouse. . .

67 Violent Acts Against Greenwood Negroes

Ugly Days in Mississippi Town

By Walter Rugaber
Special to the Herald Tribune

ATLANTA.

The atmosphere was tense and explosive yesterday in Greenwood, Miss., where an all-out Negro voter registration drive has produced strong shock waves. However, the streets were quiet after a week of turmoil.

The Federal government, under strong and steady pressure from the Negroes, is moving to stop interference with the registration drive. But the racial upheaval still dominates the state.

Almost simultaneously a report was issued here detailing 64 acts of violence and intimidation against Negroes in Mississippi during the last 27 months.

An Ugly Scar

more flareups in Greenwood and Leflore Country.

Fire destroyed four Negro businesses adjacent to a voter registration office maintained by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Feb. 20.

A worker in the office said she received an anonymous call in which a man declared she wouldn't be going there any more because it had "been taken care of."

Later, on March 24, another fire partially destroyed the office itself. Witnesses said they saw two white men running from the scene just before the fire was discovered.

There were four gunfire attacks from Feb. 28 to last Tuesday, when a shotgun blast was fired into the home of Dewey Greene Sr., father of the latest Negro applicant to Ole Miss.

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An Ugly Scar

The report, put together by the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project, traces a series of shooting and repressions that run across the state like an ugly scar.

Wiley A. Branton, the project director, said he was sure the 17-page compilation was not complete. He said, however, it demonstrates that constitutional rights are "virtually inoperative."

The report, which does not include any of the violence surrounding James Meredith's entrance into the University of Mississippi, runs chronologically from January, 1961.

All but 12 of the incidents took place in only six of the state's counties: Pike, Leflore (Greenwood), Sunflower, Himbs, Amite and Coahoma.

Included in the report were such seemingly pointless flareups as the dragging of a 9-year-old Negro girl down a Jackson street behind a car driven by several whites.

Associated Press

. . . INSIDE—Here, Rev. Tucker displays his leg while announcing the dog bit him during the Negro march to urge registration.

The young child, according to the report, had been lassoed as she walked along. She suffered various injuries, including a deep gash on the head. Arrests were made.

News Accounts

The compilation, which its author said was gathered mainly from daily newspaper accounts, is filled with incidents involving local officials.

A Walthall County registrar, the report said, told a campaign worker and two Negroes wiht him that he wasn't going to register any voters that day.

When the worker, John Hardy, then turned to leave, the official pulled a pistol from his desk and slugged Hardy from behind, the report said.

Hardy was arrested and charged with disturbing the peace.

The reports recounts three instances in which Negroes were shot and killed by local law engorcement officials or other governmental employees.

As the report moved into 1963, it included more and

Committee (SNCC) Feb. 20.

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There were four gunfire attacks from Feb. 28 to last Tuesday, when a shotgun blast was fired into the home of Dewey Greene Sr., father of the latest Negro applicant to Ole Miss.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.
JOURNAL
D. 373,657 S. 561,118

APR 5 1963

The Issue in Greenwood

In Greenwood, cotton capital of the Mississippi delta, national headquarters of the White Citizens' Councils, a drama is being enacted that involves the basic economic, political and social issues facing the south and the nation.

Negroes are determinedly seeking the right to vote. Whites are just as determinedly trying to deny them that right.

Greenwood is in Leflore county, which has a population of 31,000 Negroes and 17,000 whites. Of the whites eligible to vote, some 90% are registered. Of the Negroes eligible to vote, less than 2% are registered. Other Negroes who seek to register are being hampered in every way, including violence. The other day the police even turned dogs loose on a group of Negroes who were walking to the registration office to register. Mayor Charles Sampson implied this was all a mistake. The police weren't interested in registration, he said, adding: "They had a report up there that them niggers was going to the Alice cafe for a sit-in."

The justice department has now started court action to enforce the right of qualified Negroes to register. This caused Mayor Sampson to proclaim that the trouble was being caused by outsiders and that the justice department was adding to it. His explanation: "The only purpose of these agitators is to follow the Communist line of fomenting racial violence and the obvious purpose of the attorney general is to get votes."

The violence so far, of course, has been caused by the police and by those whom the police allow to break the law.

The Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project issued a 17 page report the other day listing almost 70 cases of acts of violence and intimidation against Negroes in Mississippi in the last 27 months. They include everything from arson against Negro business places to the lassoing of a 9 year old Negro girl by some white men in a car, who dragged her down a Jackson (Miss.) street. There have been brutal physical attacks. There have been cases of economic vengeance—firing of Negroes who tried to register and ordering others off tenant farms they have worked for years.

In the end the Negroes must win the right to vote. Law, decency, the federal government and a great majority of the American people are on their side.

ORLANDO, FLA.
FLORIDA SUN & MIRROR
W. - CIRC. NOT AVAIL.

APR 5 1963

post $500 bail

GREENWOOD, Miss. — Eight student non-violent coordinating committee leaders have refused to post $500 appeal bail on sentences of four months in county jail and $200 fines each.

Atty. Wiley Brandon, chief of the Voter Education Project, said the convictions on disorderly charges would be appealed.

Maximum sentences and fines were imposed by City Judge O. L. Kimbrough.

One of the eight, Lawrence Guyat of Chicago, was given an extra day and an additional $50 fine on a contempt charge growing out of an in-

complete hearing on Thursday.

ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL
D. 259,003

APR 6 1963

Boyd Says Executions Necessary

By SALLY RUGABER
Atlanta Journal Religious News Editor

Fulton County Sol. Gen. Bill Boyd told United Church Women of Atlanta that there comes a time when some criminals "forfeit their right to live."

Mr. Boyd, speaking in a debate on capital punishment, stressed his belief that laws and juries are too lenient with those "who kill, rape, rob and steal."

"Unless the juries of my circuit make up their minds once and for all to give capital punishment in cases where it is deserved, the criminals are going to take this town," Mr. Boyd said.

He said, "We had better think what's good for society rather than what's good for the criminal."

Society "can't afford to look with great compassion upon the criminal. It is past time to feel compassion for the wrongdoer," Mr. Boyd said.

SPEAKING ON the other side of the question was Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council.

Mr. Anthony gave two reasons for his opposition to capital punishment:

"It is immoral to take a life," and "it doesn't work."

Mr. Anthony said the supreme penalty is "not applied to society uniformly. There's no question but that those on the bottom of the ladder—economically, socially and racially are at a great disadvantage" in hiring lawyers and appealing convictions.

Mr. Anthony said capital punishment is not a deterrent to some segments of society because it does not work uniformly.

"As long as our system is so spotty, so unfair, we should not take it upon ourselves to use the death sentence," Mr. Anthony argued.

The church women met at Druid Hills Methodist Church.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
NEWS
D. 188,346 S. 222,244

APR 7 1963

Moderates At Issue

THE POINT is obvious: Some Negroes think well of what are called "white moderates." Others do not. Powell apparently doesn't. He boldly criticized even the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People because whites are among its leaders.

Newer Negro groups—CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee—have appeared more pressing, more activist, than older, more established Negro leadership.

Most Negroes, of course, are aware that their differences will be highlighted by resisting whites and used against them. It is only wisdom for whites of any persuasion to recognize that (1) Negro leaders are often brilliant strategists; but that (2) Negro leaders as whites can commit grievous errors of policy. Judged only by *strategy* evidences, both whites and Negroes at times have shown remarkable ability in this "contest"; but both have shown miserable judgment at other times.

There is a continual struggle *within* the national and the local community for leadership of Negroes, for authority to speak for Negroes. This registers in political matters and policy as to integration effort timing and degree.

It is related to present contest over the Negro vote in national presidential elections. Significance of this issue readily is recognized; it involves "swinging" half a dozen major cities, hence states, in the North and East.

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive director, in a recent Washington address to the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, stated that the Negro may go over to Republicans unless Democrats now in office answer Negroes' demands for action. Wilkins heeds the activists in this.

At that meeting, Wilkins and Clarence Mitchell, Washington NAACP head, joined in strong criticism of Justice Department policies regarding voting and schools. So also said Leslie W. Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council. (Dunbar is white.)

The New York Times
D. 680,265 S. 1,306,418
APR 7 1963

RACIAL TENSIONS

Continued racial troubles in Greenwood, Miss., where Negroes seeking to register as voters marched on the Leflore County courthouse despite police orders to break into smaller groups, and in Birmingham, Ala., where Negroes attempted lunchroom sit-ins to protest segregation, last week brought these comments from some Southern sources.

Haynie in The Louisville Courier-Journal

"One swallow doth not a sinner make."

What is being tested in Leflore County, Miss., is whether the people of this country and their national Government really are interested in the rights guaranteed by the First and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. So far, the answer seems to be no. In the meantime, Negroes of Leflore County are on their own and show every day that they want to be entrusted with the responsibilities of citizenship.—LESLIE W. DUNBAR, *executive director of the Southern Regional Council.*

Negroes are not being prevented from applying for the voting privilege. Greenwood leaders who are responsible for keeping order have tried to keep mobs from forming in city streets. We dare say police in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia or Los Angeles would do the same. In huge groups of tell the people of Birmingham that this is an attempt to stage a big show . . . to make headlines throughout the country. These strangers now in our city are more interested in headlines to help them raise money for their hate campaign than they are in the welfare of their people. . . . I urge everyone, white and Negro, calmly to ignore what is now being attempted in Birmingham.—MAYOR-ELECT ALBERT BOUTWELL *of Birmingham.*

WASHINGTON, D.C.
NATIONAL OBSERVER
W- 250 000

APR 8 1963 Bryhelles

1962

New 'Battlegrounds'

In Greenwood and in Birmingham, Negroes Press for Their Rights

Dick Gregory is a comedian with a sharp wit who pokes fun at whites and Negroes alike over racial discrimination.

"I sat at a lunch counter for nine months," goes one of his jokes. "When they finally integrated, they didn't have what I wanted."

He has developed an image, at least among his devotees in night clubs and before television sets, of a social satirist who can needle but not offend. There is another side to the comic, however, a crusading nature that last week led him to say some things that were not funny in an explosive situation.

He went to Greenwood, Miss., where Negroes are demonstrating for their right to vote. Mr. Gregory joined them.

The whites called him an outside agitator. Answered Mr. Gregory: "Hitler could have said the same thing about Southern white boys." The whites weren't amused.

Hesitant Demonstrators

There was still less amusement when he told some hesitant Negro demonstrators: "I don't know why you're afraid to die, because you haven't a damn thing to live for."

But it was Birmingham that may prove the more important "battleground" —as both cities were being called in the press. There, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. of Atlanta, also called an outside agitator by city officials, named Birmingham as the key current city in the struggle for Southern Negro rights. Dr. King joined marchers in demanding desegregation throughout the city.

The Greenwood demonstrations were in their second week, with Negroes marching daily to the courthouse in an attempt to register as voters. The police let them apply for registration in groups of two and three. In breaking up larger groups, which police said threatened the peace, they arrested 19 demonstrators; 12 were still in jail at week's end.

Mr. Gregory vowed to stay in the city until Federal troops were sent to halt "police brutality," which he said was evident as police used dogs to break up the marchers and pushed them along the sidewalks. He protested that the police had struck him in the back.

But Mr. Gregory changed his mind late in the week and prepared to leave. "We got all we can get out of them (the city)," he said. Said another Negro leader: "We have made significant gains."

The Justice Department also was in the mood for conciliation. It agreed to drop a request for a restraining order against interference with the Negro registrants if the city would release eight Negroes arrested during the first week. The City released them.

In Washington, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy said he had "assurances" the city would not interfere with the Negroes. A hearing on a permanent injunction against interference may not be held until October. Charged Mr. Gregory, "The Justice Department has made deals with these people."

Greenwood is a wealthy, pleasant city of 22,000 in Mississippi's Delta region, a band of fantastically rich alluvial soil stretching along the Mississippi River. With more than half of Greenwood's Leflore County on relief half the year (26,000, including 22,000 Negroes), the average income per capita is still $4,000.

There are 30,000 Negroes to 16,000 whites in the county, which calls itself the "Long-Staple Cotton Capital of the World." Its wealth is built upon the land and the men and machines help work it.

As in many Southern states, Negroes are leaving Mississippi in droves. From 1950 to 1960 a total of 323,000 Negroes moved out. The migration was greater than from any other southern state and almost equals the total Negro population of Arkansas (389,000).

In recent years, Negro leaders decided the key to advancement was the vote. Greenwood, where only 2 per cent of the Negroes of voting age are actually registered, was a prime target.

In a drive begun two years ago but stepped up last fall, young people came from all over the country to help the Negroes get on the voting rolls. The drive is supported through the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project, which conducts similar drives elsewhere in the South.

The Nature of the Tests

The whites in Greenwood insist they don't prevent registration. In fact, Greenwood City Attorney Hardy Lott notes, 336 Negroes applied just last month. But fewer than 10 finally passed the tough exams. "Many cannot read or write," he said.

As most whites see it, the Negro can register if he wants to, but generally he is illiterate and cannot pass the test when he tries. The Negroes answer that the tests are often arbitrary and many fail the tests because the registrar doesn't want them to pass.

The goal in Birmingham is not the vote but much broader desegregation. Dr. King's demands: Desegregation of all lunch counters and public facilities downtown; more hiring of qualified Negroes; dropping of all charges against Negroes arrested in sit-ins; reopening of city parks; and a bi-racial committee to work on desegregation in city schools.

The Commissioners' Claim

Political disarray complicates the Birmingham situation. The city elected former Alabama lieutenant governor Albert Boutwell mayor last week, replacing the three-man commission which ran Birmingham. But the commissioners claim the legal right to serve out their terms through 1965 and have asked the courts for a ruling.

Until that ruling, or until the mayor takes office April 15, the Negroes must deal with the segregationist commissioners, especially Eugene T. "Bull" Connor, who heads the police. Mr. Boutwell is considered more moderate, and some whites feel the Negroes could have gained some ground if they waited to deal with him as mayor.

Voting drives like the one in Greenwood have been successful in many places: Huntsville, Ala., Miami, in much of Virginia and Tennessee, Memphis—and in Birmingham.

Last week, a voter project official pointed to one city in particular, Savannah, Ga. There, the local "Crusade for voters" has waged a campaign for a decade and registered 13,000 Negroes. A special drive begun in January netted 2,000 more voters by the time it ended last month.

There are differences, though. Savannah is a seaport and, as one Negro put it, "has always looked more to the sea than the South." Its population is ethnically diverse, and Negro leadership is more "sophisticated than in many places," said the official. The change in the city's racial attitude has been gradual but clearly defined. Two years ago, Negro voters provided the margin of victory for the white mayor. As a new political force, they find it easier to be heard. This is the goal Negroes in Greenwood and Birmingham strive for.

HOUSTON, TEXAS
POST
D. 220,491 S. 243,883

APR 14 1963

MRS SHAW TALKED ABOUT GOALS AND ACTIONS
'Methodists Are Glad to Know Catholics'
—Post Photo by Dell Van Dusen

ONE HOUSTON WOMAN

It's Hard to Sound Practical About Ideals, Mrs Shaw Says

By MARY ANNE HAYES
Post Women's Staff

Four years ago a small group of Houstonians founded the Council on Human Relations. Mrs E. Pliny Shaw was one of the first members.

"'GOALS,'" SHE read from a brochure on the council in a small office at the group's headquarters the other afternoon. "'To uphold the human dignity and self respect of all citizens—regardless of religion, race, creed or national origin . . ."

The council's program committee members were meeting in the next room. Their voices could be heard in the background as Mrs Shaw talked.

It was a hot afternoon, and the council's air conditioning couldn't combat it effectively.

Mrs Shaw put down the brochure and said: "We spent hours trying to find the right words. It's high sounding and nebulous, but in our program we try to make it come alive. Anytime you have an ideal, it's hard to sound practical. But we try to do these things, strive [illegible] day in and day

great deal of credit," Mrs Shaw said.

THE COUNCIL HAS maintained the office through three of its four years.

The membership includes people of all faiths and ethnic groups in Houston, who work together on seminars, workshops and lectures sponsored by the council.

The council has standing committees on health and welfare, housing, cultural programs, employment, education, youth and international relations. Members are beginning to collect a library on tolerance.

"We write letters to the school board and the mayor on problems we are interested in. Some of our people have served on the mayor's committees.

"OUR GROUP BRINGS together the different groups. We co-operate with other groups and often join with them in presenting programs," Mrs Shaw said.

"You could say that now we are focusing on integration. We sometimes criticize ourselves for that because we perhaps have not been as effective as

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Mrs Shaw put down the brochure and said: "We spent hours trying to find the right words. It's high sounding and nebulous, but in our program we try to make it come alive. Anytime you have an ideal, it's hard to sound practical. But we try to do these things, strive to do them day in and day out."

THE BROCHURE lists as further goals a widening of spheres of opportunity for all Houstonians and the fostering of the democratic way of life, under the Constitution, in Houston.

"We want to learn as a group to respect the needs of other people.

"Cities become jungles without good relations between different groups. The communication in a community makes the difference between a healthy environment and an unhealthy one.

"We try to help people to be open to other groups, to reduce prejudice, explore the areas of the community which are unfamiliar.

"WE HAVE FOUND that Methodists are glad to know Catholics, that whites are happy to have Negroes in their homes . . . People are bored with being with their own kind all the time," she said.

The council now has a membership of 700. The group's growth has been gradual but substantial, Mrs Shaw said, and every member is a dedicated one.

"There is no purpose in joining unless they are sincere in wanting to understand the racial and ethnic dilemmas society has burdened us with," she said.

The council's first year was one of exploration. The members wanted to find out just what they could do, just what the council could become.

"WE HAD SOME support from the Southern Regional Council, which has a long history of helping Negroes in the South," Mrs Shaw said.

There had been groups working on similar problems in Houston before, Mrs Shaw said. But they were limited in membership. There were church groups and school groups.

The Council on Human Relations offered everybody who was interested in these problems a chance to work together, she said.

"And we had the funds to be serious about the problems and to make a consistent attempt to solve them," she said.

IN ADDITION TO the Southern Regional Council funds, the council receives aid from Houston foundations and from membership fees.

The Southern Regional Council provides the Houston group with matching funds—up to $2,600—for all of the money they raise over $3,500. The council has just passed the $3,500 mark for this year. The first $3,500 has been raised through memberships and donations from small foundations.

"We have the finances to pay for this office and to pay Mrs Ethel Dumbauld, the secretary. She is an organizer, and she is devoted. Her efforts deserve a board and the mayor on problems we are interested in. Some of our people have served on the mayor's committees.

"OUR GROUP BRINGS together the different groups. We co-operate with other groups and often join with them in presenting programs," Mrs Shaw said.

"You could say that now we are focusing on integration. We sometimes criticize ourselves for that because we perhaps have not been as effective as we could in dealing with other problems, those of Latin Americans, for instance.

"But the race question confronts us so that we can't look at the others. The inequalities and injustices there are so blatant," she said.

ALTHOUGH MRS SHAW is worried about the possibility of overemphasizing one problem, the council will deal with another problem with a special program in May. The program will be on the separation of church and state.

"I was in Washington a year ago, and many people there felt that the church-state issue is the one that will agitate many communities," she said.

The council will bring Dr Franklin Littell of the Chicago Theological Seminary to Houston for a series of meetings on May 6.

"MEETING THE PEOPLE who come in to speak is one of the real rewards of working with the council. These are people who are so alive, who are not so conforming, who really have something to say," Mrs Shaw said.

Mrs Shaw, a board member, served the council as president for a two-year term from 1960-62.

Before the council was founded Mrs Shaw and her husband, who died three years ago, were members of the Parents Council, the Houston Association for Better Schools and several inter-racial groups.

"WE HAD THE Houston Forum that met at the South Central YMCA. We brought in outside speakers like P. D. East," she said.

Mrs Shaw's four children have been interested in the problems of human relations.

"We are all on the same side of the fence. They support the council. It's rewarding for the family all to agree.

"It's a terrible thing when the parents in a family move in one direction and the children in another. The parents just don't understand," she said.

MRS SHAW SAID she didn't know of a case in which parents who were in favor of desegregation were chastised by their children. The reverse, parents who were segregationists opposing children who had developed different ideas, is generally true, she said.

Mrs Shaw picked up another council brochure and looked at the cover.

"WE HAVE TOKEN integration how, but the great problem of breaking up the great social disease of segregation is still there. We have a long pull ahead before we get over there were that sunshine is breaking through," she said.

Mrs Shaw pointed to the brochure's cover, which pictured a rocky foreground and a cloudy sky with the sun just beginning to push its rays through.

ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL
D. 257,694

APR 16 1963

South Judged by Culture, Minister Tells Meeting Here

By SALLY RUGABER
Atlanta Journal Religious News Editor

The South in the past failed at the point "where we thought we had done so well" and The "grace" of its culture has turned into a judgment upon it.

So said James McBride Dabbs of Mayesville, S.C., president of the Southern Regional Council, who spoke at the opening session of a 4-day consultation on "The Mission of the Church in the South" at the Interdenominational Theological Center here.

Mr. Dabbs spoke of grace and judgment, commenting that to find "the chief structure of grace in the South" is to find where its "chief sin" also lies.

THE SOUTH has always boasted of "the personal quality" of its life, he said, and maintained that it created "a distinctly personal culture."

That personal culture viewed the relationship between whites and Negroes on two levels, Mr. Dabbs said. First there was the "common level of everyday kindness," developed, he suggested, because "the white South found it nearly impossible to face the injustice of the Negro's situation."

ON THE second level, white and Negro relationships took the form of "stoic respect," Mr. Dabbs continued, "a conservatism imbued with a sense of the order of the world . . . holding in respect those who submit to it and manfully bear life's burdens."

In between the kindliness and the stoic respect is the vast middle ground of institutions, Mr. Dabbs said, "that middle public world of education, business and the professions."

"THIS MIDDLE world is the arena in which man gains honor," the one in which he makes "his economic and political advances," he said and whites "carefully excluded" the Negro from it.

"In the wide middle world, where men work out their lives, whites and Negroes are pretty effectively separated," Mr. Dabbs said. "This division in our society, this separation, is the judgment of God upon us."

"The miracle," Mr. Dabbs said, is that if "out of grace comes sin and judgment . . . it is also true that out of judgment comes grace, as it is coming in the South today."

IN THE PAST, "the whites pushed the Negroes aside," he said. "Now the Negroes are coming forward to offer the South and the nation the contribution which only they . . . can bring."

This is a "unifying, universal spirit which the South has always aimed at but never attained," he said, "that view of man as a citizen both of this world and another."

In the Southern Negro's "drive for American citizenship . . . Christian commitment and devotion are combined with a prophetic passion for social justice," he said.

"These people are simply seeking their legitimate share in our society," Mr. Dabbs said. "As we welcome them, we shall heal, by God's grace, the breach within our own hearts."

"THE SOUTH was looking in the right direction when it looked for persons," he said, "but the white South, especially as regards the Negro, did not look deep enough. It believed too much in persons; it didn't understand that human lives are lived in institutions; that persons come into being through institutions, and are cherished or destroyed by institutions.

"This is what as Christians we must do now," he said.

The consultation will bring more than 100 persons from some 15 denominations to look at the church's future place in the South, with addresses, panel discussions and workshops scheduled through Thursday afternoon.

MOUNT VERNON, N.Y.
ARGUS
D. 18,659

APR 18 1963

Janet Feagans Is Selected For Operation Crossroads

Operation Crossroads Africa has announced the selection of Miss Janet Feagans, daughter of the Rev. and Mrs. Harry D. Robinson Jr. of 117 W. Second St. as a group leader for this summer's work project in Tanganyika.

Operation Crossroads Africa located in New York City is a private, voluntary organization which since 1958 has sent more than 760 young, North Americans into Africa to participate in summer work projects with the cooperation of African governments and people. Crossroads, often considered a pilot project for the Peace Corps and a "people to people" diplomatic effort, was conceived by Dr. James H. Robinson, former minister of the Church of the Master, New York City. In 1958, he took a pilot group of 60 students to West Africa. This year's group will include over 320 participants in 27 different work projects through - out Africa.

JANET FEAGANS

Miss Feagans received her B.A. degree from the University of Florida in 1958. She is a former school teacher and staff member of the Southern Regional Council, a race relations research foundation in Atlanta, Georgia. This past summer, Miss Feagans was a faculty member of the Encampment for Citizenship, New York City. She is currently a graduate student in the Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, and Research Assistant at the University's Institute of Government.

JET
CHICAGO, ILL.
W. 370,968

APR 18 1963

Troubled Miss. County Named After Negro's Kin

Atty. Branton

Fair-skinned Atty. Wiley Branton, director of the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project, told a shocked Greenwood, Miss., audience in racially tense Leflore County that: "My grandfather was named Greenwood Leflore . . . this place was named for him." Greenwood Leflore was the son of a French trader and an Indian maiden. The half-breed later became a Choctaw chief and married the daughter of a white mail carrier, John Donly. Afterwards Leflore became a wealthy plantation owner with Negro slaves. He opposed Mississippi secession from the Union, however, and flew the U. S. flag all during the Civil War.

Negro Leader Says Justice Dept. Action 'No Good'

Despite the injunction requested by Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy to prevent arrest and harassment of Negro vote registration leaders in Greenwood, Charles McDew, chairman of the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, expressed little faith in the Federal action. McDew said the Justice Dept. enjoined Terrell County, Ga., officials from interfering with voter registration "three times" without ever arresting officials. McDew said FBI agents stand on the sidelines and watch vote leaders being manhandled and only make "reports" to Washington.

St. Louis Elects 2 New Negro Aldermen; Now Six

In St. Louis, five Negroes were elected to the Board of Aldermen—including Mrs. Edna E. Brown, a Democrat and the first Negro woman ever to sit on the aldermanic panel. Another new face on the Board was Joseph W. B. Clark, also a Democrat, a 47-year-old auditor in the State Revenue Collector's office. Other Negroes re-elected were Wayman F. Smith Jr., Lawrence E. Woodson and William L. Clay. A sixth Negro, DeWitt Lawson, was not up for re-election this year and remains on the aldermanic panel. Archie Blaine, a former Negro alderman, lost in primary.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
STAR
D. 258,167 S. 313,112

APR 18 1963

LETTERS TO THE STAR

Pen names may be used if letters carry writers' correct names and addresses. All letters are subject to condensation. Those not used will be returned only when accompanied by self - addressed, stamped envelopes.

Rockefeller on Cuba

Your April 11 editorial, "Unworthy Politicking," about Gov. Rockefeller's remarks on Cuba, is not up to your usual standards of knowledgeable and fair comment. Somehow I have the feeling that you are politicking some yourself. You are remiss on two important counts.

First, you reject Rockefeller as presidential candidate on the Cuba part of his press conference. Actually, Rockefeller touched on several other national issues of major importance. And he did quite well with them. Furthermore, Rockefeller is to be judged by his entire record (not just one press conference) by the fair-minded people who make up most of the electorate, if not by The Star. It may be said that he has established himself as one well qualified to judge events in Latin America through his service in the Government and otherwise.

The real nub of the Cuban problem is the failure of President Kennedy to reveal to the American people the substance of his secret negotiations with Khrushchev and the agreement made regarding Cuba which binds the United States. That is what worries the average American and I must say that Rockefeller or anyone else certainly has a right to surmise and wonder just what did happen and what our President committed us to.

Ralph R. Will.

* * * *

Your editorial, "Unworthy Politicking" reprimands Gov. Rockefeller for intimating that our President is appeasing the Soviets.

I have no political love for Mr. Rockefeller, whom I consider an opportunist of the first water. But, can it honestly be said that President Kennedy is not appeasing the Soviets? I am sure he does not like doing so but, in my opinion, that is exactly what he is doing and has been doing ever since Khrushchev agreed to take the missile bases out of Cuba and asked, or suggested that we do the same thing with regard to Turkey and Italy. We are

'Squandermania'

"Cut of 5 to 11 Cents in Tax Rate Seen for Montgomery"! This headline in The Sunday Star was as manna from heaven to this dehydrated taxpayer, at least, and I suspect to many in the over-taxed suburbs of Squandermania.

There was, of course, a brief mention of increased assessments under a new Maryland law, a maneuver with which we Northern Virginians are painfully familiar. But the new Montgomery County government seems to be in earnest about cutting fat and easing tax burdens.

Arlington is different. We have just established probably the highest school salaries in the Nation and our assessments are constantly being raised unconscionably (42 per cent in my case).

It is to be hoped that Montgomery County will continue to lead the way, that its voters will sufficiently appreciate their good fortune by voting to support those who have brought it about.

I sincerely hope, too, that Arlington's electorate will take heart and elect to its County Board two candidates dedicated and pledged to economy and tax reduction, two commodities totally unknown under ABC's mismanagement. This can and must be done.

We must clean house nationally, too, unless we are to know complete bankruptcy and repudiation in the near future.

Charles W. Carter.

'On Living Together'

Your April 8 editorial entitled "On Living Together," completely ignores the information available in press reports regarding the harass-

'In Tech's Defense'

I found it hard to follow the reasoning of the writer of the editorial in The Star of April 9 entitled "In Tech's Defense." Perhaps nostalgic tears dimmed his logic as well as his vision. Forty years ago, Tech was only 21 years old, and should have been in pretty fair shape. Now, it is 61 years old, and the wear and tear in the interim must have deteriorated it somewhat. In fact, over 14 years ago the Strayer survey staff of qualified school buildings appraisers concluded that: "The educational adequacy of the plant is so low that no reasonable amount of rehabilitation could correct its deficiencies." Since no improvements of any substance have been made since 1948-49, it is safe to assume that the present condition of Shaw is worse than it was at the time of the survey. I am bound to give greater weight to the evaluation of Dr. Strayer's professionals than to that of an editorial writer—even one for so eminent a newspaper as The Star. Incidentally, when was the last time your editorial writer visited his haunts of 40 years ago?

The logical support for the editorial is weak in another respect. Dr. Henderson's reference to Shaw as evidence of the inequality of the opportunities and facilities afforded Negro pupils in District public schools is supported by facts. There are four junior high schools currently in use with predominantly white pupil populations (Deal, Gordon, Hart and Kramer). Not one is substandard structurally or educationally. In fact, only Hines has a poorer plant than Shaw among all the 24 junior high school plants now in use—and that also has a predominantly Negro population. This has been true for the past 15 years. But 40 years ago, when the old Tech building was 21 years old, it was newer than Western — though probably not as adequate educationally. Eastern and Central were newer than Tech, and so was Dunbar—for Negroes. Even Business (later old Cardozo) was probably better

TAMPA, FLA.
FLORIDA SENTINEL
BULLETIN
TUES. 11,100 FRI. 6,31

APR 23 1963

Economic Enforcement

Senators James O. Eastland, A. Willis Robertson and John J. Sparkman along with several Southern daily newspapers have started whimpering already about a U. S. Civil Rights Commission proposal to cut off federal funds for Mississippi because of racial disorders.

In asking that President Kennedy not consider the commission's proposal, Eastland (Miss.) labeled it "the most monstrous libel that has ever been leveled against a state in this union. Robertson (Virginia) said "our form of federal union is gone." Sparkman (Alabama) called the recommendation "absolutely absurd and completely contrary to the intent of Congress and doesn't seem to represent clear thinking."

The daily papers in essence, oppose the President's use of executive power in the issue claiming it is wrong in principle, that it is a matter for the judiciary branch of government, and that it simply won't work.

Meanwhile, Senators Hart (Michigan), Keating (New York), and Javits (New York) think the proposal is a good one, and Hart says he's preparing legislation that would cut off funds for any state with programs that involve racial discrimination.

The actual course and outcome remains to be seen. Whether the President or the Congress has such authority is a matter of conjecture and will require study by our best legal minds. But in reality, the concept seems to be a good one to us, when we consider the unlidited acts of intimidation perpetrated against Negroes in the state of Mississippi.

In the University of Mississippi case involving James H. Meredith, a mockery was made of federal law and the U. S. Constitution by Mississippi officials

that our President is appeasing the Soviets.

I have no political love for Mr. Rockefeller, whom I consider an opportunist of the first water. But, can it honestly be said that President Kennedy is not appeasing the Soviets? I am sure he does not like doing so but, in my opinion, that is exactly what he is doing and has been doing ever since Khrushchev agreed to take the missile bases out of Cuba and asked, or suggested that we do the same thing with regard to Turkey and Italy. We are taking them out, are we not?

Moreover, can it be anything else but appeasement to allow thousands of Russian troops to continue to stay in Cuba with no true prospect of getting them out except by force or threat of force? If throwing away our Monroe Doctrine is not appeasement, what is? If permitting the Soviet Communists to continue to hold Cuba in bondage 90 miles from our shores is not appeasement, what is? In fact, letting them get a hold there in the first place was appeasement.

Clarkson J. Beall.

* * * *

So it is "unworthy politicking" to deplore the Kennedy administration's handling of the Cuban situation. Dear me!

Why is this administration importuning Congress for more and more millions to fight communism in far away Laos and South Viet Nam while at the same time it sends our armed forces into the Caribbean, not to fight communism 90 miles from our shores, but to protect communism from a handful of Cuban patriots? As if this were not enough it has enlisted the aid of the British to help harry them.

The people of Southeast Asia are happy to have our millions but they have always been apathetic and indifferent about fighting communism. The Cubans, on the other hand, are a fiercely patriotic people. They have been betrayed by a trusted leader and have seen their land overrun by thousands of Russian troops in defiance of the Monroe Doctrine. All they ask is a chance to get in there even if the odds are overwhelming, and do something about it. They do not need everlasting prodding as our friends in Southeast Asia do. They know about communism and they hate it.

So we protect the Communists! How can you bear it?

Ruth D. Beyer.

two commodities totally unknown under ABC's mismanagement. This can and must be done.

We must clean house nationally, too, unless we are to know complete bankruptcy and repudiation in the near future.

Charles W. Carter.

'On Living Together'

Your April 8 editorial entitled "On Living Together," completely ignores the information available in press reports regarding the harassment and intimidation by local citizens and police against Negro voter registration workers in Greenwood, Miss. There were no mass walks or demonstrations prior to March 27, 1963.

On page 5094 of the Congressional Record of April 2, 1963, Senator Stennis of Mississippi is quoted as follows: "Last week, during one day alone, I am advised that 50 Negro applicants were actually registered to vote." Why not have your reporter phone Mrs. Martha T. Lamb, the Leflore County registrar and ask her if this statement is true and, if not, what are the facts regarding the total number of Negroes who have applied for registration this year and how many of that number have actually been registered?

I cannot believe that The Washington Star would want to print misleading news and I, therefore, invite you to investigate the facts and circumstances to see if your editorial can be supported by your own honest, objective findings.

Wiley A. Branton,
Director, Voter Education Project, A Program of the Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Art at Ole Miss

G. Ray Kerciu, art professor at the University of Mississippi, will now become a symbol of freedom of expression and the darling of the meddlers who have been disappointed that the Oxford business has quieted down.

A look at the pictures he had on display convinces me that Mr. Kerciu does not deserve the support of the group of students who have sided with him and "academic freedom."

If Mr. Kerciu is removed from the university faculty, both art and education will be advanced.

Dunbar MacNemar.
Millersville, Md.

turally or educationally. In fact, only Hines has a poorer plant than Shaw among all the 24 junior high school plants now in use—and that also has a predominantly Negro population. This has been true for the past 15 years. But 40 years ago, when the old Tech building was 21 years old, it was newer than Western — though probably not as adequate educationally. Eastern and Central were newer than Tech, and so was Dunbar—for Negroes. Even Business (later old Cardozo) was probably better than Tech. But Tech's opposite number in the Negro segment, Armstrong, was built the same year as Tech and—in 1948-49 — was rated 31 points higher as a senior high than Shaw was as a junior high. If Tech's pupils did not feel any discrimination in the facilities they enjoyed, compared with those used by comparable Negroes, there was good reason—there was not much. By standards existing when Tech was built in 1902, it wasn't a bad school. By 1963 standards it is a very bad building. If your editorial writer doesn't think so, he ought to go through the building. I would like to accompany him and observe his reactions to the sights he would see. **Harry B. Merican.**

* * * *

Your editorial comment anent my criticism of past policies of Southern school administrations in providing for education of Negroes afforded us a bit of nostalgic history.

We still insist that in Washington and points South it was a policy of school administrators and Boards of Education to give to Negro education abandoned schools and second - hand buses where travel was provided. Tech moved to its handsome edifice in Northeast and even today Shaw students still are in the building, with all its inadequacies, erected nearly a half country ago.

Until Judge Parker's Circuit Court decision on June 8, 1940, that unequal pay for equally qualified teachers was a clear violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, more than $25 million in salaries was lost each year by Negro teachers solely because they were Negroes.

We repeat that many of the present day problems in our urban areas we are reaping from the seeds of neglect and discrimination planted during the past 100 years.

E. B. Henderson,
Publicity director, Virginia State NAACP.

branch of government, and that it simply won't work.

Meanwhile, Senators Hart (Michigan), Keating (New York), and Javits (New York) think the proposal is a good one, and Hart says he's preparing legislation that would cut off funds for any state with programs that involve racial discrimination.

The actual course and outcome remains to be seen. Whether the President or the Congress has such authority is a matter of conjecture and will require study by our best legal minds. But in reality, the concept seems to be a good one to us, when we consider the unlidited acts of intimidation perpetrated against Negroes in the state of Mississippi.

In the University of Mississippi case involving James H. Meredith, a mockery was made of federal law and the U. S. Constitution by Mississippi officials headed by Governor Ross Barnett. Their antics cost U. S. taxpayers $7 million.

The Southern Regional Council only last month listed a total of 64 acts of violence and intimidation against Negroes in Mississippi in the last two years, long before the Meredith case. The list ranges from homicide and physical multilation to voter intimidation and excessive court penalties against citizens of color. The report also lists three instances in which Negroes were shot to death by law officers or other employees of local government and nothing done about it. In Liberty of Amite County, Herbert Lee, a Negro active in voter registration was shot down, the report shows, by State Represntative E. H. Hurst. No prosecution was undertaken. A nine-year-old Negro girl walking along a street in Jackson, Miss., was lassoed with wire by several white youths and dragged down it. Though she was maimed for life, the youths went scot free.

The Southern Senators should be informed that there is too much proof indicating that Mississippi officials have "libeled" themselves with "monstrous" acts of self incrimination. And there is no certainty or guarantee that these officials will ever comply with the laws and constitution of the United States.

We therefore believe that the isolationists in Mississippi should be handled like the rebellious children they are. If federal funds are cut off, the stress and strain on the union's poorest state would undoubtedly provoke capitulation and voting freedom for a large segment of its 915,000 Negroes. Where court and military enforcement failed, maybe economic enforcement won't.

The New York Times
D. 680,265 S. 1,306,418
APR 23 1963

Assertive Spirit Stirs Negroes, Puts Vigor in Civil Rights Drive

Racial Pride Increases Throughout U. S. —'Black Nationalism' Is Viewed as Powerful Force for Change

By M. S. HANDLER

A new assertive mood, characterized by some Negro leaders as "Black Nationalism," is spreading throughout the United States.

This spirit is usually identified by the general public with the Black Muslims, the extremist group dedicated to the establishment of a Negro nation carved out of America.

But, in the opinion of many responsible Negro observers, this new mood also lies behind movements with much greater Negro support—the voter registration drive in Greenwood, Miss., and the assault by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. on segregation in Birmingham, Ala., to cite two examples.

For the term Black Nationalism is now used by Negroes to embrace a multitude of feelings, many of them contradictory, but all having one concept in common—identification of America's Negro population as a group with a common heritage of suffering and achievement, engaged in mass action to compel the white majority to recognize and implement their legal rights.

A Way of Life

A Negro social philosopher, Dr. C. Eric Lincoln of Clark College in Atlanta, explains that Black Nationalism developed because "the Negro is required to be Negro before, and sometimes to the exclusion of, anything else."

But Dr. Lincoln says that this new mood goes beyond earlier appeals for equality.

"Black Nationalism is more than courage and rebellion," he says, "it is a way of life," rejecting white symbols and culture and emphasizing pride in being black.

As yet Black Nationalism has not developed into an organized political force, although the potentiality worries both Republicans and Democrats.

Democrat Takes Note

Louis Martin, a Negro, who is deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee, notes the rising demands of his race to improve its lot and says Negro aspirations can be summed up in one phrase:

"White man, move over."

Negro leaders differ in their assessment of this new mood, but they agree that it is a powerful new force in American public life.

It is threatening the old order of Negro leaders, the business and professional class and ministers. It is questioning the coleadership of liberal whites in the struggle against discrimination.

Moreover, it is helping destroy the stereotypes of the shiftless Negro as well as the Uncle Toms.

Heartaches For Some

It is bringing new heartaches as Negro parents find they no longer understand their children, who are filled with new racial pride. It has also brought to the surface widespread hatred for the white in the hereafter, and according to the Black Muslims, this belief is designed to condition Negroes to accept their inferior status on this earth. But all the old-line Negro leaders insist that the Christian churches are the most powerful force in the Negro community, without which no gains can be made.

The Black Muslims are organized in a vertical chain of command that makes for authoritarian control vested in Elijah Muhammed, who resides in Chicago. A highly trained praetorian guard, called Fruit of Islam, assures almost military discipline and unquestioning execution of orders.

This élite was recruited in part in penitentiaries among prisoners who were later rehabilitated.

Malcolm X, who is of impressive bearing and is endowed with a shrewd mind, today overshadows Elijah Muhammed.

Rising Popularity

Other Negro leaders are very conscious of the growing popularity of Malcolm X. While they reject his contention that alienation of the Negroes from the American social order is "an accomplished fact," they concede that he is able.

They also grudgingly agree that the puritanical code of the movement—its prohibition of smoking, drinking, gambling, prostitution and narcotics, is destroying the old symbols affixed to Negroes.

The obscure origins of the Black Muslims used to generate derision. But one visit to the Black Muslim restaurant on Lenox Avenue is enough to silence those who make fun of the movement. Waiters dressed in immaculate white jackets and black trousers move about quietly. Mirrors glisten and tables, chairs and floor are almost antiseptically clean.

The old-line leaders also note that Black Muslim ideology, which preaches racial pride, is sweeping Negro communities.

For example, a distinguished Negro who is committed to a "social contract" between the white and Negro populations tells the story of his daughter, the only Negro pupil in an upper middle class school in Westchester County. Though friendly and helpful at school, white pupils refused to attend her Christmas party. She was deeply hurt but said nothing. Several months later, without the knowledge of her parents she wrote a moving essay for school on the meaning of being black.

Warns of Dangers

James Farmer, executive secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality warns of the perils of Black Nationalism. CORE is the organization identified with the sit-ins, freedom rides and voters' registration.

"There is the possibility that Black Nationalism could develop into hate of everything that is different," he says. "How it turns out will depend on how successful the Negroes will be in bringing down the barriers

BLACK MUSLIM HEAD: Malcolm X, leader of extremist group in New York.

fairs people would say to me, 'man, what are you talking about?' "

Mr. Farmer says this lack of interest is due more to Negroes' preoccupation with their own problems than to a conscious withdrawal from the problems of the United States.

Thus students at the all-Negro Atlanta University said they were not interested in and did not favor the American Government's Cuban policy until last fall when war seemed near.

Asked why they changed their minds, one replied:

"Well we wanted to find out why we might have to get killed."

Widening Gulf

The evidence seems to indicate that the widening gulf between the dominant white majority and the Negro minority in the United States is paralleled by a growing gulf separating the educated Negroes from the Negroes masses.

For example, Atlanta University students from rural districts said they had lost contact with their own families after a brief time at the university. They said they found it difficult to communicate when they returned home during the holidays.

Such alienation is found in all societies, but it apparently is more acute for the Negro because of his struggle for civil rights. Professor Samuel duBois Cook, Negro sociologist of Atlanta University, explains the effect of education on Negroes:

"In a sense the Negro's very progress tends to magnify his frustrations, insecurities, anxieties, tensions and pathetic dilemmas. For his unsatisfied desires expand, his longings intensify, his expectations are greater, his level of aspiration soars, and his imagination and vision are more lucid, inspired and vivid. Accordingly, his disappointments are more bitter, roadblocks more intolerable, barriers more baffling and gnawing, suffering more poignant. Success aggravates failure. Failure erodes success."

Southern students publicly accept Dr. King's approach of non-violence as the guideline for all assaults on segregation.

Nevertheless, they seem attracted to the extremist views of Malcolm X, although reluctant to discuss them.

Leslie Dunbar, of the Southern Regional Council, one of

country are not divided, it is the leadership that is divided.

"The established Negro leaders have lulled the white man into believing everything is under control. There is a difference of night and day when a white man and a Negro say 'our country.' The white man means it. The Negro behaves like a house dog and wags his tail."

Malcolm X maintains that the Negroes should dispense with white liberal leadership and guidance in the civil rights fight. This view, which is shared in part by moderate Negroes, is based on two assumptions.

The first is that the Negroes have developed enough leaders capable of taking charge of their own struggle. The second is that the white liberal cannot be trusted because he is identified with the white man's power structure and when the chips are down will support the white man's interests.

The consensus among Negro leaders is that the key to the problem of race relations is the refusal and inability of the white majority to understand the prevailing mood of the Negro minority. There is no escape from blackness for the Negro, they said, and this goes for all Negroes regardless of their station in life.

Thus a Negro girl with Caucasian features, a graduate cum laude from Vassar, recalled that whenever her white college friends held a party they included her but always invited a Negro man as her escort. She knows this was done out of kindness, but to the Negro girl it meant there was no escape for her from her race. Now she is Negro-conscious and is working actively on racial problems.

Although Malcolm X regards the Negro Christian Ministry as an evil influence, he found it politically expedient to share the same platform with Representative Adam Clayton Powell, who is pastor of the Abyssian Baptist Church, one of the largest Protestant congregations in the United States.

Malcolm X had no compunction on this score because Mr. Powell shares his opposition to whites in policy-making positions in Negro civil rights organizations.

Negro leaders believe there are other clues indicating a tactical shift by the Black Muslims to exploit the old-line Negro organizations.

Muhammed Speaks, the Black Muslim newspaper, has begun to report Mr. Powell's speeches with approval. It also published a lengthy interview with A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters Union.

There is no doubt in Mr. Farmer's mind that Malcolm X is beginning to emerge as a political power. Interviewed last Sunday on the WINS program, "News Conference," Mr. Farmer suggested that Mr. Powell might consider the Black Muslims a political threat to him and that this fear might explain his friendly public attitude toward Malcolm X.

Regardless of tactical shifts Malcolm X remains firm on one point:

"You cannot integrate the Negroes and the whites without bloodshed. It can't be done. The only peaceful way is for the Negroes and whites to separate."

Negro leaders differ in their assessment of this new mood, but they agree that it is a powerful new force in American public life.

It is threatening the old order of Negro leaders, the business and professional class and ministers. It is questioning the coleadership of liberal whites in the struggle against discrimination.

Moreover, it is helping destroy the stereotypes of the shiftless Negro as well as the Uncle Toms.

Heartaches For Some

It is bringing new heartaches as Negro parents find they no longer understand their children, who are filled with new racial pride. It has also brought to the surface widespread hatred for the white man.

One highly placed Negro leader, who has dedicated his life to integration within the present framework of society, sadly remarked:

"There is a bit of hatred in every Negro's heart. The Negro would not be human if he did not resent the oppression to which he has been subjected. But this feeling would be stifled if the Negro were to receive the equal status he is entitled to as a citizen of this country."

Black Nationalism as a mood is to be found in varying degrees in all segments of the Negro population, but only the Black Muslims expound a complete renunciation of coexistence with the whites.

Malcom X, the dynamic leader of the Black Muslims in New York, contends that the Negroes "have already seceded" emotionally and intellectually from American society.

To this, Roy Wilkins, the executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, replies:

"Hogwash. Ninety-nine per cent of the Negroes want in."

In an interview published this week in U. S. News & World Report, Mr. Wilkins described the dominant mood of the Negroes today as "very great impatience" with the slow progress toward the "status of full citizenship." He said the Black Muslims are an outgrowth of this sentiment. But he pointed out that the Muslims, "idea of black for black has always been around in one form or another."

However, even the most bitter opponent of the Black Muslims agrees that they have contributed to the growth in Negro racial pride, group identification, self-respect and the conscious worth of Negro values.

The Black Muslims have never published any figures about their membership, but estimates have ranged from as low as 25,000 to as high as 250,000, with the number often put as 70,000. None of these estimates, however, is based on verifiable data. There are more than 18,000,000 Negroes in the country.

Followers of Islam

The Muslims assert that they are faithful followers of Islam, a claim that raises some doubts among their opponents. The Muslims, note, however, that Elijah Muhammed, head of the movement, has made a pilgrimage to Mecca, a journey reserved for Islam's faithful.

The Black Muslims reject Christianity as a white man's religion imposed on the Negroes to insure their prolonged servitude and inferior status. Christianity promises rewards

chester County. Though friendly and helpful at school, white pupils refused to attend her Christmas party. She was deeply hurt but said nothing. Several months later, without the knowledge of her parents she wrote a moving essay for school on the meaning of being black.

Warns of Dangers

James Farmer, executive secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality warns of the perils of Black Nationalism. CORE is the organization identified with the sit-ins, freedom rides and voters' registration.

"There is the possibility that Black Nationalism could develop into hate of everything that is different," he says. "How it turns out will depend on how successful the Negroes will be in bringing down the barriers to desegregation."

Whitney Moore Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, which has contributed greatly to equal job opportunity, assessed the situation even more seriously.

"In previous generations the Negro believed what is white is right, he said. "This was the standard to which the Negro aspired. This has changed. The Negro is taking a second look and is rejecting many of the white man's values and codes of behavior."

Mr. Young attributed the radical change in the Negro's attitude to the fact that "he no longer feels innately inferior to the white man."

This point was brought home to a white man who drove a few blocks out of his way to take a Negro home. As the Negro got out of the car, he turned and said:

"Thanks for the lift. It was mighty black of you."

Negroes are Divided

There seems to be a sharp cleavage between Negro intellectuals and Negro organization officials in their assessment of the Negro's viewpoint. The intellectuals are closer to James Baldwin, the Negro author, sharing his anger, despair and rage.

In his essay, "Letter From A Region In My Mind," Mr. Baldwin, said:

"The treatment accorded the Negro during the Second World War marks, for me, a turning point in the Negro's relation to America. To put it briefly, and somewhat too simply, a certain hope died, a certain respect for white Americans faded. One began to pity them, or to hate them."

Many New York City Negro intellectuals are categorical in their belief that the Negro fundamentally hates the white man.

They insist that this hatred is spreading as the entrenched white men in the North resort to more refined and resourceful techniques of confining the Negroes to black ghettos, denying them equal work opportunities and hospital facilities and arranging de facto school segregation and token desegregation of the major institutions of higher learning.

Dr. Kenneth Clark, Negro professor of psychology at the City College of New York, says "the Negro does not feel himself a part of this white dominated country, and there is no reason why he should concern himself with this country's international relations."

"There is a colossal indifference to the United States Government's foreign problems," he said. "If I were to talk to a Negro crowd about

frustrations, insecurities, anxieties, tensions and pathetic dilemmas. For his unsatisfied desires expand, his longings intensify, his expectations are greater, his level of aspiration soars, and his imagination and vision are more lucid, inspired and vivid. Accordingly, his disappointments are more bitter, roadblocks more intolerable, barriers more baffling and gnawing, suffering more poignant. Success aggravates failure. Failure erodes success."

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Nevertheless, they seem attracted to the extremist views of Malcolm X, although reluctant to discuss them.

Leslie Dunbar, of the Southern Regional Council, one of the white men most intimately associated with Negro communities in the South, says it is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the true feelings and aspirations of the Negroes. He doubts whether the Negro leaders themselves are fully cognizant of what the Negro masses want because, he says, the Negro almost instinctively hides his feelings, even from members of his own race.

Malcolm X goes even further:

"Because of his special history the Negro has had to become a two-faced individual. I could take you to a round of meetings in one evening and you would find the same Negroes responding enthusiastically to the most divergent point of view on the same theme. And this is when he is among his own people."

But Malcolm X believes he knows where the Negro masses stand:

"The black masses in this

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APR 30 1963

Javits to Attach Rights Riders To 2 Senate Agriculture Bills

By EDWIN J. SAFFORD
Herald-Journal Bureau

WASHINGTON—Sen. Jacob K. Javits has served notice he will initiate the first civil rights battle of the Senate session by submitting anti-discrimination amendments to two sections of an agriculture supplemental appropriation bill.

A spokesman for the New York Republican said Javits' action is based on the reports of the Southern Leadership Conference and Southern Regional Council.

The report showed that federal funds are distributed under the Farmers Home Administration and the Agricultural Extension Act with no regard as to whether they are being administered on a segregated basis.

The amendments specify that no funds for programs carried out in cooperation with the Agriculture Department shall be paid to any state in which participants are "segregated or otherwise discriminated against on account of race, creed or color."

The Javits aide said that similar amendments submitted by Javits in the past have always failed.

However, other federal laws recently enacted by Congress have contained civil rights riders of the same tone as the two Javits proposals.

The amendments' chances for success will be heavily influenced by a ruling the Senate parliamentarian must make as to whether they are germane to the terms of the pending bill.

If the parliamentarian rules as expected—that they are not—it will then take a two-thirds vote to amend the appropriations. In this case, said Javits' aide, the amendments are sure to lose.

Javits will not press the fight, however, if he can get a promise from Agriculture Secretary Orville L. Freeman that no department funds will be used to support segregated programs, the spokesman said.

The source said the issue should reach the Senate floor either today or tomorrow.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, he said, probably will move to table the civil rights amendments if the two-thirds rule is required to enact them. The move to table would be almost certain to carry.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.
JOURNAL
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MAY 3 1963

Negroes Stage Record Protest In Birmingham

Police Estimate 750 Arrested, More Than 400 Juveniles

Birmingham, Ala. —(UPI)— Birmingham's Negro population yesterday staged the largest segregation protest demonstration in the history of the Deep South.

Police estimated more than 750 persons were arrested, and by late last night they had booked more than 650 persons on charges of parading without a permit. More than 400 of those arrested were juveniles.

At least 2,000 Negroes were milling in the streets at the height of the protest.

The demonstration lasted four hours, during which time wave after wave of Negroes, many of them juveniles who had skipped school, marched toward the downtown area, singing.

In each instance police were waiting for them at roadblocks and herded them into paddy wagons.

When the police ran out of paddy wagons, school buses were used.

There was no violence, although in one instance motorcycle patrolmen drove their vehicles up over curbs and chased a group of marchers who attempted to flee when they were stopped. All were corraled.

Although police obviously had been tipped of the demonstrations, they apparently were not prepared for a protest of such magnitude.

Pickets with signs reading "Segregation Sold Here," and "No Dignity, No Dollars," appeared at downtown stores. They too were arrested.

Hundreds of Negroes poured out into the streets to watch the marchers and to shout encouragement.

Police, fearing the situation would get out of hand, called for help from the fire department and the sheriff's office.

Seven fire trucks responded, and firemen dressed in helmets

Continued on Page 12, Col. 4

Racial

Continued From Page One

and boots hooked up hoses to fire hydrants.

At this point Negroes were lined five and six deep along the sidewalks along about a six-block area of the Negro section. But they showed no signs of becoming violent and many began drifting away when the hoses were attached. Eventually firemen rolled up the hoses and left.

The Negroes staged at least 10 separate marches, starting from different points in the Negro section.

One group got to within two blocks of city hall before being intercepted.

Members of another group of marchers dropped to their knees and continued singing a freedom hymn, "We Shall Overcome," when police stepped in to make the arrests. However, they got into the vans without force.

There was no physical contact between police and the marchers, many of whom were children. Once arrested, the demonstrators heeded all commands and police did not attempt to manhandle them.

The 400 juveniles were crammed into a juvenile detention center adjacent to the juvenile court room and spent the evening on cots and mattresses laid out on the floor.

Because of the crowded conditions, some were moved to the county jail at Bessemer. All of the adults remained in the city jail.

Sellers Stough, assistant city school superintendent, said Negro high schools were warned Wednesday that students would be suspended or expelled for participating in demonstrations.

"We intend to follow this policy," Mr. Stough said.

One of the Negro leaders, Wyatt T. Walker, said another 200 demonstrators were held in reserve yesterday but would be sent out today and tomorrow.

The Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, which keeps statistics on racial matters, said even a total of 400 arrests in one day would eclipse any demonstration on record. About 250 were arrested during a single day during racial protests in Albany, Ga., last year.

Dr. King kicked off the current desegregation drive here last month. A spokesman said the campaign was started because downtown merchants had not honored a promise to integrate lunch counters and restaurants.

Almost daily protests were staged last month and Mr. King himself was arrested during one of them.

Yesterday's demonstrations got underway shortly after noon when about 300 Negro youths gathered in the 16th Street Baptist Church, jumping off point for many previous protests.

Mr. King and other integration leaders addressed the group in a closed-door session for about 45 minutes.

BOSTON, MASS.
GLOBE (EVENING)
D: 147,750

MAY 7 1963

Mental Study

Negro Pupils Held Unhurt by New Role

ST. LOUIS—The Negro children who spearhead desegregation in the public schools will not be seriously hurt by their trials.

For once, they can face humiliation and isolation for a purpose. This may be one of the first times in their lives when their suffering seems sensible, when they have a chance to gain a sense of self-respect and dignity, a two-year psychiatric study has shown.

The Negro child is used to a life of restriction, Dr. Robert Coles told the 119th annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association here yesterday. The city has taught him to live with the fact of his inferiority. At an early age he learns to master his feelings of worthlessness and anger at the unfriendly world, Dr. Coles said.

White children learn to associate dark skin with the bad, or the untouchable, Dr. Coles, research consultant to the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, reported. Sometimes they develop a pathologically strong fear of dark skin that, later on in life, appears as a passionate hatred of Negroes.

In most cases, however, the problem of desegregation merges with the other problems of growing up, Dr. Coles said, and so it is soft or harsh depending on the individual child.

In New Orleans, the 11 Negro 6-year-olds who initiated desegregation and eight of their white classmates were studied, and their parents were interviewed. Nine Negro high school students who started desegregation in the city of Atlanta and 11 of their white classmates were interviewed. Students, parents and teachers in the rural towns and larger cities of Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina were questioned.

There is hope for change, Dr. Coles said. Negroes often lose some of their doubts, and whites, some of their misinformation, he found. The teacher may gradually be able to relax in the classroom. Children may even be able to educate their parents to accept social changes, he reported.

(Science Service)

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WALL STREET JOURNAL
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MAY 10 1963

Birmingham Impact

Alabama Struggle May Spur Broad New Rights Push by Dixie Negroes

Students in Nashville Stage Protests; Albany, Ga., May Face a Renewal of Strife

Rev. King Wins Concessions

A WALL STREET JOURNAL *News Roundup*

The racial developments in strife-torn Birmingham are being watched intensely by white and Negro citizens all across Dixie, for riding on the outcome of the Alabama drama may be the course of race relations in the South for years to come.

That's the consensus of talks with businessmen, clergymen and Negro and white leaders in seven Southern states. Most are convinced the significance of the battle of Birmingham and any settlement that emerges will by no means be limited to inhabitants of that Deep South city. They predict any Negro successes in Birmingham will encourage more militant Negro moves elsewhere—and a speed-up in concessions by whites. Indeed, some say the impact of this week's massive demonstrations already is being felt in other cities and states.

In Nashville yesterday about 1,000 Negro high school students demonstrated for the second day in a row in front of downtown restaurants and the city-county building. The demonstrations were part of a concerted campaign to expand Negro civil rights now getting under way in the Tennessee city. The Rev. Kelly Smith, pastor of Nashville's First Baptist Church and a prominent Negro leader, says the campaign is patterned after the Birmingham effort and the goals are similar—more opportunities for employment and integration of the city's restaurants and hotels. The Birmingham Negroes appeared to have won concessions on some of their demands yesterday, but negotiations continued last night on other issues clear at a late hour last night.

In Baton Rouge, La., Negro leaders are making plans for public demonstrations against segregation for the first time since December 1961. At that time, city police relied on tear gas and billy clubs to break up Negro student demonstrations. "It's been hard to get the Negro going since then," reports the Rev. Arthur L. Jelks, president of the Baton Rouge chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). "But the demonstrations in Birmingham have given us new hope."

Renewed Strife in Albany?

In Albany, Ga., a racial hotspot in recent years, there are signs civil rights strife is in the making once more. "Our thinking is that

[illegible] at a late hour last night.

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Renewed Strife in Albany?

In Albany, Ga., a racial hotspot in recent years, there are signs civil rights strife is in the making once more. "Our thinking is that if the demonstrations can succeed in Birmingham, they can here, too," declares Dr. W. G. Anderson, Negro leader of the integrationist Albany movement. "I've already told Police Chief Pritchett to clean out his jails if the Negroes win in Birmingham because we'll be coming in."

It's not surprising that the Birmingham integration effort has special significance across the South. The industrial city, along with Jackson, Miss., has long been a symbol of white resistance and Negro frustration on the matter of integration. (Tension pervaded Birmingham yesterday despite the truce agreed on by Negro and white leaders. See story on page 4.)

The events in Birmingham in recent days take on even more meaning when viewed in the light of earlier racial developments. Impatient with what they term the "token" integration accomplished through court action, Negro leaders in the past four years have been gradually turning to more "direct" efforts—sit-ins, parades and boycotts. These actions, particularly the boycotts, often have proved successful. But even these methods are too slow for a large body of Negroes and other civil rights advocates. This group argues that massive public demonstrations, despite the dangers of violence, are the best answer to Negroes' problems.

The "Freedom Rides"

The "freedom rides" of some 15 months ago represented the first major effort of these advocates of demonstrations. Though they succeeded in bringing grievances of Southern Negroes to the forefront for a time, it's generally conceded in the South—by both Negroes and whites—that the rides were far from a success. "They did not achieve the goals we thought they might, though I guess we couldn't call them an outright failure," says Clarence A. Laws, Southwest regional secretary for the NAACP.

So the Birmingham clash stands not only as an effort to crack one of the country's most important segregation strongholds, but as a test of the tactic of direct Negro action as well.

"If Martin Luther King loses in Birmingham, it will mean the whole direct action movement will be drastically curtailed," comments Paul Anthony, field director of the respected Southern Regional Council, a bi-racial Southern human rights group headquartered in Atlanta. "But if he wins, there will be a wave of new demonstrations. Every Negro in the South who reads about a Birmingham victory would be reminded that he needs to do something about himself. The chances are that this increased pressure would speed up desegregation because few whites want Montgomery or Birmingham to happen to their city."

Another Southern white agrees. Hodding Carter III, liberal editor of the Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat Times, figures the "direct action" at Birmingham "must succeed or it will die out. Look what happened to the freedom rides." Mr. Carter notes that last month's Negro demonstrations in Greenwood, Miss.—led by some of the leaders now in Birmingham—failed to budge white citizens from their segregationist stand and has put added pressure on Negroes to achieve success in Birmingham.

Segregationist View

The importance of the Birmingham struggle is also clear to white segregationists. "The whites just have to hold the line in

Please Turn to Page 13, Column 1

Birmingham Impact: Alabama Clash May Spur a Broad New Rights Push

Continued from First Page

Birmingham," says Sam M. Engelhardt, Jr., a farmer from near Montgomery who is a member of the governing body of the Alabama Association of Citizens' Councils. Mr. Engelhardt professes confidence the segregationists will win eventually. "The white community will be starting an economic withdrawal soon, and it'll hurt the blacks where they can least afford to be hurt—in the pocketbook," he says.

Caught in the middle in the current racial troubles, as usual, are the thousands of Southern whites who don't want integration but are resigned to it if it isn't shoved at them too fast.

"Integration of the sort they're seeking at Birmingham right now would cause complete deterioration of the community," contends Leon Godchaux, vice president of Godchaux's Department Store in New Orleans. "Gradual desegregation would be better." However, Mr. Godchaux expects that events in Birmingham will speed desegregation in his city. "It is helping us make decisions that we otherwise would be reluctant to make," he says, referring to current moves to desegregate lunch counters in New Orleans. "We want no violence. We've already had a good taste of what Birmingham is going through, and we don't want any more."

In Ft. Worth, which up to now has strongly resisted integration, George W. Armstrong, chairman of Texas Steel Co. and in his own description a "moderate" on the race question, thinks the Birmingham situation will slow down integration movements in the South. He believes whites resent the pressure applied by Negroes in Birmingham and as a result will be far more cautious about cooperating with Negro efforts to desegregate gradually, regardless of the outcome of the Alabama demonstrations. "Would you rather be talked out of your money or have it taken at the point of a gun?" he asks in criticizing the Negro action in Birmingham.

The Birmingham dispute has pushed to the fore what many Negroes and whites consider the major problem facing the South—job integration. Since the big move to desegregate began in the early 1950s, Negroes have been concentrating on desegregating public schools and other public institutions, transportation facilities and, more recently, restaurants and hotels.

But probably the Southern Negro's most coveted goal is equal job opportunities. Nondiscrimination in hiring is one of the four demands that Birmingham Negroes have pressed in their campaign. Negro leaders complain that unemployment rates for their race run more than double that for whites in the South and that Negroes often are restricted to the most menial jobs.

Though Negroes have been making job gains in many parts of the South, especially in such cities as Dallas, Houston and Atlanta, heavy layoffs in farm fields because of automation in recent years have worsened Negro unemployment. "Because of this agricultural automation, job equality is the most important race question facing the South," says Mr. Carter of Mississippi.

Maxine Smith, executive secretary of the Memphis NAACP, figures Negroes in her area stand to reap important benefits in the job field if Birmingham Negroes win their fight. Since the spring of 1960, segregation barriers have been coming down in Memphis at bus stations, lunch counters, movies and public parks, she reports. But job prospects for Negroes are still "pretty dismal," she adds.

"What happens in Birmingham certainly will have a tremendous psychological effect here," Miss Smith says. "To know that the white leadership there has made concessions would help us greatly."

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Two Clergymen in Mississippi

Herewith are excerpts from sermons preached by two Mississippi clergymen shortly after the disorders at the University of Mississippi last fall. The portions quoted are from the New South, published by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

For the past eight years we have known of a well organized movement spreading a doctrine of hate. We knew this, yet we did nothing to offset this movement. We have let this group discredit our national government, the United Nations, the courts, the church, and some of our basic ideals. We sat idly by while this movement gained control of our press and state government.

We have let prejudice shut out the Gospel and in many cases we have turned to the gods of segregation and white supremacy.

The Lord our God will not allow us to have these lesser gods. We must repent for this idolatry.

We need, more than ever before, to seek the power of God to free us from all that is in our minds and hearts which keeps us from seeing the will of God for us in this hour of crisis.

* * *

If we are to solve our own problems we must think through and establish a doctrine of man that will be acceptable to God. I believe that this doctrine must be firmly planted on a foundation of brotherhood through the Fatherhood of God. This doctrine must be all inclusive in relation to man. In other words, what we think of the white man must also be true of the Asian, the Indian and the Negro.

If we are to face our own problems in this hour, we must maintain complete freedom of speech. We must be free to say what we think without reprisal or harassment. We must be willing to hear the ideas of others without cutting ourselves apart from them. We must not let smear tactics and gossip prevail against those with whom we disagree. It is only as we share our ideas that we can mold our ideas into a reasonable solution to our problem.

Our press must be kept free to give us a just account of the news and to speak its convictions in editorials. I uphold the right of every newspaper to express its convictions even though I may disagree with them vehemently.

I believe in a free pulpit. The minister must be free to present the gospel as he feels God reveals it to him. It should be clearly understood that any pastor will say things with which his congregation will not agree. If this were not true there would be no way that the pastor could lead them in growth.

We must reestablish communications with the leaders of white and Negro peoples on the local level. It is only as we understand each other's positions that we can come out with fair and equitable solutions.

We must see that our institutions of education are kept open. I do not believe that it is fair to the children of our nation to close our public schools as a solution to our problem. The education of our children is far more important than most of the political issues that rise and fall. It is certainly more important than the doctrine of segregation. If the time ever comes when the choice of whether my children go to school with Negroes or else have no school at all, my children will go to school with Negroes. The education of my children is this important to me. We must never use the possibility of closing our schools as a solution to this problem of segregation.

We must come to the place where we dare to put our beliefs into practice. We have grown up to believe in the American creed in which we say that all men are created equal, that all men are endowed with certain rights and that we are a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

* * *

The real and basic problem is not merely a problem between the white man and the Negro . . . it is rather a problem between what we believe on the one hand, and what we practice on the other.

Finally we must let love permeate our lives. Jesus said, "This is my commandment that you love one another as I have loved you." Can we love and hate at the same time? If we are to see man as God sees him, we must see the steadfast love that always reaches out. Paul tells us that "Love does no wrong to a neighbor; therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law." As we reexamine our own actions, can we say that they are an expression of love . . . do they do no wrong to a neighbor?

I do not speak to you as one who has shed all of his prejudice.

I have my fears and my doubts about the future but I do speak to you as one who is willing to open my mind and heart to the will of God. I must come at least to say, if God loves one I must love him too.—*Rev. James B. Nicholson, Byram Methodist Church, Jackson, Miss.*

The first thing we can do is to face up to our own guilt in the situation. You and I didn't go out there and throw the broken bricks and the bottles. You and I didn't go out there and fire the guns. Yet you and I, along with every other Mississippian, are responsible in one degree or another for what happened. For we are responsible for the moral and political climate in our state which made such a tragedy possible. Maybe you and I didn't do much to create this climate, it is certainly evident that we did all too little to dispel or change it. The "things that we have left undone which we ought to have done" should bother us every bit as much as the "things which we have done which we ought not to have done." The decent, respectable, and responsible people of Mississippi have failed, when events like those of last Sunday night can take place within our state.

But true repentance means more than just remorse. We must now give our all to salvaging the situation; to bringing order out of chaos, peace out of strife. We must accept the fact that the color of a person's skin can no longer be a barrier to his admission to the University of Mississippi. I would hope that, as Christians we would accept this because it is just and right whether we like it or not. But if we are not yet able to do this, at least we can be realistic enough and patriotic enough to accept this as the law of the land.

* * *

I, for one, look to the future with faith and confidence. I am convinced that most of the decent and responsible people of the Oxford university community have learned the lesson we must learn from last Sunday's madness. And from the statement of those 127 Mississippi businessmen released last Tuesday it is apparent that others have learned also. The fact that many other Mississippians have not, and that many of our political leaders are still making every effort to keep them from doing so should only spur us on to better and greater efforts. By God's grace, some real good can come out of this tragedy, and it is up to you and to me to see that it does.

Even more serious than the threat to the University is the threat to our nation and our system of government posed by our continued defiance of the federal courts and the federal government. No government is perfect. But I sincerely believe, as I'm sure you do, that our system of government in this country comes closer to providing the Christian ideal of freedom and justice than any other system yet devised by the mind of man. So, then, it is as a Christian, as well as an American, that I want to see this system preserved. But we cannot long survive as a country if every state is free to decide which federal laws she will obey and which she will not. We found this out 100 years ago, and most of us thought the issue was settled then.

We know there are good laws and bad laws, good court decisions and bad court decisions; and, fortunately, under our system of government, we are free to protest the ones we don't like and to take every legal means to repeal or reverse them. We do not have the right to defy and disobey the law when it is established and in force. In trying to do this, we have brought upon ourselves the threat of anarchy, and, as Christians, we cannot and must not support this alternative to the democracy under which we live.

Finally, and most important of all, I ask you as a Christian people to consider the real moral issue which lies at the base of the whole crisis: are we morally justified in refusing to admit to the University of Mississippi any student who meets all the necessary requirements except for the color of his skin? Remember, the question here is not "What would I like?" or "What do I want?" The question is simply, "What is just and right?"

* * *

Our governor has said that the state's cause on this score is righteous and just and I am sure he is sincere in his belief, as are many other Mississippians who share it with him. But in the name of reason and of Christian standards of freedom and justice, I ask you to consider the fact that no university in the world would defend this position rationally, and no Christian church in the world would defend it morally. And I do not believe that any one of us here today could stand in the presence of Jesus of Nazareth, look Him squarely in the eye, and say, "We will not admit a Negro to the University of Mississippi." For it was our Lord who said, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Brethren we need to pray, for our University and our community, our state and our nation. Perhaps, above all, we need to pray for ourselves. The seeds of anger and hatred, bitterness and prejudice, are already widely sown, and, as Christians we need to do our utmost to uproot them and cast them out.

Let us pray daily, even hourly, for God's guidance and direction, that we may faithfully fulfill this responsibility to the end that God's will be done.—*Rev. Duncan M. Gray Jr., St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Oxford, Miss.*

CLEVELAND, OHIO
WALL STREET JOURNAL
D. 207,369
MAY 10 1963

Scorecard Gives Progress Of Desegregation in South

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

Here's a rundown on desegregation progress made so far by Negroes on several fronts in the South:

Since 1954, when the U.S. Supreme Court struck down school segreation, the number of desegregated public school districts has climbed from five to 977. There's still a long way to go, however, since 5,252 districts in the 17 Southern and border states are still not integrated.

At the college and university level, 168 of the South's 292 institutions are segregated "in practice or principle," reports the Southern Education Reporting Service in Nashville.

The Southern Research Council in Atlanta estimates that 110 cities now have desegreated lunch counters, up from 85 in September 1961, and none in 1960.

The council estimates that transit systems in 36 Southern cities now are desegregated, against "almost none" 10 years ago.

A recent study of 13 major Southern cities shows 18 of 168 movie theaters are desegregated, against "almost nine" five years ago.

BOSTON, MASS.
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
MONITOR
EASTERN EDITION
D. 174,850

MAY 11 1963

Two Clergymen in Missis

Herewith are excerpts from sermons preached by two Mississippi clergymen shortly after the disorders at the University of Mississippi last fall. The portions quoted are from the New South, published by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

For the past eight years we have known of a well organized movement spreading a doctrine of hate. We knew this, yet we did nothing to offset this movement. We have let this group discredit our national government, the United Nations, the courts, the church, and some of our basic ideals. We sat idly by while this movement gained control of our press and state government.

We have let prejudice shut out the Gospel and in many cases we have turned to the gods of segregation and white supremacy.

The Lord our God will not allow us to have these lesser gods. We must repent for this idolatry.

We need, more than ever before, to seek the power of God to free us from all that is in our minds and hearts which keeps us from seeing the will of God for us in this hour of crisis.

* * *

If we are to solve our own problems we must think through and establish a doctrine of man that will be acceptable to God. I believe that this doctrine must be firmly planted on a foundation of brotherhood through the Fatherhood of God. This doctrine must be all inclusive in relation to man. In other words, what we think of the white man must also be true of the Asian, the Indian and the Negro.

If we are to face our own problems in this hour, we must maintain complete freedom of speech. We must be free to say what we think without reprisal or harassment. We must be willing to hear the ideas of others without cutting ourselves apart from them. We must not let smear tactics and gossip prevail against those with whom we disagree. It is only as we share our ideas that we can mold our ideas into a reasonable solution to our problem.

Our press must be kept free to give us a just account of the news and to speak its convictions in editorials. I uphold the right of every newspaper to express its convictions even though I may disagree with them vehemently.

I believe in a free pulpit. The minister must be free to present the gospel as he feels God reveals it to him. It should be clearly understood that any pastor will say things with which his congregation will not agree. If this were not true there would be no way that the pastor could lead them in growth.

We must reestablish communications with the leaders of white and Negro peoples on the local level. It is only as we understand each other's positions that we can come out with fair and equitable solutions.

We must see that our institutions of education are kept open. I do not believe that it is fair to the children of our nation to close our public schools as a solution to our problem. The education of our children is far more important than most of the political issues that rise and fall. It is certainly more important than the doctrine of segregation. If the time ever comes when the choice of whether my children go to school with Negroes or else have no school at all, my children will go to school with Negroes. The education of my children is this important to me. We must never use the possibility of closing our schools as a solution to this problem of segregation.

We must come to the place where we dare to put our beliefs into practice. We have grown up to believe in the American creed in which we say that all men are created equal, that all men are endowed with certain rights and that we are a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

* * *

The real and basic problem is not merely a problem between the white man and the Negro . . . it is rather a problem between what we believe on the one hand, and what we practice on the other.

Finally we must let love permeate our lives. Jesus said, "This is my commandment that you love one another as I have loved you." Can we love and hate at the same time? If we are to see man as God sees him, we must see the steadfast love that always reaches out. Paul tells us that "Love does no wrong to a neighbor; therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law." As we reexamine our own actions, can we say that they are an expression of love . . . do they do no wrong to a neighbor?

I do not speak to you as one who has shed all of his prejudice.

I have my fears and my doubts about the future but I do speak to you as one who is willing to open my mind and heart to the will of God. I must come at least to say, if God loves one I must love him too.—*Rev. James B. Nicholson, Byram Methodist Church, Jackson, Miss.*

The first thing we can do is to face up to our own guilt in the situation. You and I didn't go out there and throw the broken bricks and the bottles. You and I didn't go out there and fire the guns. Yet you and I, along with every other Mississippian, are responsible in one degree or another for what happened. For we are responsible for the moral and political climate in our state which made such a tragedy possible. Maybe you and I didn't do much to create this climate, it is certainly evident that we did all too little to dispel or change it. The "things that we have left undone which we ought to have done" should bother us every bit as much as the "things which we have done which we ought not to have done." The decent, respectable, and responsible people of Mississippi have failed, when events like those of last Sunday night can take place within our state.

But true repentance means more than just remorse. We must now give our all to salvaging the situation; to bringing order out of chaos, peace out of strife. We must accept the fact that the color of a person's skin can no longer be a barrier to his admission to the University of Mississippi. I would hope that, as Christians we would accept this because it is just and right whether we like it or not. But if we are not yet able to do this, at least we can be realistic enough and patriotic enough to accept this as the law of the land.

* * *

I, for one, look to the future with faith and confidence. I am convinced that most of the decent and responsible people of the Oxford university community have learned the lesson we must learn from last Sunday's madness. And from the statement of those 127 Mississippi businessmen released last Tuesday it is apparent that others have learned also. The fact that many other Mississippians have not, and that many of our political leaders are still making every effort to keep them from doing so should only spur us on to better and greater efforts. By God's grace, some real good can come out of this tragedy, and it is up to you and to me to see that it does.

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ST. LOUIS, MO.
POST-DISPATCH
D. 347,672 S. 564,337

PAGE ONE
CERTIFIED

MAY 12 1963

White House's Efforts In Civil Rights Fight Being Called Inadequate

Robert Kennedy Defends Secret Behind-Scenes Mediation as Best Approach—Critics Advocating Strong Statement by President, Filing of Suits to Enforce Present Laws, and New Legislation

By THOMAS W. OTTENAD
A Washington Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, May 11

NEW RACIAL DEMONSTRATIONS in the South have raised serious doubts about the adequacy of the Kennedy Administration's civil rights program. Leaders of some Negro groups and civil rights organizations have long been dissatisfied with the Administration's record, and members of Congress now have joined the chorus of criticism.

Among the latest are Senator John Sherman Cooper, Republican from the border state of Kentucky, and Senator Wayne Morse, the independent-minded Oregonian who was once a Republican and now is a Democrat.

ALTHOUGH differing somewhat in their approaches, Morse and Cooper fundamentally make the same two charges. The Administration, they say, has not made full use of existing civil rights laws nor has it made enough of an effort to obtain new legislation that would strengthen its hand.

Both of these complaints are denied by top Administration leaders. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy told the Post-Dispatch in an interview that in his opinion the Administration had done everything possible to ease racial tensions.

Kennedy, who has directed most of the Administration's civil rights efforts for his brother, the President, was obviously nettled at suggestions that the Administration has not been as vigorous as it might have been.

The Attorney General laughed at a suggestion that perhaps Southern cities troubled by racial unrest could be assisted by a national program aimed at educating, explaining racial problems and providing a means of communication, so often lacking, between white and Negro groups.

HE TERMED the idea "utterly unrealistic and unworkable." In contrast with Kennedy's view, some civil rights experts have said such a program might be helpful, particularly if led by persons of outstanding reputation and prestige.

Later the Attorney General conceded there was a great need for more public understanding and better communication between whites and Negroes to avert racial troubles.

These remarks were made at a press conference he called here last night shortly after agreement was announced in Birmingham, Ala., on a limited desegregation plan that apparently ended five weeks of racial crisis there.

"All of us in all sections of the country have a hell of a lesson to learn in getting a dialogue going between the North and South," he said. "We need greater meetings and exchanges of points of view."

Although he said in his interview with the Post-Dispatch that he would welcome any suggestions for dealing with racial problems, the President's brother indicated very firmly that he felt the Administration's program not only was adequate but that it represented the best approach.

Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Ga., a group that has worked actively for civil rights for many years, who disagree with this analysis. Dunbar said voting rights for Negroes are indispensable to progress in other areas of civil rights but of themselves they are not enough.

Except for a proposal to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission, the legislation offered by the Administration this year deals with the problem of voting. It would outlaw the discriminatory use of literacy tests as a voting requirement, establish completion of the sixth grade as evidence of literacy and provide federal referees to speed registration of qualified Negro voters.

Asked why the Administration has not asked for stronger laws, Attorney General Kennedy said, "We are suggesting legislation we think we can get through Congress. We have the best chance of obtaining voting legislation." Asked if additional legislation would be sought, he replied, "If we can attain this, then we'll see."

Among legislation civil rights advocates would like to have, but which the Administration has never sought, are measures that would give the Attorney General authority to initiate court suits to protect all civil rights, establish a time table for compliance by school districts with the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision and create a fair employment practices commission. President Kennedy pledged action in each of these areas in his campaign for the White House.

DUNBAR and Senators Cooper and Morse have very definite ideas on steps they think the Administration could take to strengthen its performance in the field of civil rights.

In a telephone interview with the Post-Dispatch, Dunbar paid tribute to the effort the Justice Department has put into its civil rights activities but urged additional action by the Federal Government. He stressed particularly the need for a strong statement to the nation by President Kennedy, withdrawal of the Justice Department from its role as a civil rights mediator, institution of lawsuits by the Justice Department in civil rights areas where it has been slow to act and vigorous efforts to obtain new legislation, particularly in the area of desegregation.

Dunbar said a presidential statement would be extremely valuable in the South. "There is a great receptivity of moderates in the South toward moral and intellectual leadership in the field of civil rights," he asserted. "A strong statement by the Pres-

nedy's view, some civil rights experts have said such a program might be helpful, particularly if led by persons of outstanding reputation and prestige.

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"All of us in all sections of the country have a hell of a lesson to learn in getting a dialogue going between the North and South," he said. "We need greater meetings and exchanges of points of view."

Although he said in his interview with the Post-Dispatch that he would welcome any suggestions for dealing with racial problems, the President's brother indicated very firmly that he felt the Administration's program not only was adequate but that it represented the best approach.

Aside from two rather obvious areas of operation—correcting racial abuses where possible through administrative action by the President and others in the executive branch and meeting a responsibility to make use of and enforce existing civil rights laws—the Administration says much of its effort has been devoted to behind-the-scenes mediation efforts.

The Attorney General and his aids say this method was used in the desegregation demonstrations in Birmingham. Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall was there to assist in working out a solution. Kennedy and other high Administration officials are reported to have telephoned business leaders, lawyers and others, seeking to encourage moderate and responsible elements to assert themselves.

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT officials assert this technique has been used repeatedly and, in many instances, successfully. They deny the complaint of critics who say the Administration has bounced from one racial crisis to another, doing little between times and then improvising hurriedly when the flash point is near. Spokesmen for the department say they have been busy in the lulls between the storms, trying by quiet, often completely unpublicized efforts to avert difficulties.

There is a cloak-and-dagger aspect to this operation. Justice Department officials decline even to name the communities in which they say they have succeeded in helping to avert racial unrest. They say they have kept no tally of the number, but insist that it is considerable.

Behind their reluctance to talk is the conviction that secrecy is essential to the success of their operation. They say Southerners who have assisted in these efforts cannot be identified lest their positions in their communities be jeopardized. Kennedy and his chief aids in the Justice Department are convinced that private, unpublicized efforts are the most effective, if not the only method for mobilizing moderate elements in the South.

SEVERAL OTHER characteristics distinguish the Administration's policy on civil rights. In the first place, its greatest emphasis is placed on efforts to register Negroes to vote. From the Attorney General on down, Justice Department officials are convinced that other civil rights problems will be solved once Southern Negroes register in large numbers. Said Kennedy:

"When the Negroes become a voting force, they won't be disregarded by their local officials. It is the fastest way to cure other civil rights problems."

There are some observers like Leslie W. Dunbar and Senators Cooper and Morse have very definite ideas on steps they think the Administration could take to strengthen its performance in the field of civil rights.

In a telephone interview with the Post-Dispatch, Dunbar paid tribute to the effort the Justice Department has put into its civil rights activities but urged additional action by the Federal Government. He stressed particularly the need for a strong statement to the nation by President Kennedy, withdrawal of the Justice Department from its role as a civil rights mediator, institution of lawsuits by the Justice Department in civil rights areas where it has been slow to act and vigorous efforts to obtain new legislation, particularly in the area of desegregation.

Dunbar said a presidential statement would be extremely valuable in the South. "There is a great receptivity of moderates in the South toward moral and intellectual leadership in the field of civil rights," he asserted. "A strong statement by the President would raise a rallying standard for them. It would encourage them to take action, to assert leadership."

He disagreed emphatically with Attorney General Kennedy's view that Southern moderates would respond only to private pleas, would act only in secret. He also expressed great doubt about the value of the Justice Department's secret maneuverings. "They burn up the telephone wires and send people in and out of town, but we don't find much evidence that they have been very successful," he observed.

He saw a potential hazard, too, in having the Justice Department, a law enforcement agency, serve as a mediator in racial disputes. "We need mediation and conciliation, but the Justice Department should not be the one to provide it," he added.

Senator Cooper said he will introduce

Continued on Page 3, Col. 7

Civil Rights

Continued From Page One

in Congress legislation that would allow the Attorney General to initiate and the Government to bear the cost of school desegregation suits. He plans also a measure that would prohibit discrimination against Negro customers in businesses affecting the public interest, such as restaurants, hotels and amusement places.

Senator Morse called for the Justice Department to test fully its existing legal powers. He noted that federal law makes it an offense willfully to deprive anyone of constitutional rights. "For the enforcement arm of the National Government to do nothing, except to send mediators and await reports from the combat zones, is a shameful commentary on American democracy," Morse said on the floor of the Senate Monday.

In the midst of pressure from those who think he is doing too little and those who think he is doing too much in the difficult field of human rights, President Kennedy apparently has been trying to avoid the shoals on both sides. He has yet to make a vigorous speech that would seek to rally the nation to end the evils of racial intolerance. The closest he came was his television address last Sept. 30, in the crisis at the University of Mississippi.

At his press conference last Wednesday, he declined even to comment on the tactics used in the Alabama struggle, including the use of police dogs and fire hoses by white authorities and the use of young Negro children as demonstrators by Negro leaders.

THE METHODS employed by both sides in Birmingham have been sharply criticized. The Rev. Albert S. Foley, chairman of the Alabama Advisory Committee of the Federal Commission on Civil Rights, spoke out strongly against street disturbances, directing his criticism against the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, leader of the Negro movement.

Father Foley called on the Rev. Dr. King "in the name of properly achieved civil rights for all citizens, Negro and white," to end the mass demonstrations.

One of the biggest dangers in the Birmingham situation and others like it is that under tension and pressure attitudes on both sides harden. Communication becomes more difficult. Actions tend to become more extreme. The way is opened for demagogues, both white and Negro, for those who want personal publicity and those who prefer turmoil and unrest to the settlement of difficult problems.

In the face of problems of this magnitude, the role of the President and the Federal Government is admittedly a most difficult one. But as Dunbar put it:

"What is it worth to the nation to prevent another Birmingham?" Then answering his own question: "Even from just a pragmatic point of view I think it might be more important to the country than cutting taxes."

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800

MAY 14 1963

Dr. Richardson To Deliver Washington High Baccalaureate

DR. H. V. RICHARDSON

Dr. Harry V. Richardson, President and founder of Interdenominational Theological Center, will deliver Booker T. Washington High School's Baccalaureate Address, Sunday, May 19, at 9:30 A. M. in the gymnatorium. Some 350 seniors are in the graduating class.

Dr. Richardson, an eminent scholar and churchman served for 16 years as Chaplain of Tuskegeee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama. In addition, he served for 11 years as President of Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia, and presently, is President of I. T. C. Atlanta.

He serves on the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta Urban League and the Atlanta Tuberculosis Association. He is a member of National Council of Churches in Christ, Council of Evangelism of the Methodist Church, Treasurer of the Methodist Rural Life Fellowship, member of the Methodist Seminar on Theology, Oxford, England, and numerous others.

The public is cordially invited to hear Dr. Richardson. J. Y. Moreland is Principal of Booker T. Washington High School.

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
MAY 16 1963

South Changing For Better Dr. Richardson Declares

By WILLIAM A. FOWLKES
Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

The South has made noble contributions in the achievement of democracy, Dr. Harry V. Richardson told the Hungry Club Wednesday. While pointing out that the millennium has not been reached, the I.T.C. president said the fact that so many changes are coming in the area which held slaves longest and has long been known as "the seat of the most undemocratic practices in the nation," is highly significant.

"In the development and expression of constructive mass opinion, the South has made splendid contributions," Dr. Richardson pointed out. The speed of this development came, he said, through such monumental landmarks as the two editions of the "Ministers' Manifesto," the Atlanta students' "An Appeal for Human Rights;" hearings by the Sibley Commission on the question of Georgia public school desegregation, the movement called "HOPE" (Help Our Public Education), educational efforts of such organizations as the Southern Regional Council and church agencies. He also credited the achievement of Negroes who have been admitted to larger opportunities.

The speaker said the South had made contributions against undemocratic practices, getting people to change their "wicked ways," by appeal to reason, appeal to law and direct action. There have been many stalwart leaders and followers who have joined in pointing out the evils of segregation and discrimination and who have worked against them, the speaker declared.

GOVERNMENT FORCE

"An achievement is that national government has shown that laws must be respected and obeyed by all, even if force is necessary to secure such obedience," Dr. Richardson went on. "One of the hardest areas to change is that of vested interests — those areas where money and power are concerned. The two methods of protest demonstrations and selective buying are making some headway in fairer employment and more equal services."

Another Southern contribution, credited by the theological center head, was in the area of political power and control. He pointed out that two southern states — Tennessee and Georgia — attacked the evils of the rural - dominated legislative systems, resulting in the Supreme Court -outlawing of Georgia's county unit votes. As a result, he showed, Georgia got its first Negro senator since "reconstruction days."

Speaking of what looms in the future for the Negro "in the next forty years," Dr. Richardson said that some people will be enjoying the highest standard of health and security beyond present dreams. He also foresaw the demise of discrimination. But, he declared, that he could see poverty for too many, most of them Negroes, since "poverty is cumulative and self- perpetuating." The speaker spoke of Negro neighborhoods — North and South — which show "unused and unusuable manpower," unkemp and

(Continued on Page 6, Col. 2)

South Changing

(Continued from Page One)

hopeless-looking men and women.

Poverty, Dr. Richardson said, causes a higher rate of mental illness and emotional upset, physical illness, illiteracy and increased school dropouts, general lack of motivation and delinquency among the young, little or no social security. He pointed out that additional problems will come with automation and technical changes, making it impossible for the untrained and unskilled to get [illegible]

"We can't make it unless we have hopeful young men for the future," Dr. Richardson declared while calling for more concern on the part of church people and for home missions.

Dr. Hilliard E. Bowen, area superintendent of Atlanta schools, moderated the luncheon - forum session.

BOSTON, MASS.
HERALD
D. 178,553 S. 283,819

MAY 26 1963

Speed Held Urgent On Integration

By CLAUDE SITTON
(New York Times News Service)

ATLANTA — The Southern Regional Council asserted Saturday that immediate elimination of segregation in all public facilities is a "practical necessity" for the South and the nation.

Token steps, it said in one of the few statements yet issued by its executive council, "already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience."

HISTORIC CHOICE

The 15 white and Negro Southern leaders, whose stated objective is equal opportunity for all persons in the region, said the Supreme Court's sit-in decision last Monday presented a historic choice.

The court held that cities that make segregation a policy by ordinance or official statement could not prosecute Negroes for seeking service in privately owned stores.

The Council statement said the ruling offered the South another opportunity like the one it spurned following the court's 1954 decision against school segregation.

NEW OPORTUNITY

"They set before us a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity— an intelligence—which he turned our backs on in 1954," the Council said. It continued:

"The South nine years ago was called on by the national will for greatness. Instead, if responded with a self-blighting display of malice and futility. The recent events in Birmingham are only the latest episode of this impocerishing of the regional spirit.

"The court's decision of May 20 came, however, at a time of promising events as well, in several Southern cities—Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Knoxville, and Nashville among others—there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services."

The statement came as legal guns were primed for the South's last great sovereignty stand.

Diminutive Gov. George C. Wallace, a fiery foe of federal sovereignty, vowed his stand would be at the door of the University of Alabama to prevent the enrollment of two Negroes.

SOVEREIGN CAPACITY

President Kennedy grimly warned that federal court orders would be executed, without the use of troops if possible.

Wallace, ordered to appear for a June 3 hearing in Birmingham, planned his next move in secrecy.

MONROE, LA.
WORLD
D. 27,587 S. 41,061

MAY 26 1963

South Is Given Second Historic Choice Since 54

ATLANTA (UPI)— The executive committee of the integrationist Southern Regional Council said Saturday that the Souht is confronted with its second historic choice in nine years.

The committee, in a statement, said the sit-in demonstration rulings by the U. S. Supreme Court set before the South "a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity and intelligence which we turned our backs on in 1954."

The committee charged that the South responded to the 1954 school desegregation decision "with a self-blighting display of malice and futility" and said the recent racial disturbances in Birmingham, Ala., "are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit."

It said the Supreme Court's latest racial rulings came at a time when in several Southern cities—with Raleigh, Durham and Greensboro, N. C., and Knoxville and Nashville, Tenn., named specifically—"there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services."

The committee said that measures are now being adopted in the United States, and particularly in the South "which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience."

In regard to the attempt by Birmingham schools to suspend students who took part in demonstrations in that city, the committee said, "vindictive policies are always self-defeating; responsible Southerners must no longer tolerate them."

The group called on the South to take two steps:

COLUMBUS, OHIO
DISPATCH
D. 208,913 S. 287,442

MAY 26 1963

Says South Confronted With Historic Choice

ATLANTA (UPI)—The executive committee of the integration Southern Regional Council said Saturday that the South is confronted with its second historic choice in nine years.

The committee, in a statement, said the sit-in demonstration rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court set before the South "a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity and intelligence which we turned our backs on in 1954."

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In regard to the attempt by Birmingham schools to suspend students who took part in demonstrations in that city, the committee said, "vindictive policies are always self-defeating; responsible southerners must no longer tolerate them."

The group called on the South to take two steps:

- "The immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demonstrators in any cities where charges are pending;
- "The removal in all cities of segregated practices in governmental facilities and in stores, hotels, restaurants or other businesses serving the general public."

In conclusion of its statement, the committee urged students at the University of Alabama to act "with the dignity and good will shown in January by the students at Clemson" rather than allow the disorders that befell the University of Mississippi to recur when two Negro students enter the University of Alabama next month.

CHARLESTON, S.C.
NEWS AND COURIER
D. 60,053 S. 73,976

MAY 26 1963

Council Says South Faced With 2nd Historic Choice

ATLANTA (UPI) — The executive committee of the integrationist Southern Regional Council said yesterday that the South is confronted with its second historic choice in nine years.

The committee, in a statement, said the sit-in demonstration rulings by the U. S. Supreme Court set before the South "a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity and intelligence which we turned our backs on in 1954."

The committee charged that the South responded to the 1954 school desegregation decision "with a self-blighting display of malice and futility" and said the recent racial disturbances in Birmingham 'are only the latest episode of this improverishing of the regional spirit."

It said the Supreme Court's latest racial rulings came at a time when in several southern cities — with Raleigh, Durham and Greensboro, N.C., and Knoxville and Nashville, Tenn., named specifically — "there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services."

The committee said that measures are now being adopted in the United States, and particularly in the South "which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience."

In regard to the attempt by Birmingham schools to suspend students who took part in demonstrations in that city, the committee said, "vindictive policies are always self-defeating; responsible southerners must not longer tolerate them."

The group called on the South to take two steps:

—"The immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demonstrators in any cities where charges are pending;

—"The removal in all cities of segregated practices in governmental facilities and in stores, hotels, restaurants or other businesses serving the general public."

In conclusion of its statement, the committee urged students at the University of Alabama to act "with the dignity and good will shown in January by the students at Clemson" rather than allow the disorders that befell the University of Mississippi to recur when two Negro students enter the University of Alabama next month.

TULSA, OKLA.
WORLD
D. 96,467 S. 153,360

MAY 26 1963

Integration Group Sees Another Historic Choice

ATLANTA (UPI)—The executive committee of the integrationist Southern Regional Council said Saturday the South is confronted with its second historic choice in nine years. In a statement, the committee said the sit-in demonstration rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court set before the South "a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity and intelligence which we turned our backs on in 1954."

The committee charged the South responded to the 1954 school desegregation decision "with a self-blighting display of malice and futility" and said the recent racial disturbances in Birmingham, Ala., "are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit."

It said the Supreme Court's latest racial rulings came at a time when in several southern cities—with Raleigh, Durham and Greensboro, N.C., and Knoxville and Nashville, Tenn., named specifically—"there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services."

The committee said measures are now being adopted in the United States, and particularly in the South "which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience."

In regard to the attempt by Birmingham schools to suspend students who took part in demonstrations in that city, the committee said, "vindictive policies are always self-defeating; responsible Southerners must not longer tolerate them."

The group called on the South to take two steps:

1—"The immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demonstrators in any cities where charges are pending;

2.—"The removal in all cities of segregated practices in governmental facilities and in stores, hotels, restaurants or other businesses serving the general public."

In conclusion of its statement, the committee urged students at the University of Alabama to act "with the dignity and good will shown in January by the students at the University of Alabama to act "with the dignity and good will shown in January by the students at Clemson" rather than allow the discorders that befell the University of Mississippi to recur when two Negro students enter the University of Alabama next month.

The New York Times
D. 680,265 S. 1,306,418

MAY 26 1963

SOUTH EXHORTED TO INTEGRATE NOW

Regional Council Says Sit-in Ruling Offers Key Choice

By CLAUDE SITTON
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, May 25—The Southern Regional Council asserted today that immediate elimination of segregation in all public facilities is a "practical necessity" for the South and the nation.

Token steps, it said in one of the few statements yet issued by its executive council, "already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience."

The 15 white and Negro Southern leaders, whose stated objective is equal opportunity for all persons in the region, said the Supreme Court's sit-in decision last Monday presented a historic choice.

Malice Assailed

The court held that cities that make segregation a policy by ordinance or official statement could not prosecute Negroes for seeking service in privately owned stores.

The council statement said the ruling offered the South another opportunity like the one it spurned following the court's 1954 decision against school segregation.

"They set before us a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity—an intelligence—which we turned our backs on in 1954," the council said. It continued:

"The South nine years ago was called on by the national will for greatness. Instead, it responded with a self-blighting display of malice and futility. The recent events in Birmingham are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit.

"The court's decision of May 20 came, however, at a time of promising events as well. In several Southern cities——Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Knoxville, and Nashville among others—there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services."

The statement observed that equality was an American ideal.

"It has become also a practical necessity," the council said, "but it is first of all an issue of human decency." The statement went on:

"Had we years ago vigorously defended voting rights in the courts, had we made beginnings in the desegregation of public accommodations and services, had we established rules to protect fair and equal employment rights, had we done these and others like things then—which we are beginning to do now—they might have been in time. They are not any longer."

The council called for the following steps:

¶ Immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demonstrators in cities where charges are pending.

¶ Removal in all cities of segregated practices in governmental facilities and in stores, hotels, restaurants and other businesses serving the public.

Taking note of the scheduled desegregation of the University of Alabama on June 10 and President Kennedy's "straightforward" remarks on the issue, the statement declared:

Cautions on Disorders

"The disorders of last fall at the University of Mississippi must not be allowed to recur."

The council, founded in 1944, is a nonpartisan organization dedicated to helping Southern communities make a peaceful transition to racial equality.

The persons issuing today's statement included James McBride Dabbs of Mayesville, S. C., president of the council; John H. Wheeler of Durham, N. C., executive committee chairman, and these others:

Albert W. Dent of New Orleans; Marion A. Wright of Linville Falls, N. C.; Josephine Wilkins, Atkens, Ga.; Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta; Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tenn.; John A. Griffin, Tallahassee, Fla.; Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Atlanta, and John P. Nelson Jr., New Orleans.

Also Raymond Wheeler, Charlotte, N. C.; H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Fla.; Stephen J. Wright, Nashville, Tenn.; Thomas W. Young, Norfolk, Va., and Joseph F. Haas, Atlanta.

NEWARK, N.J.
NEWS
D. 272,466 S. 390,780

MAY 26 1963

South Has Choice

Group Urges Peaceful Integration

ATLANTA (UPI)—The executive committee of the integrationist Southern Regional Council said yesterday that the South is confronted with its second historic choice in nine years.

The committee said the sit-in demonstration rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court set before the South "a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity and intelligence which we turned our backs on in 1954."

The committee charged that the South responded to the 1954 school desegregation decision "with a self-blighting display of malice and futility" and said the recent racial disturbances in Birmingham, Ala., "are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit."

It said the Supreme Court's latest racial rulings came at a time when in several Southern cities—with Raleigh, Durham and Greensboro, N.C., and Knoxville and Nashville, Tenn., named specifically—"there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services."

Negro Needs

The committee said that measures are now being adopted in the United States, and particularly in the South "which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience."

In regard to the attempt by Birmingham schools to suspend students who took part in demonstrations in that city, the committee said, "vindictive policies are always self-defeating; responsible Southerners must no longer tolerate them."

The group called on the South to take two steps:

"The immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demonstrators in any cities where charges are pending;

"The removal in all cities of segregated practices in governmental facilities and in stores, hotels, restaurants or other businesses serving the general public."

In conclusion of its statement, the committee urged students at the University of Alabama to act "with the dignity and good will shown in January by the students at Clemson" rather than allow the disorders that befell the University of Mississippi to recur when two Negro students enter the University of Alabama next month.

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
MAY 26 1963

Council Hails "Sit-In" Decision Of High Court

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council Saturday made the following statement:

"By its decisions of May 20, 1963 in the 'sit-in' cases, the Supreme Court moved our law a long step nearer the American ideal of equal rights.

"These decisions confront the South again with an historic choice. They set before us a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity — and intelligence — which we turned our backs on in 1954. The South nine years ago was called on by the national will for greatness; instead, it responded with a self - blighting display of malice and futility. The recent events in Birmingham are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit.

"The Court's decision of May 20 came, however, at a time of promising events as well. In several southern cities — Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Knoxville, and Nashville among others — there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services.

"Equality is an American ideal. It has become also a practical necessity. But it is first of all an issue of human decency.

NEEDS OUTGROWN

"In the United States, and particularly in the South, we are adopting measures which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience. Had we years ago vigorously defended voting rights in the courts, had we made beginnings in the desegregation of public accommodations and fair services, had we established rules to protect fair and equal employment rights, had we done these and other like things then — which we are beginning to do now — they might have been in time. They are not any longer.

"The legitimate unrest of Negro citizens requires a statesmanship adequate for the times, from national, state, and local governments, and from private businesses.

"We need to turn from the mere defense of voting rights against criminal violation to the positive assurance of voting rights; from token school desegregation to a loving concern for the education of all our children. We need in all of American life to accept and benefit from each other.

"Negro Southerners, supported by white people of good will, have been the South's moral leaders these last few years. The whole region and the nation owe them a debt for what they have accomplished, and for their continued faith in American institutions.

We need in the spirit of Judge Tuttle's ruling of May 22 regarding the expulsion of Birmingham school children, to direct our thoughts and actions at the main issue: at how

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 1)

Council Hails "Sit-In"

(Continued from Page One)

the welfare of the South's people can be enlarged. Vindictive policies are always self - defeating; responsible Southerners must not longer tolerate them.

LAW OF LAND DEFINED

"The Supreme Court defines the law of the land and the duty of citizens under it. Southern states and cities ought not again, or still, evade and avoid legal responsibilities which clearly are theirs. The South can recover its title - deeds in American democracy by now taking specific actions that would show its loyalty to the spirit of the law and to its own Negro citizens. These actions should include

—the immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demonstrators in any cities where charges are pending;

—the removal in all cities of segregated practices in governmental facilities and in stores, hotels, restaurants or other businesses serving the general public.

"Finally, we take note of the imminent deegregation of the University of Alabama, and of President Kennedy's straight forward remarks of May 22. The disorders of last fall at the University of Mississippi must not be allowed to recur. We are confident that Alabama students will act with the dignity and good will shown in January by the students of Clemson. We trust that President Kennedy and his Administration will be prepared to act forthrightly to insure that the Negro enrollees will not be delayed or harassed as they enter on their studies, and that the integrity of federal courts will not again be defamed."

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS
EXPRESS AND NEWS
SAT. 110,220 SUN. 106,893

MAY 26 1963

Integration Called Must

(C) NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE

ATLANTA — The Southern Regional Council asserted Saturday that immediate elimination of segregation in all public facilities is a "practical necessity" for the South and the nation.

Token steps, it said in one of the few statements yet issued by its executive council, "already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience."

The 15 white and Negro Southern leaders, who stated objectives is equal opportunity for all persons in the region, said the Supreme Court's sit-in decision last Monday presented a historic choice.

The court held that cities that make segregation a policy by ordinance or official statement could not prosecute Negroes for seeking service in privately owned stores.

GAINESVILLE, GA.
TIMES
D. 9,153 S. 8,601

MAY 26 1963

IN OUR OPINION

Let Each Be Secure In Securing Rights

A new pace — more a current of feeling than a strategy — is evident in the recent epidemic of demonstrations by Negroes for complete use of all public facilities, government and private.

North Carolina, whose reputation in handling a quiet and gradual evolution in race relations leads the rest of the South, has seen mass demonstrations in Greensboro, Durham and Raleigh, cities previously proud to be out of the limelight.

Even in Birmingham, where absolutely no progress has been made in an otherwise changing South, saw demonstrations of terrific intensity aimed not at merely superficial, easy changes in custom but at the full granting of equal privileges.

Now the Supreme Court has as much as said that whatever is public, is public, and can be denied no one. Technically, the Supreme Court decision is open to equivocation. Either local or state segregation laws or definitive statements favoring segregation by public officials have to exist as evidence of constitutional violations.

But the simple truth is that the Court has held fast to the theory that private individuals may have complete freedom of association or lack of association, but that use of a facility by the general public precludes the right of the facility's owner to discriminate against any user if state law or even official pronouncements openly coerce to the contrary.

The Southern Regional Council, taking cognizance both of the trend of affairs and the Court's obvious attitudes, urges that the South set malice and vindictiveness aside and work on the main issue of enlarging the welfare of its people.

We agree with this view, not because the Courts are forcing us to so agree but because in the improved welfare of all of our people lies the final and secure answer to our humans relations problems.

People secure in their own lives and confident of their own abilities don't worry about with whom they will associate or with whom they share the sidewalk or the hot dog counter. They give the other fellow his due, knowing they are in full possession and control of their own rights in so doing.

AUGUSTA, GA.
CHRONICLE-HERALD
SUN. - CIRC.N.AVAIL.

MAY 26 1963

High court ruling gives South new race decision

ATLANTA (UPI)— The executive committee of the integrationist Southern Regional Council said today that the South is confronted with its second historic choice in nine years.

The committee, in a statement, said the sit-in demonstration rulings by the U. S. Supreme Court set before the South "a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity and intelligence which we turned our backs on in 1954."

The committee charged that the South responded to the 1954 school desegregation decision "with a self-blighting display of malice and futility" and said the recent racial disturbances in Birmingham, Ala., "are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit."

It said the Supreme Court's latest racial rulings came at a time when in several Southern cities—with Raleigh, Durham and Greensboro, N. C., and Knoxville and Nashville, Tenn., named specifically—"there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services."

The committee said that measures are now being adopted in the United States, and particularly in the South "which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience."

In regard to the attempt by Birmingham schools to suspend students who took part in demonstrations in that city, the committee said, "vindictive policies are always self-defeating; responsible Southerners must no longer tolerate them."

The group called on the South to take two steps:

"The immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demonstrators in any cities where charges are pending;

PULASKI, VA.
SOUTHWEST TIMES
D. 4,757 S. 4,836

MAY 26 1963

Race Committee Says South Faces Historic Choice

ATLANTA (UPI) — The executive committee of the integrationist Southern Regional Council said today that the South is confronted with its second historic choice in nine years.

The committee, in a statement, said the sit-in demonstration rulings by the U. S. Supreme Court set before the South "a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity and intelligence which we turned our backs on in 1954."

The committee charged that the South responded to the 1954 school desegregation decision "with a self-blighting display of malice and futility" and said the recent racial disturbances in Birmingham, Ala., "are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit."

It said the Supreme Court's latest racial rulings came at a time when in several Southern cities—with Raleigh, Durham and Greensboro, N. C., and Knoxville and Nashville, Tenn., named specifically—"there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services."

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In regard to the attempt by Birmingham schools to suspend students who took part in demonstrations in that city, the committee said, "vindictive policies are always self-defeating; responsible Southerners must no longer tolerate them."

The group called on the South to take two steps:

"The immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demonstrators in any cities where charges are pending;

"The removal in all cities of segregated practices in governmental facilities and in stores, hotels, restaurants or other businesses serving the general public."

DETROIT, MICH.
FREE PRESS
D. 509,256 S. 557,573

MAY 26 1963

Klansman Guilty in Shootings

ANNISTON, Ala. — (UPI) — A former Ku Klux Klansman who once participated in an attack on singer Nat (King) Cole was convicted Saturday of firing shotgun blasts into a church and the home of two Negroes.

Kenneth Adams, 42, was sentenced to 180 days in jail and fined $100 on each of the shooting counts.

* * *

ADAMS went free on a $900 appeals bond but moments later he and a companion, William H. Boyd, Jr., 23, were taken into custody by county authorities and charged with intimidating two Negro women with a pistol.

The city had planned to try the two on the intimidation charges but the plan was dropped when it was learned the offenses took place 400 feet outside the jurisdiction of city police.

Boyd and Adams were charged specifically with carrying a concealed weapon and assault with a gun. Both were freed under $1,000 bond pending trial, probably next week.

Adams operates several service stations and Boyd is an employe. Adams ran for sheriff in the Democratic primary last year and was soundly defeated although he polled some 1,800 votes.

He was arrested in 1956 for jumping onto a Birmingham stage to participate in the attack on Nat (King) Cole. Adams was charged with assault but pleaded guilty to a lesser charge and paid a $50 fine.

* * *

TWO YEARS ago he was charged with participating in the burning of a bus bringing the first group of freedom riders to Alabama. He was acquitted.

Previously he served a year in Kilby Prison in Montgomery for illegally hauling whiskey.

The shootings for which Adams was tried took place May 12, the day Negroes rioted in Birmingham over the bombing of a motel and the home of an integration leader.

President Kennedy ordered 3,000 troops into the state that night and the soldiers remain.

* * *

ELSEWHERE in the South, the racial front was relatively quiet.

Birmingham, which earlier this week got a new city government that is more moderate on the desegregation issue, appeared less tense than it has in months.

In Norfolk and Portsmouth, Va., movie theaters quietly lowered racial barriers and in Jackson, Miss., Negroes put off plans to stage massive demonstrations. The Jackson protests apparently were being held off pending talks between Negro leaders and white clergymen.

In Atlanta the executive committee of the integrationist Southern Regional Council said Saturday sit-in demonstration rulings by the United States Supreme Court set before the South "a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity and intelligence which we turned our backs on in 1954."

The committee charged that the South responded to the 1954 school desegregation decision "with a self-blighting display of malice and futility" and said the recent racial disturbances in Birmingham, "are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit."

GREENVILLE, MISS.
DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
D. 13,547 S. 13,500
PAGE ONE
CRITICS
MAY 26 1963

Regional Council Urges New Race Approach

ATLANTA (UPI) — The executive committee of the integrationist Southern Regional Council said yesterday that the South is confronted with its second historic choice in nine years.

The committee, in a statement, said the sit-in demonstration rulings by the U. S. Supreme Court set before the South "a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity and intelligence which we turned our backs on in 1954."

* * *

THE committee charged that the South responded to the 1954 school desegregation decision "with a self-blighting display of malice and futility" and said the recent racial disturbances in Birmingham, Ala., "are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit."

It said the Supreme Court's latest racial rulings came at a time when in several Southern cities—with Raleigh, Durham and Greensboro, N. C., and Knoxville and Nashville, Tenn., named specifically—"there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services."

* * *

THE committee said that measures are now being adopted in the United States, and particularly in the South "which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience."

In regard to the attempt by Birmingham schools to suspend students who took part in demonstrations in that city, the committee said, "vindictive policies are always self-defeating; responsible Southerners must no longer tolerate them."

* * *

THE group called on the South to take two steps:

"The immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demonstrators in any cities where charges are pending;

"The removal in all cities of segregated practices in governmental facilities and in stores, hotels, restaurants or other businesses serving the general public."

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
GAZETTE
D. 92,176 S. 105,024

MAY 26 1963

Council Asserts That Desegregation Has Become a 'Practical Necessity'

© New York Times News Service

Atlanta, May 25.—The Southern Regional Council asserted today that immediate elimination of segregation in all public facilities is a "practical necessity" for the South and the nation.

Token steps, it said in one of the rare statements issued by its Executive Council, "already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience."

The 15 white and Negro Southern leaders, whose stated objective is equal opportunity for all persons in the region, said the Supreme Court's sit-in decision last Monday presented a historic choice.

The Court held that cities that make segregation a policy by ordinance or official statement could not prosecute Negroes for seeking service in privately owned stores.

The Council statement said the ruling offered the South another opportunity like the one it spurned after the Court's 1954 decision against school segregation.

Renewed Opportunity

"They set before us a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity—and intelligence—which we turned our backs on in 1954," the Council said.

"The South nine years ago was called on by the national will for greatness," it continued. Instead, it responded with a self-blighting display of malice and futility The recent events in Birmingham are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit.

"The Court's decision of May 20 came, however, at a time of promising events as well, in several southern cities—Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Knoxville, and Nashville among others — there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services."

An American Ideal

The statement observed that equality was an American ideal.

"It has become also a practical necessity," the Council said, "but it is first of all an issue of human decency.

"Had we years ago vigorously defended voting rights in the courts, had we made beginnings in the desegregation of public accommodations and services, had we established rules to protect fair and equal employment rights, had we done these and other like things then—which we are beginning to do now—they might have been in time. They are not any longer."

The Council said Negro unrest required statesmanship from national, state and local governments and from private businesses:

"We need to turn from the mere defense of voting rights against criminal violations to the positive assurance of voting rights, from token school desegregation to a loving concern for the education of all our children."

The statement said the region and nation were in the debt of Negro southerners, who, supported by some whites, "have been the South's moral leaders these last few years." It praised "their continued faith in American institutions."

The Council called for these steps:

1. Immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demonstrators in cities where charges are pending.

2. Removal in all cities of segregated practices in governmental facilities and in stores, hotels, restaurants and other businesses serving the public.

JACKSON, MISS.
CLARION-LEDGER NEWS
SUN. 89,888

MAY 26 1963

Regional Committee Lashes Out At South

ATLANTA (UPI) — The executive committee of the integrationist Southern Regional Council said today that the South is confronted with its second historic choice in nine years.

The committee, in a statement, said the sit-in demonstration rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court set before the South "A renewed opportunity for the kind of magnamimity and intelligence which we turned our backs on in 1954."

The committee charged that the South responded to the 1954 school desegregation decision "with a self - blighting display of malice and futility" and said the recent racial disturbances in Birmingham, Ala., "are only the latest episode of this empoverishing of the regional spirit."

It said the Supreme Court's latest racial rulings came at a time when in several southern cities — with Raleigh, Durham and Greensboro, N.C., and Knoxville and Nashville, Tenn., named specifically — "there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services."

The committee said that measures are now being adopted in the United States, and particularly in the South "which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience."

In regard to the attempt by Birmingham schools to suspend students who took part in demonstrations in that city, the committee said, "vindictive policies are always self - defeating; responsible southerners must not longer tolerate them."

The group called on the south to take two steps:

—"The immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demosstrators in any cities where charges against peaceful demonstrators in any cities where charges are pending;

—"The removal in all cities of segregated practices in governmental facilities and in stores, hotels, restaurants or other businesses serving the general public."

In conclusion of its statement, the committee urged students at the University of Alabama to act "with the dignity and good will shown in January by the students at Clemson" rather than allow the disorders that befell the University of Mississippi to recur when two negro students enter the University of Alabama next month.

ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION
SUN. 502,157

MAY 26 1963

SRC Urges South to Seek Racial Accord

The time has come when Southern states can no longer evade and avoid their legal responsibilities in the civil rights struggle, the Southern Regional Council said Saturday.

The council, an interracial organization based in Atlanta which works for equal opportunity for all races, was commenting on last Monday's Supreme Court decision in the sit-in cases. The council statement was signed by members of its Executive Committee.

The council noted that the May 20 court decisions "moved our law a long step nearer the American ideal of equal rights.

"These deicisions confront the South again with an historic choice. They set before us a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity — and intelligence — which we turned our backs on in 1954.

"The South nine years ago was called on by the national will for greatness; instead, it responded with a self-blighting display of malace and futility. The recent events in Birmingham are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit."

CIVIC leaders have demonstrated, in other cities, however, an "unprecedented awareness" that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services," the council said.

But the nation and especially the South, it said, are still adopting "measures which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience. . . .

"The legitimate unrest of Negro citizens requires a statesmanship adequate for the time from national, state, and local governments, and from private businesses.

"We need to turn from the mere defense of voting rights against criminal violation to the positive assurance of voting rights; from token school desegregation to a loving concern for the education of all our children. . . .

"Negro Southerners, supported by white people of good will, have been the South's moral leaders these last few years. The whole region and the nation owe them a debt for what they have accomplished, and for their continued faith in American institutions. . . .

"Southern states and cities ought not again, or still, to evade and avoid legal responsibilities which clearly are theirs. The South can recover its title-deeds in American democracy by now taking specific actions that would show its loyalty to the spirit of the law and to its own Negro citizens."

These actions, the council said, should include the immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demonstrators, and removal of segregated practices in governmental facilities and in businesses which serve the general public.

JACKSON, MISS.
CLARION LEDGER
D. 54,056

MAY 27 1963

Integrationists See 'Historic Choice'

ATLANTA (UPI)— The executive committee of the integrationist Southern Regional Council said today that the South is confronted with its second historic choice in nine years.

The committee, in a statement, said the sit-in demonstration rulings by the U. S. Supreme Court set before the South "a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity and intelligence which we turned our backs on in 1954."

The committee charged that the South responded to the 1954 school desegregation decision "with a self-blighting display of malice and futility" and said the recent racial disturbances in Birmingham, Ala., "are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit."

It said the Supreme Court's latest racial rulings came at a time when in several Southern cities—with Raleigh, Durham and Greensboro, N. C., and Knoxville and Nashville, Tenn., named specifically—"there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services."

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In regard to the attempt by Birmingham schools to suspend students who took part in demonstrations in that city, the committee said, "vindictive policies are always self-defeating; responsible Southerners must no longer tolerate them."

The group called on the South to take two steps:

"The immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demonstrators in any cities where charges are pending;

"The removal in all cities of segregated practices in governmental facilities and in stores, hotels, restaurants or other businesses serving the general public."

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
D. 42,003

MAY 27 1963

Council Cites South's 'Chance'

ATLANTA (UPI) — The U. S. Supreme Court's recent sit - in demonstration rulings present the South with its second historic choice in nine years, according to the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council.

The council, in a statement issued over the weekend, said the rulings set before the South "a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity and intelligence which we turned our backs on in 1954."

The integrationist group charged that the South responded to the 1954 school desegregation decision "with a self-blighting display of malice and futility." The group said the recent racial troubles in Birmingham, Ala. were only "the latest episode of this improverishing of the regional spirit."

The council called on the South to immediately drop charges against peaceful demonstrators in any cities where such charges are pending, and to end in all cities segregated practices in government facilities and in stores hotels, restaurants and other businesses serving the general publi

FLORENCE, ALA.
TIMES
D. 11,691 S. 11,191

MAY 27 1963

Letter To The Editor

EQUALITY HAS BECOME A PRACTICAL NECESSITY

Editor: The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council made today (May 26) the following statement:

"By its decisions of May 20, 1963 in the 'sit-in' cases, the Supreme Court moved our law a long step nearer the American ideal of equal rights.

"These decisions confront the South again with an historic choice. They set before us a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity — and intelligence — which we turned our backs on in 1954. The South nine years ago was called on by the national will for greatness; instead, it responded with a self-blighting display of malice and futility. The recent events in Birmingham are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit.

"The Court's decision of May 20 came, however, at a time of promising events as well. In several southern cities — Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Knoxville, and Nashville among others—there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services.

"Equality is an American ideal. It has become also a practical necessity. But it is first of all an issue of human decency.

"In the United States, and particularly in the South, we are adopting measures which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience. Had we years ago vigorously defended voting rights in the courts, had we made beginnings in the desegregation of public accommodations and services, had we established rules to protect fair and equal employment rights, had we done these and other like things then — which we are beginning to do now — they might have been in time. They are not any longer.

"The legitimate unrest of Negro citizens requires a statesmanship adequate for the times, from national, state, and local governments, and from private businesses.

"We need to turn from the mere defense of voting rights against criminal violation to the positive assurance of voting rights; from token school desegregation to a loving concern for the education of all our children. We need in all of American life to accept and benefit from each other.

"Negro Southerners, supported by white people of good will, have been the South's moral leaders these last few years. The whole region and the nation owe them a debt for what they have accomplished, and for their continued faith in American institutions. We need, in the spirit of Judge Tuttle's ruling of May 22 regarding the expulsion of Birmingham school children, to direct our thoughts and actions at the main issue: at how the welfare of the South's people can be enlarged. Vindictive policies are always self-defeating; responsible Southerners must no longer tolerate them.

"The Supreme Court defines the law of the land and the duty of citizens under it. Southern states and cities ought not again, or still, evade and avoid legal responsibilities which clearly are theirs. The South can recover its title-deeds in American democracy by now taking specific actions that would show its loyalty to the spirit of the law and to its own Negro citizens. These actions should include

—The immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demonstrators in any cities where charges are pending;

—The removal in all cities of segregated practices in governmental facilities and in stores, hotels, restaurants or other businesses serving the general public.

"Finally, we take note of the imminent desegregation of the University of Alabama, and of President Kennedy's straightforward remarks of May 22. The disorders of last fall at the University of Mississippi must not be allowed to recur. We are confident that Alabama students will act with the dignity and good will shown in January by the students of Clemson. We trust that President Kennedy and his Administration will be prepared to act forthrightly to insure that the Negro enrollees will not be delayed or harassed as they enter on their studies, and that the integrity of federal courts will not again be defamed."

The Southern Regional Council (5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga.) is a Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people in the South. Members of the Executive Committee are:

(Signed) James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, S. C., President of the Southern Regional Council;
John H. Wheeler, Durham, N.C., Chairman of the Executive Committee;
Albert W. Dent, New Orleans, La.
Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N.C.
Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Ga.
Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta, Ga.
Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tenn.
John A. Griffin, Tallahassee, Fla.
Grace T. Hamilton, Atlanta, Ga.
John P. Nelson, Jr., New Orleans, La.
Raymond Wheeler, Charlotte, N. C.
H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Fla.
Stephen J. Wright, Nashville, Tenn.
Thomas W. Young, Norfolk, Va.
Joseph F. Haas, Atlanta, Ga.

TULSA, OKLA.
WORLD
D. 96,467 S. 153,360

MAY 27 1963

WIDE RANGE FOR GRANTS

NEW YORK (UPI)—The Rockefeller Foundation Sunday announced first-quarter grants totaling $2,917,056 for such far-ranging subjects as promoting racial understanding in the South and collecting snails in Africa.

Foundation President J. George Harrar said that during the same period a total of 19 fellowships awarded to individuals from 14 countries became active, as well as 37 scholarships to individuals from 14 countries became active, as well as 37 scholarships to individuals from 13 nations.

Grants in the medical and natural sciences amounted to $1,009,215; agricultural sciences $785,155; humanities and social sciences $1,001,276, and general categories $121,410.

A grant of $50,000 was awarded "for the general support" of the interracial Southern Regional Council Inc., of Atlanta, Ga., which studies regional race relations problems and provides consultation to citizens' groups.

Dr. John B. Burch, curator of mollusks and assistant professor of zoology at the University of Michigan was awarded $3,000 to collect snails and observe schistosomiasis research in Africa.

Schistosomiasis is a disease transmitted to man by snails.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.
BROOKLYN EAGLE
DAILY & SUN.-CIRC.N.AVAIL.

MAY 27 1963

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SHEFFIELD, ALA.
TRI-CITIES DAILY
D. 10,583 S. 9,726

MAY 27 1963

Letter To The Editor

EQUALITY HAS BECOME A PRACTICAL NECESSITY

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Stephen J. Wright, Nashville, Tenn.
Thomas W. Young, Norfolk, Va.
Joseph F. Haas, Atlanta, Ga.

SAVANNAH, GA.
PRESS
D. 24,262

MAY 27 1963

Second Choice Facing South, Council Says

ATLANTA (UPI) — The U. S. Supreme Court's recent sit - in demonstration rulings present the South with its second historic choice in nine years, according to the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council.

The council, in a statement issued over the weekend, said the rulings set before the South "a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity and intelligence which we turned our backs on in 1954."

The integrationist group charged that the South responded to the 1954 school desegregation decision "with a self-blighting display of malice and futility." The group said the recent racial troubles in Birmingham, Ala. were only "the latest episode of this improverishing of the regional spirit."

The council called on the South to immediately drop charges against peaceful demonstrators in any cities where such charges are pending, and to end in all cities segregated practices in government facilities and in stores, hotels, restaurants and other businesses serving the general public.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.
TIMES-PICAYUNE
D. 193,514 S. 302,677

MAY 27 1963

SOUTH HAS NEW CHANCE, CLAIM

Must Not Avoid Responsibilities, View

ATLANTA (AP) — The U.S. Supreme Court sit-in decisions have given the South another opportunity to make use of its legal responsibilities in the civil rights struggle, the Southern Regional Council said.

The high tribunal ruled Monday that a state or city may not interfere in any fashion with peaceful racial sit-in demonstrations in public places of business.

The interracial council said in a statement signed by its executive committee that:

"Southern states and cities ought not again, or still, to evade and avoid legal responsibilities which clearly are theirs.

"The South can recover its title-deeds in American Democracy by now taking specific actions that would show its loyalty to the spirit of the law and to its own Negro citizens."

These actions, the council said, should include the immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demonstrators, and removal of segregated practices in governmental facilities and in businesses which serve the general public.

The council said that the Supreme Court decisions "moved our law a long step nearer the American ideal of equal rights." It added:

"These decisions confront the South again with an historic choice. They set before us a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity — and inteligence—which we turned our backs on in 1954."

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.
OKLAHOMAN
D. 167,008 S. 256,270

MAY 27 1963

Grants Total $3 Million

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WINTER HAVEN, FLA.
NEWS-CHIEF
D. 6,919 S. 7,305

MAY 28 1963

Council Praises High Court Edict

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TRENTON, N.J.
TIMES
D. 68,260

MAY 28 1963

The Mood Of The South

By Peter Lisagor

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — The deep south is inhabited by an unsettled race of white people, perplexed, resentful, and more than a little fearful.

There is a dim recognition among them of a revolutionary fervor among their hitherto docile Negro neighbors, and it mixes them up.

In varying degrees, they blame "outside agitators," "internal Quislings," the Kennedy brothers, the Supreme Court, the northern press, for stirring up trouble. The white man has carried the Negro "on his back," as one troubled white citizen put it, and deserves gratitude, not protest.

"Stop forcing us," implores a Huntsville businessman, "you're creting defiance and malice. Give us time."

"Waiting is just another way of saying we'll keep you in your place, discriminate against you as long as you let us," says a Negro leader.

Also Mixed Up

Many Negroes are mixed up, too. As a Birmingham Negro said recently, "we're seeing hate in the eyes of the white man for the first time." But this is not likely to deter their movement for an end to segregation in public places.

The mood of the south is one of uncertainty, confusion, doubt and fear.

Equality, says the Southern Regional Council, a group of white and Negro leaders, is more than an American ideal. "It has also become a practical necessity, but it is first of all an issue of human decency."

A Birmingham cab driver, speaking of the scheduled entry of a Negro into the University of Alabama on June 10, says, "somebody better change their mind, or there's going to be real trouble." He doesn't mean Gov. George Wallace who has vowed to stand in the university door to bar the Negro.

Not everyone is mixed up, however. Take Charles Morgan Jr., the first white lawyer in Alabama to handle the case of a Negro seeking to gain admission to a segregated school.

Morgan, 33, a large energetic man with an acute sense of civic duty and a brilliant product of the University of Alabama himself, is the lawyer for Dave McGlathery, the Negro mathematician at the Marshall Space Flight Center at Huntsville branch on June 10.

Morgan recognizes that his law practice may suffer, but he doesn't think about it much. "I'm not subjective about it," he says, "I'm a lawyer and I've handled all kinds of controversial cases."

Although sensitive to such concepts as justice and morality, Morgan seldom allows himself the luxury of debating these abstractions.

Getting McGlathery into the university and preventing disorder and damage to his alma mater are practical matters with him, and he works long hours at it.

If segregationist Gov. Wallace is a sworn foe, Morgan has many like - minded friends and allies in his battle. His telephone rings constantly, and he bubbles with ideas and advice for his insistent callers.

Not Afraid

He served as state chairman of the Kennedy-Johnson speakers' bureau in the 1960 presidential campaign. If any man in this tense city has reason to fear reprisals, it is Morgan. Yet he is good humored, relaxed — and unafraid.

There are others, less indentifiable, less willing to speak openly, swimming in a pressure tank, who are trying to achieve what they regard as an inevitable integration of the races in a peaceful manner. A few are moved by conviction, most of what they call "being realistic."

A Birmingham businessman, for example, was a dyed-in-the-wool segregationist before he went abroad a few years ago and witnessed left-wing demonstrations in the streets. His hosts politely plagued him about the situation of Negroes in the United States.

He came back determined to find an accommodation with the Negro. At the risk of ostracism, reprisals and even physical harm, he began to talk about the need to be reasonable and became a prime mover in biracial efforts to work out compromises. He is far from joining the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, but he perseveres in his search for "safety valve" measures, despite pressure and threats.

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS
NEWS
D. 73,874

MAY 28 1963

Confusion, Uncertainty, Fear And Doubt Mark Mood of South

Exclusive From
Chicago Daily News

By PETER LISAGOR
CHICAGO DAILY NEWS SERVICE

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — The Deep South is inhabited by an unsettled race of white people, perplexed, resentful, and more than a little fearful.

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GOVERNOR WALLACE

DAVE McGLATHERY

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● There are others, less identifiable, less willing to speak openly, swimming in a pressure tank, who are trying to achieve what they regard as an inevitable integration of the races in a peaceful manner. A few are moved by conviction, most by what they call "being realistic."

There is the newspaperman, fighting for candor and compromise, weighing how far he can go without being provocative or inflammatory, nervous about the future, his own and the region he loves.

And there is Alabama's governor himself. He refused to walk out of the 1948 Democratic national convention with other states' righters, Although Alabama's electoral votes went to Dixiecrat presidential candidate Strom Thurmond. In the state legislature, he was not anti-labor, anti-TVA, and on other issues foresook his conservative colleagues. Even his critics say he wasn't a bad circuit court judge for six years.

● In his unsuccessful race for governor against John Patterson in 1958, Wallace was not yet the strident segregationist he has become, and friends of his say that his defeat convinced him that the next time he ran he would out-holler all comers in proclaiming his determination to keep the Negro in his place.

This, he did — and won in a runoff against Tuscaloosa attorney Ryan De Graffernreid. Segregation was no longer just an effective political doctrine to Wallace; he had persuaded himself that it was right and just and "The ditch to die in" as Alabama's chief executive.

He is called a "nut" by onetime moderate friends. But, they add sorrowfully, it would be a mistake to assume that Wallace's pledge to stand in the university door in his defiance of the courts, to prevent a Negro's entrance, does not have enormous sympathy in the state of Alabama.

He has one leg up on martyrdom, they say, and "Little George" (he's 5-7 and weighs under 160) is hell-bent on going the distance, even if he has to pull the university down around his ears.

CORDELE, GA.
DISPATCH
D. 3,992

MAY 29 1963

DR. L. H. PITTS

Kerr Is Valedictorian—

Dr. Pitts To Speak At Clark Graduation

By BENJAMIN MURRAY

The seventh annual Commencement Exercise of the A. S. Clark School for the 1962-63 school term has been announced by Prin. George B. Tutt.

Sixty-nine prospective candidates for graduation and 38 faculty members are expected to don their caps, gowns and hoods in a colorful ceremony for the baccalaureate and graduation exercises. The commencement exercises has been set for Monday night at 8 o'clock in the school auditorium. The 69 seniors, under the sponsorship of Mrs. L. B. Bostic and Luke B. Brintley, are expected to receive diplomas during the final exercises. Awarding the diplomas will be George B. Tutt, principal.

Speaker for the occasion will be Dr. L. H. Pitts, president of Miles College in Birmingham, Ala. He is well-known throughout Georgia and the Southland especially to the people of this community for he served as principal of Holsey-Cobb Institute from 1948 to 1955, as well as pastor for the Bethel C. M. E. Church.

He is a native Georgian and received his elementary and high school education in the public

CHARLES C. KERR JR.

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He is a native Georgian and received his elementary and high school education in the public schools of Macon. Dr. Pitts has had wide and varied experiences working with high school students as well as college students, and is thus prepared to bring a challenging message to the graduating class.

Dr. Pitts, for five years Executive Secretary of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, received the A.B. degree from Paine College, the M.A. degree from Fisk University. He has done further study at Peabody College in Nashville, Tenn., Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio; completed residence requirements for the M.A. degree at Atlanta University and recently Paine College conferred upon him the Doctor of Divinity degree.

His other work experiences include serving as an instructor at Paine College, Director of Boys Work in Augusta and Nashville, Tenn., Director of Youth Work for the Seventh Episcopal District, C. M. E. Church, principal of Holsey-Cobb Institute, and Executive of Georgia Teachers and Education Assoiation.

Listed among Dr. Pitts' achievements in the areas of education and religion are:

Treasurer, Teachers Agency of Georgia; vice president, Commission on Cooperation and Council between the Methodist and Christian Methodist Episcopal Churches; Board of Directors, American Teachers Assn.; Board of Directors, Southern Regional Council, Board of Managers, Alabama Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers; Alabama State Teachers Association; National Education Association, Committee on Religion and Public Education; Alabama Council of Churches, and the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

The two top honor students are Charles C. Kerr Jr., valedictorian, who will deliver an address titled, "A High School Pupil's View of our American Democracy," and Beulah Marilyn Nance, salutatorian, whose address will be "What Freedom Means to a Teenager."

Other honor students named in order of rank are: Bennie L. Martin, Ruby J. Beal, Johnnie Lee Patrick Jr., Joe C. Smith, James T. Gaines, Ivory Smith, Laura Ann Thomas, Johnnie Mae Perry, Charlie Mae Hardeman, Johnny L. Cullers, Carol Lowe and Joseph Curtis West.

Following is a list of other prospective candidates for graduation:

Johnnie Melissa Atkins, Cora Lee

CHARLES C. KERR JR.

BEULAH M. NANCE

Barner, Orris Jean Bell, Verna Brown, Willie Charles Buffington, Earl Butler, James Carter, Mittie Carol Carter, Arthur Davis, Charlie Davis Jr., Annie Pearl Dean, Clementine Dean, Sammie Lee Dennard, Wilbert Dunn, Calvin Dyer, Sherrie Ann Edwards, Bennie Ruth Felder, R. G. Greene, James Calvin Hill, Bertha Mae Jackson, Joe Jackson Jr., Ruby Jean Jackson, Silas Jenkins, Annie Will Johnson, Frank Johnson, Helen Denease Johnson, Henry Johnson Jr., Buford Jones, Chester Jones, Betty Jean Lattimore, Samuel Lawrence Jr., Vernon Means, Joseph Mitchell Jr., Omie Jean Morgan, Laverta Elaine Outlaw, Claude Patrick Jr., Willie Charles Perry, Addie Ruth Poole, Willie James Ray, James Dorsey Reeves, Henry Grant Reynolds, Jerrie Dean Robinson, Jimmy Lee Robinson, Mattie Ellen Robinson, Oscar Lamar Robinson Jr., Allene Patricia Royal, Marva Ruth Singletary, Commie Lemarr Smith, Ozie Smith, Ruby Lee Smith, Corenthus Jesse Street Jr., William Street, Norman Arlema Toles, Johnny Wellons, and Frederick A. Wood Jr.

SAN JOSE, CALIF.
MERCURY
D. 76,'8'

MAY 30 1963 Rockefeller

Foundation Grants Cover Many Fields

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BROOKLYN, N.Y.
NEW YORK RECORDER
SAT. 18,254
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
JUN 1 1963

NEWS IN A NUTSHELL

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia.—The leaders of 30 independent African states agreed this week to form an "Organization of African Unity." They adopted an all-Africa charter providing for unity in a loose federation and for far-reaching cooperation in politics, economics, education and defense. Before adjourning their four-day conference, the heads of state or government also pledged to join in an effort to eradicate colonialism from the continent. . . . ATLANTA.—The Southern Regional Council stated this week that immediate elimination of segregation in all public facilities is a "practical necessity" for the South and the nation. Token steps, it said in a statement issued by its executive council, "already

(Continued on Page 3)

News In A Nutshell

(Continued from Page 1)

are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience." The 15 white and Negro Southern leaders, whose stated goal is equal opportunity for all persons in the region, said the Supreme Court's sit-in decision last Monday presented a historic choice. . . . ATLANTA. — The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Atlanta reecived its first Negro priest this week. The Rev. William E. Calhoun of Atlanta was ordained at the Cathedral of Christ the King. . .

NEW YORK Herald Tribune
D. 355,898 S. 451,270
JUN 2 1963

Negro Vote Drive Registers 115,000 In the South

DAYTON, Ohio (UPI).

An 11-state drive conducted by the nation's major civil rights organizations added more than 115,000 Negroes to Southern voter registration lists in the first year of operation, the project's director said Sunday.

The figures were announced for the first time by Wiley A. Branton, executive director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, following his appearance here before the annual convention of the Congress of Racial Equality.

Mr. Branton said the task had been accomplished by hundreds of field workers "despite apathy on the part of many Southern Negroes, intimidation from segregationists and a lack of full cooperation from the Federal government."

Another 25,000 Negroes who would have been purged from registration lists retained their voting rights through the project's efforts, Mr. Branton said, while "uncounted thousands" of Negroes registered for the first time

Only 1.5 million of the five million eligible Southern Negroes have been registered in the 11-state area of Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama and Virginia, he added.

"As more and more Negroes and thinking whites get to the polls, men like (U.S. Sen. Allen) Ellender (D., La.), (Mississippi Gov. Ross) Barnett, (Alabama Gov. George) Wallace and other racists will be driven from office," Mr. Branton predicted.

ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION
SUN. 504,755
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JUN 2 1963

RACIAL CRISIS

The Volcano Erupts

By United Press International

The cry rose all across the Southland like the spring crops pushing out of the soil.

"We want freedom. We want freedom."

They echoed through the streets of modern downtown business districts, the back alleys of squalid slums and rolled north to the Potomac. Their message was heard with a new sense of urgency at the White House.

There were cries in the North.

"We will not be moved," chanted hundreds of demonstrators in Philadelphia, "The City of Brotherly Love."

AN AMERICAN CRISIS one hundred years in the making jolted the nation with the frightening suddenness of a volcano many believed would never erupt.

The floodtide of protest marches, demonstrations, violence, threats and court action against racial segregation seemed ready to burst the dam that had held since the Civil War.

For Americans, it was a new kind of crisis. Instead of Havana, Moscow, or Berlin, the places involved were—in many instances—their own hometowns.

Birmingham, Jackson, Greensboro, Raleigh, Tallahassee, Philadelphia, Sacramento and New York. All figured in the crisis which stemmed from the "sugar coated" segregation of the North to flagrant civil rights violations in the South.

OFFICIALS WHO HAD wondered what the years ahead would bring now desperately planned for the months and weeks ahead.

President Kennedy was reported considering a nationwide appeal unless the tensions subsided.

New York Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, a Negro, paused on a European trip to tell a Paris news conference: "The white man is frightened."

EDITOR'S NOTE: Never have the events moved so rapidly in the field of Civil Rights. Protest marches in the South have led to violence and wholesale arrests. Demonstrations have spread from coast to coast. The government has stepped up its role in the field. President Kennedy was faced with the worst racial crisis since Lincoln. There was talk of new Civil Rights legislation. What was happening? What next? A UPI team of Alvin Spivak, Charlotte Moulton, and William J. Eaton in Washington, Al Kuettner and H. L. Stevenson in Atlanta, and correspondents in a score of bureaus report on the situation in this in-depth dispatch.

Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace strutted his defiance and still pledged "segregation forever." He vowed to personally "stand in the schoolhouse door" when Negroes attempt to enter Alabama white schools.

Two are scheduled to enter the University of Alabama for the summer term. Wallace says he will carry out his pledge.

Two thousand troops trained in riot control—sent by the President when bombings and street fighting erupted in Birmingham in mid-May—remained on the alert in Alabama, despite Wallace's protests.

The Hot Spots

Mississippi and Alabama, where public schools are rigidly segregated along with just about everything else, are hot spots.

An all-out campaign was promised by Negroes to break the

Turn to Page 27, Column 1

VOLCANO ERUPTS

Continued From Page 1

barriers in Jackson, Miss. The first day's action was a lunch counter sit-in.

Result: Three demonstrators beaten, kicked and smeared with catsup and mustard by jeering whites. Later, hundreds of Negro students burst without warning from their school, shouting "freedom, freedom" and hurling rocks at police. Temporary jail space for 10,000 was quickly arranged. The lines of communications between the races were all but broken.

On Saturday night, March 10, 1962, in Montgomery, Ala.,—a miserable cold and rainy night—Wallace kicked off his campaign for governor with a pledge.

He would, he said, "stand in the schoolhouse door" to block the entrance of Negroes to the state's white public schools.

On June 10, 1963, Wallace and the federal government may face each other headon in the gravest crisis since the Ole Miss desegregation showdown last fall. Two persons were killed in rioting that broke out when federal marshals forced the enrollment of Negro James Meredith at the University of Mississippi.

Wallace says he will be on hand when two Negroes seek to enroll at the all-white University of Alabama.

"It is my covenant with the people," he says.

MONDAY, the government goes into federal court in Birmingham to seek an injunction to block Wallace's "schoolhouse door" plans. Wallace is not expected to be on hand for the court proceeding. He vows he'll be there for the confrontation with whatever federal men—marshals or U.S. troops—are sent with Vivian Malone to the university campus in Tuscaloosa or David McGlathery to a branch at Huntsville.

Birmingham has been a powder keg for weeks.

More than 2,000 demonstrators were jailed early in May. Fire hoses and dogs were used to disperse sullen, taunting and rock-throwing Negroes. Then came a shaky truce, after a biracial group agreed to limited demands for desegregation in some downtown stores, better job opportunities for Negroes, and more talk about future steps.

But explosions rocked a Negro motel the night of May 11. Rioting broke out in the streets. Kennedy sent in troops to Alabama, ready to move into Birmingham. The truce was restored before they were needed.

It hangs precariously.

A federal judge has warned the city to prepare for school desegregation or he will draw up the plan himself.

The demonstrations could begin again if the biracial agreement comes unstuck.

The Tempo Quickens

"It's real grave. It could tear the country apart."

"There is a general awareness at the White House that Birmingham had indicated at least a much deeper emotional sort of craving, I guess you could call it, or need, on the part of the Negro to find progress that is more tangible even than we had thought we had come up with."

These are the words of men high in the Kennedy administration.

The men around Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy, the man carrying the ball most often in the government's civil rights push, view the spread of violence and demonstrations in the South with worried faces.

THE ADMINISTRATION is whipping a new Civil Rights bill into shape that will be aimed at ending segregation in stores, hotels, theaters and other public business places and schools. One proposal under consideration would ban segregation in any store involved in interstate commerce. An alternative would be to bar segregation in establishments regulated by the state—such as hotels—on constitutional grounds that such state-imposed race restrictions deprive Negroes of equal protection of the laws.

New Civil Rights legislation is due—within a matter of days.

The thrust of Robert Kennedy's message to businessmen about desegregation in Southern hotels, theaters, stores and restaurants is that lowering of racial restrictions is inevitable and should come about through Negro-white cooperation in each locality.

President Kennedy hastily summoned to a meeting Tuesday 100 business leaders who have interests in these facilities to discuss the discrimination that Negroes meet when they seek the privileges whites enjoy.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL has talked to other leaders, white and Negro.

He sat down in New York City May 24 with writer James Baldwin, singers Harry Belafonte and Lena Horne—all Negroes—and other artists.

Baldwin's comment afterward that Kennedy seemed "naive" about Negro attitudes that caught the headlines.

But perhaps a more important remark by Baldwin was overlooked. He said the conversations were, hopefully, the start of a dialogue that would lead to better understanding.

Progress and Problems

The dialogue between whites and Negroes is sometimes painful. It does not exist in many parts of the South.

Whites who held a firm grip on the Southern political structure found themselves negotiating with Negro leaders who used the threat of massive Negro demonstrations as a bargaining club.

Lunch counters were quickly desegregated in Lynchburg, Va., hotels in Charlotte, swimming pools in Durham, and Memphis. Motion picture theaters in Norfolk and Portsmouth, Va., quietly dropped their racial bars. In Philadelphia an agreement was reached to hire qualified Negroes at a school construction site—after a week of angry picketing by Civil Rights advocates, including women with baby carriages. There were scores of injuries as police tried to control the mob which grew daily.

THERE WERE OTHER tinderboxes, North and South. Some of them:

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—Again it was younger Negroes who led the way in marches protesting movie theater segregation. Tear gas was used to break up one protest. More than 250 demonstrators were arrested.

GREENSBORO, N.C. — Negro demonstrations broke out in Greensboro, Raleigh, Durham, Fayetteville and High Point, aimed at all forms of segregation. More than 3,000 were arrested—1,600 in Durham, another 1,300 in Greensboro. Truces were called while negotiators tried to head off new outbursts, and possible violence.

COLUMBIA, S.C.—Negro leaders in South Carolina, where one Negro quietly entered Clemson College but public schools remain rigidly segregated, called a "summit" meeting for June 5. They will plan some sort of "action" to push for desegregation in eight cities.

CHICAGO—Civil Rights leaders sense a mounting tide of impatience among the city's 813,000 Negroes. Trouble could come this summer. Urban League Director Edwin C. Berry says, "The mood is more critical than at any time I've ever seen it."

ENGLEWOOD, N.J.—Since September, 1961, Negroes have protested alleged "de facto" segregation that turned one school's enrollment into 98 per cent Negro because the neighborhood was heavily Negro. There have been demonstrations, sit-ins, rallies and economic boycotts.

In almost every big city of the nation with a large concentration of Negroes there was unrest. The situation in the South was being used by Negroes everywhere as a springboard for demonstrating against local conditions.

The Ballot Box

An estimated 1,548,000 Negroes are eligible to vote in 11 Southern states.

This number has grown in most of these states, sharply in some, because of active voter registration campaigns which also have flared into violence and sparked demonstrations in such places as Greenwood, Miss.

The effects of the new integration drive certainly will have on the 1964 presidential campaign were being studied by seasoned political planners on both Democratic and Republican sides.

Some Negro groups have consistently accused the Kennedy administration of failing to produce on Civil Rights promises. They were turning on the pressure to get as much as possible for both political camps. The time was ripe for collecting favors.

Another Emancipation Proclamation?

President Kennedy's growing concern over the race situation is as one close aide put it, twofold: "To prevent future violence, and to assure equal rights for all Americans—not only in the South, but in the North as well."

The urgency lies in probing for the answer to what should be done about it. Kennedy is convinced that legislation is hardly

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The urgency lies in probing for the answer to what should be done about it. Kennedy is convinced that legislation is hardly the end-all solution, so he contemplates other possibilities—personal appeals, meetings with governors and businessmen—and, when all else breaks down, use of federal muscle as exemplified in troops at Oxford, and the standby units near Birmingham.

A key question in Kennedy's mind is not only whether state and local authorities are able to cope with situations like Oxford or Birmingham—but whether they desire to do so.

"THE PRESIDENT is certainly aware of the mood of the Negro community," one aide has noted. Kennedy's stepup on the Civil Rights front reflects the serious attention he gives demands that have been made by Martin Luther King and other Negro leaders for action.

One of these demands has been a "second Emancipation Proclamation."

Kennedy has no intention of bowing to all the demands, including the proclamation, but he is convinced more must be done to satisfy the grievances. And sooner than he first expected.

One knowledgeable Kennedy aide says, "We are really proud of the strides we have made. But now we are really taking another look, with the idea of exceeding what we have been doing.

"Legislation is a part of it. There are other parts also.

"It is difficult to define this in terms of 'turning a corner' or a 'radical change.' It isn't a 'radical change' because we're not dealing with problems we haven't already been dealing with; it's just that we've got to move faster."

The Supreme Court

The words were "deliberate speed," but this judicial doctrine seemed vague and indefinite to many Negro leaders.

Race problems have had a prominent place on the Supreme Court's docket this term, as they have had for the past several years.

The most important decision was handed down May 27 in a case involving gradual desegregation of Memphis park and playground.

The court ruled unanimously that the "deliberate speed" doctrine which it built into school desegregation in 1955 not only does not apply to parks but it probably no longer applies to schools.

While federal district judges have discretion in fashioning remedies in all these situations, the opinion said, lower courts must bear in mind that constitutional rights are to be enjoyed now. Individual liberties are not vague promises and they are not to be denied merely because to grant them is not universally acceptable, the opinion said.

ON MAY 20, the court set aside trespass and criminal mischief convictions of student sit-in demonstrations in Greenville, S.C., New Orleans, Birmingham, and Durham, N.C., on grounds that the storekeepers involved were forced to segregate their lunch counters by unconstitutional ordinances or by edicts of local officials.

Therefore, the court said, trespass and other laws cannot be used to enforce these unconstitutional measures.

The court did not decide whether, with ordinances, a businessman would be free to pick his customers as he chose. That issue will be reargued next term in a case involving Glen Echo Amusement Park outside Washington.

The Road Ahead

"It is always the wrong time when we start asking for our rights," says Birmingham Negro leader Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth.

Negro leaders have shown no indication they intend to slow down their drive for equality.

Where once the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People carried the brunt of the effort to break down racial barriers, today there were many.

Leading agencies were the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by King, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee which was running the sit-ins, the Congress of Racial Equality and the Voter Education Project, a foundation-financed organization that concentrated on preparing Negroes to vote by 1964.

King, often criticized by other Negroes for his "love thy white neighbor" approach, has joined in the cry for immediate desegregation of everything.

"Time is running out," King told a recent integration rally. "We can't afford to stop now. Now is the time to get rid of segregation."

The NAACP, with its slogan "Free by '63," has begun concentrating its efforts on segregation in the non-South.

"We are not asking for something that is not our right," King told a reporter recently. "This is something we should have had for 100 years."

LIMA, OHIO
NEWS
D. 27,686

JUN 2 1963

Speaker Describes Racial Trouble

Health Center Dedicated

By JAN THOMAS
Lima News Correspondent

"I really should be back in Mississippi bailing out some of my students and staff," Dr. Adam D. Beittel, president of Tougaloo Southern Christian College, told an audience present for the dedication of the Bucher Health Center at Findlay College Saturday morning.

Beittel said he had learned that members of his faculty and student body were involved in the civil rights demonstrations in Jackson, Miss. He claimed Mississippi officials are determined to hold back the tide of change.

He described Tougaloo College as an "oasis of integration, in a desert of segregation, a common meeting place for men of good will across racial lines." He said his college has an integrated faculty and the student body is predominantly negro.

Dr. Beittel commented on the difficulties a college such as Tougaloo has in the south. He said there is little money available to this type of school.

Dr. Beittel said family income in Mississippi is well below the national average, and the negro family income is far below this.

Dr. Beittel said there is a promising movement going on in the south now. He cited cases of clergymen who have spoke out "against the spread of the doctrine of hate."

"All of these clergymen are under fire, some have already lost their jobs, but the voice of prophetic religion is beginning to be heard again," he said.

"We must learn to live together for we live in a world where white people are in the minority," Dr. Beittel said.

The dedication of the Bucher Health Center was held in front of the home, 1020 N. Cory.

Dr. J. Russell Bucher, a part time professor at Findlay College, donated the residence to the college in memory of his wife, Gladys Correll Bucher, who died in 1962.

Dr. Beittel graduated from Findlay College in 1922. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Findlay College during the dedication ceremony.

He became the eighth president of Tougaloo Southern Christian College Sept. 1, 1960. Before becoming president of the college, located five miles from Jackson, Miss., he served as dean of the chapel and member of the faculty at Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.

He served as president of Talladega College in Alabama from 1945 to 1952. Previously he served as dean of the college and professor of sociology at Guilford, as professor of religion at Earl College in North Carolina and as professor of religion at Earlham College in Indiana.

Dr. Beittel was born in Lancaster, Pa. After receiving his degree from Findlay College, he obtained his master's degree at Oberlin College, and his bachelor of divinity and doctor of philosophy degrees at the University of Chicago. He is a former chairman of the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council, former vice president of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes.

He now serves as national secretary of the United Negro College Fund, a member of the board of the Southern Regional Council, chairman of the Mississippi Advisory Committee of the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

The New York Times
D. 680,265 S. 1,306,418
JUN 2 1963

DONALD COMER, 85, TEXTILE MAN, DIES

Head of Alabama Mills Noted for Labor Innovations

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., June 1 (AP)—Donald Comer, who helped build Avondale Mills into a leading textile concern, died yesterday at the age of 85.

Mr. Comer was elected president of Avondale Mills in 1927, board chairman in 1938 and executive-committee chairman in 1951. The company operates 10 mills.

He is survived by his widow, three daughters, a son and three sisters.

Employe Policies Praised

James McDonald Comer was widely praised for the employe-management relations that prevailed in his mills. From 1948 to 1950, for example, he shared more than $12,000,000 in profits with his 7,000 mill workers.

"This isn't just profit sharing," he told an interviewer. "It's partnership with our people."

The magazine Dixie Business in Atlanta selected him in 1947 as the South's Man of the Year, "the nation's foremost example of the free-enterprise system at work." In 1955 the Textile Veterans Association gave him its achievement award.

A native of Comer, Ala., he was the son of Braxton Bragg Comer, an Alabama Governor and United States Senator. The son served as secretary of the B. B. Comer Sons Company and joined Avondale as secretary in 1907.

When his father took him off the family plantation to run a cotton mill, Donald Comer, as he was called, faced his first big problem: to stop boys from breaking the windows with slingshots.

His solution was to form a Boy Scout troop. Some 40 years later there were 50 troops in his mill towns.

Began Adult Education

When a little girl told him that she had learned to read and write in his mill schools but that her father could not write, he started adult-education courses.

While on vacation in Atlantic City during World War I, he decided that every family working for him ought to have seashore vacations, too. He bought land in Florida, built mess halls and camps and took the first busload of mill children from Alabama for their yearly vacation.

In the nineteen-thirties Mr. Comer was a leader in the fight to stop night work by women and children in Southern mills.

During World War II Mr. Comer served on the War Labor Board. Later, when Alabama leaders sought to convert war plants in Talladega County to peacetime uses as newsprint mills, Mr. Comer became chairman of the Coosa River Newsprint Company at Childersburg.

On the invitation of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, Mr. Comer went to Japan after the war to help rehabilitate Japanese textile mills, although he advocated protective tariffs.

In 1949 Mr. Comer headed a citizens group that urged revocation of the charter of the Alabama Ku Klux Klan.

He purchased a tract of land in Tallapoosa County, Ala., in 1951, for the settlement of a Dutch farm group to introduce its dairy-farming methods in the United States.

Mr. Comer had been a director of the Birmingham Fire Insurance Company, the American Mutual Liability Insurance Company of Boston and New York, the Central of Georgia Railway Company, the Ocean Steamship Company and the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta.

He had been a trustee of Emory College in Atlanta, the Birmingham Young Men's Christian Association and the Julius Rosenwald Fund. A former president of the American Cotton Manufacturers Association, Mr. Comer was also a director of the Cotton Textile Institute of New York and the Southern Regional Council and a former vice president of the American Bible Society.

BOSTON, MASS.
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
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Moderates Brace Race Triangle

By Bicknell Eubanks
Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

From the South

As the South rushes toward what could be a tragic regional explosion of conflict between Negroes and whites, frantic efforts are being made to square the racial triangle.

On one side of the triangle are the Negroes, impatient with the long wearisome process of seeking redress through federal courts. On the other are the staunchly defiant white segregationists who are determined to make an even tougher stand against the mounting drive for desegregation in all sectors of Southern civil, economic, and educational fields.

Ruling Hailed

At the base of the triangle, trying to form both a bridge and a rampart to keep the two sides from violent conflict, is the moderate South, aware that the measures adopted so far no longer meet Negro needs and impatience. And, for the first time, these Southern moderates are getting active support from the executive branch of the federal government.

One of the forces of moderation, the Southern Regional (SRC), tells the South that the sit-in decisions of May 20 by the Supreme Court of the United States have "moved our law a long step nearer the American ideal of equal rights."

The councol notes that in this country, "and particularly in the South, we are adopting measures which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience."

"Had we years ago vigorously defended voting rights in the courts," the SRC says, "had we made beginnings in the desegregation of public accommodations and services, had we established rules to protect fair and equal employment rights, had we done these and other like things then —which we are beginning to do now—they might have been in time. They are not any longer."

Statesmanship Urged

The SRC calls for a "statesmanship adequate for the times from national, state, and local governments and from private businesses" to quiet the "legitimate unrest of Negro citizens."

"We need to turn from the mere defense of voting rights against criminal violation to the positive assurance of voting rights; from token school desegregation to a loving concern for the education of all our children," the council insists. "We need in all of American life to accept and benefit from each other."

The council notes that the most recent judicial decisions come "at a time of promising events as well. In several Southern cities—Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Knoxville, and Nashville, among others—there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services."

Jackson Targeted

"Equality is an American ideal," the council says. "It has become a practical necessity. But it is first of all an issue of human decency."

As racial barriers come down elsewhere, white segregationists are shoring them up in Alabama and Mississippi.

The newest target of Negroes is Jackson, Miss., the state capital, which may turn out to be the hardest community yet to crack. An almost solid wall of resistance faces the Negro drive there, with not even a channel of communications existing through which the opposing sides can work to solve the problem. There are few moderates in Jackson.

Yet in the old south there are some hopeful signs of settlement.

Noninterference Asked

In Tuscaloosa, Ala., home of the University of Alabama, which is scheduled to begin desegregation June 10, more than 200 residents have signed a petition asking Gov. George Wallace of Alabama not to carry out his threat to stand between the campus and a Negro who will seek to enroll there June 10.

Tuscaloosa still recalls the brief but violent reaction again brief but violent reaction against the admittance of a Negro several years ago.

The Governor, however, has committed himself so strongly that he appears to have left no way to avoid a direct confrontation with federal authority such as that which led to violence at the University of Mississippi when Gov. Ross P. Barnett sought personally to bar James H. Meredith from the Ole Miss campus.

Pools to Integrate

Meanwhile, two days later, on June 12, a racial barrier will fall in the old South when all public swimming pools in Atlanta are desegregated.

In Texas, the City Council of San Antonio has set up a committee of businessmen to work out the integration of all privately owned businesses serving the public.

Also in Texas, the Third Court of Civil Appeals in Austin has ruled that a school district cannot spend its money to build segregated facilities. The decision arose at Georgetown, Texas, where a group of citizens supporting racial integration had filed a lawsuit opposing the issuance of $525,000 in bonds which the district voted last July.

The Georgetown School Board had planned to use the funds to build a new Negro school, a new junior - high school for white children, and expanding the white high school.

The region watches, meanwhile, for a sign from the White House as to what action will be coming from President Kennedy, who, as has his brother, Attorney General Robert S. Kennedy, been in contact with Southern business leaders seeking to push voluntary desegregation of private facilities such as lunch counters, hotels, and theaters as well as the upgrading of Negro job opportunities.

The administration's consideration of possible new civil-rights legislation also is arousing more than usual interest throughout the South.

CHICAGO, ILL.
DAILY DEFENDER
D. 35,795

JUN 5 1963

Buffalo

TODAY IN NEGRO HISTORY

By ALICE SCOTT
Acting Librarian, George Cleveland Hall Branch Library

The Southern Regional Council three years ago today reported that lunch counters had been desegregated in eight Southern cities. The business establishments reported that sales continued as usual.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.
WALL STREET JOURNAL
D. 145,901

PAGE ONE
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JUN 6 1963

Desegregated Jobs

Many Dixie Negroes Win Better Positions In Factories, Offices

Washington Pressure Speeds Gains; Lockheed Aircraft, Western Electric Set Pace

A Tale of Two Birminghams

By BURT SCHORR
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BIRMINGHAM — Throughout the recent Negro demonstrations against segregation here, Joseph Perdue reported as usual to his job at Hayes International Corp., a large aircraft maintenance firm adjacent to the Birmingham airport.

Mr. Perdue, who is a Negro, worked alongside whites inspecting Air Force planes for structural flaws. With other Negroes at Hayes, he used unmarked water fountains and rest rooms. At noon he lined up with whites to buy lunch from company meal carts.

Equal job opportunities and desegregated public facilities have been the major objectives of Negroes protesting here and in other Southern cities. But largely overlooked amid the headlines telling of demonstrations is the fact that a rising number of Dixie Negroes like Mr. Perdue have already made big strides toward these goals. "The ice is cracking," says Noyes Collinson, the Atlanta-area director of the American Friends Service Committee's "Employment on Merit" program, which seeks to place more qualified Negroes in "non-traditional" jobs.

Mr. Collinson is quick to add that Negro job seekers still face barriers in many places. A lot of companies hesitate to break with tradition. "We just can't move faster than the customs in our communities," contends one South Carolina textile executive. Despite the anti-discrimination pronouncements of national union leaders, white officials at the local level are often cool to the idea of upgrading Negroes. And even if a Negro wins a position previously restricted to whites, he may have to endure the unconcealed hostility of fellow workers.

Washington's Role

All the same, the signs of progress are unmistakable. One of the biggest factors behind Negroes' employment gains clearly is pressure from the Federal Government.

In 1961, following an Eisenhower precedent, President Kennedy issued an executive order calling for an end to discrimination in hiring by companies holding Government contracts or bidding for them. The order set up the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity—headed by Vice President Johnson and including other high Government officials and representatives of business, labor and the public—to formulate and carry out non-discrimination policies.

Desegregated Jobs: Many Negroes In the South Win Better Positions

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The committee has relied heavily on voluntary compliance with the Government rules, and some critics claim it has moved too slowly to open more jobs to Negroes. But it has suspended some small contractors from further bidding on Federal contracts because of discriminatory hiring practices, and individual Federal agencies have often acted to enforce its rules when awarding contracts.

This week the Administration gave further evidence of its determination to improve Negro job opportunities when Mr. Kennedy ordered intensified efforts to prevent discrimination in hiring workers for Government construction projects and in admitting young workers to Federally aided apprenticeship programs.

Says Hobart Taylor, Jr., executive vice chairman of the President's committee: "A very determined push is going on both in Government and among Government contractors."

At the Marietta, Ga., plant of Lockheed Aircraft Corp.—Georgia's largest private employer—over 6% of the 16,000-man work force are Negroes. While Lockheed has offered Negroes non-traditional jobs since the early 1950s, Negroes have made especially rapid progress at the plant since 1961.

Janitors Win Promotions

Negroes and whites now work together at Lockheed on the production of C-141 StarLifter cargo planes for the Air Force. Negroes are encouraged to prepare for better positions by attending company-sponsored classes. A recent issue of the plant newspaper pictures two former Negro janitors who advanced to production jobs after taking courses in blueprint-reading and mathematics. Negroes participate with whites in plant-sponsored bowling, golf, baseball and other recreational activities.

Conversations with Lockheed employes indicate a fellow worker's race is of secondary interest. "Uncle Sam got me over the shock when I was in the Army," observes a white Tennessee-born mathematician whose supervisor is a Negro. "Around here, if a man can do the job, that's all that matters."

In Greensboro, N.C., where over 1,400 Negroes, mostly students, have been arrested for downtown protests against segregated theaters and restaurants, Negro and white employes are found sharing cafeteria tables at the local Western Electric Co. plant.

"When we opened this plant during the Korean war, many Negroes were hired in the traditional jobs of cleaners and sweepers," says W. O. Conrad, plant manager. "But there are no Negroes in those jobs today. They've moved up the ladder and their places have been taken by white workers with seniority who otherwise would have been laid off because of production cutbacks."

Washing Airplanes

Mr. Perdue of Hayes International started 11 years ago in the company's wash-rack department. The job was cleaning aircraft, a task traditionally done by all-Negro crews. After a while, Mr. Perdue worked up to the job of metal conditioner, which entailed polishing metal. At the time this was one of the highest classifications a Negro could attain at Hayes, and Mr. Perdue stayed in the job for eight years.

In 1961, however, the Air Force, Hayes' principal customer, pressed the company to comply with Federal non-discrimination requirements for contractors. Hayes opened

Please Turn to Page 12, Column 2

Continued from First Page

additional jobs to Negroes and Mr. Perdue became a $2.58-an-hour inspection department trainee. Last year he moved to his present assignment at $2.64 an hour. His next goal: Learning to read blueprints so he will be eligible for a higher-paying machine shop inspector's job.

Here in Birmingham, Negro steel mill employes' prospects are brightening. Local plants of U.S. Steel Corp.'s Tennessee Coal & Iron division and Republic Steel Corp. employ 18,000 production workers, a third of them Negroes. Current United Steelworkers Union contracts with the companies include provisions aimed at opening higher job classifications to Negroes. But union spokesmen say the provisions would not be effective without the backing of Federal anti-discrimination regulations.

Traditionally Negroes employed by Birmingham steel mills had been limited largely to the lowest-ranking jobs. Now whites and Negroes in lower job classifications form a common pool for advancement to better jobs on the basis of seniority and merit. As a result more Negroes have been able to win jobs as millwrights and truck drivers, and one Negro has been working as an assistant roller in Tennessee Coal & Iron's Bessemer rolling mill, a once exclusively white position that pays $30 a day.

Besides prodding private firms to give Negroes a crack at better jobs, the Federal Government itself is hiring more Negroes. This trend is creating a small group of Negro white-collar workers in the South. For example, at the downtown Atlanta office of the Federal National Mortgage Association 13 of the 200 employes are Negroes. One is training to be a loan examiner.

"No one's greeting these Negroes like returning war heroes, but there's been no outward display of resentment," comments a Mississippi-born white supervisor in the Fannie Mae office.

North Carolina became the first former Confederate state to officially advocate equal employment opportunities with the creation by Gov. Terry Sanford in January of a Good Neighbor Council. The council, which eventually will have 24 business leaders as members, hopes to persuade companies to upgrade Negro employes. Six Tar Heel communities have created their own councils to work for a similar goal on the local level.

State Hires More Negroes

The state of North Carolina is taking steps to increase its own employment of qualified Negroes. The Conservation and Development Department is seeking Negro applicants for engineering aide and draftsman posts. At some state Employment Security Commission offices Negro staff members already handle both white and Negro job seekers and unemployment insurance applicants.

Executives in private industry say that firmness with white employes is often essential if Negro employes are to be accepted.

At one North Carolina cigaret factory a Negro woman was assigned to the non-traditional job of "catching" the output of an automatic cigaret-making machine. The white woman at the next machine made several slurring remarks.

"We called both the white girl and the colored girl up to the personnel office and explained that was not the proper way to approach the situation and we would not countenance any repetition," recalls the plant manager. "There were no further incidents."

A Columbia, S.C., cotton mill called in its supervisors last year and told them they had to cooperate with the company's intention to live up to the employment requirements of its Federal contracts. "We said that if they didn't choose to, they'd be given good recommendations for jobs elsewhere," says the mill manager. The supervisors, in turn, told production workers they would have to cooperate. At first, veteran Negro employes from the loading docks and other "outside" crews were upgraded to inside jobs. Then the mill began actively recruiting Negro high school and vocational school graduates. There are now about 25 Negroes in the 600-man production force, and all plant facilities have been desegregated without difficulty.

Unanswered Letters

Most Southern textile mills have no Federal contracts, however, and have made few moves to upgrade Negroes. Nor is resistance to equality in employment limited to the textile industry. Over the past 18 months the American Friends Service Committee's Southeastern headquarters in High Point, N.C., has sent letters to over 200 North Carolina firms in a variety of fields offering to provide competent "minority group" job applicants. "Only two companies really responded positively, and their letters led to two jobs," says Mrs. Sarah Herbin, a staff member in the office.

The effectiveness of one aspect of the Government's equal employment opportunity program is the subject of considerable controversy. The dispute involves the "Plans for Progress" pledges signed by over 100 large companies working on Government contracts. The pledges commit the firms to take "positive" steps to put qualified Negroes in better jobs, but do not require them to open up new positions to Negroes immediately.

The Administration contends that most companies are generally complying with their pledges. But the Southern Regional Council, an Atlanta organization dedicated to improving race relations, disagrees. It surveyed the Atlanta-area branch operations of 24 Plans for Progress firms a few months ago and found only seven able to produce "evidence of affirmative compliance with their pledges."

Resistance of union locals to desegregation on the job is often difficult to get around. In the steel mills here, for example, Negroes sometimes still find it difficult to win the advancement despite the contract provisions protecting their interests.

Explains a white grievance chairman for one Steelworkers local in Birmingham: "A Negro in the job pool can bid on a job, but a lot of the time a white with less seniority will get it. The Negro may complain, but he's bucking shop stewards and committeemen who just refuse to process any kind of grievance from a Negro. They're just representing whites."

A dearth of qualified Negro applicants is another stumbling block in the drive for better jobs for Negroes. "We have some employers willing and anxious to move, but segregated educational opportunities have meant unequal opportunities and it's difficult to find people with the right training," says an official of one group working for equality on the job.

BOSTON, MASS.
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
MONITOR
EASTERN EDITION
D. 174,850
JUN 6 1963

Moderates Seek Race Bridge

By Bicknell Eubanks
Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

From the South

As the South rushes toward what could be a tragic regional explosion of conflict between Negroes and whites, frantic efforts are being made to square the racial triangle.

On one side of the triangle are the Negroes, impatient with the long wearisome process of seeking redress through federal courts. On the other are the staunchly defiant white segregationists who are determined to make an even tougher stand against the mounting drive for desegregation in all sectors of Southern civil, economic, and educational fields.

Ruling Hailed

At the base of the triangle, trying to form both a bridge and a rampart to keep the two sides from violent conflict, is the moderate South, aware that the measures adopted so far no longer meet Negro needs and impatience. And, for the first time, these Southern moderates are getting active support from the executive branch of the federal government.

One of the forces of moderation, the Southern Regional Council (SRC), tells the South and the sot-in decisions of May 20 by the Supreme Court of the United States have "moved our law a long step nearer the American ideal of equal rights."

The council notes that in this country, "and particularly in the South, we are adopting measures which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience."

"Had we years ago vigorously defended voting rights in the courts," the SRC says, "had we made beginnings in the desegregation of public accommodations and services, had we established rules to protect fair and equal employment rights, had we done these and other like things then —which we are beginning to do now—they might have been in time. They are not any longer."

Statesmanship Urged

The SRC calls for a "statesmanship adequate for the times from national, state, and local governments and from private businesses" to quiet the "legitimate unrest of Negro citizens."

"We need to turn from the mere defense of voting rights against criminal violation to the positive assurance of voting rights; from token school desegregation to a loving concern for the education of all our children," the council insists. "We need in all of American life to accept and benefit from each other."

Jackson Targeted

The council notes that the most recent judicial decisions come "at a time of promising events as well. In several Southern cities—Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Knoxville, and Nashville, among others—there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services."

"Equality is an American ideal," the council says. "It has become a practical necessity. But it is first of all an issue of human decency."

As racial barriers come down elsewhere, white segregationists are shoring them up in Alabama and Mississippi.

The newest target of Negroes is Jackson, Miss., the state capital, which may turn out to be the hardest community yet to crack. An almost solid wall of resistance faces the Negro drive there, with not even a channel of communications existing through which the opposing sides can work to solve the problem. There are few moderates in Jackson.

Yet in the old south there are some hopeful signs of settlement.

In Tuscaloosa, Ala., home of the University of Alabama, which is scheduled to begin desegregation June 10, more than 200 residents have signed a petition asking Gov. George Wallace of Alabama not to carry out his threat to stand between the campus and a Negro who will seek to enroll there June 10.

Tuscaloosa still recalls the brief but violent reaction again brief but violent reaction against the admittance of a Negro several years ago.

MONTCLAIR, N.J.
TIMES
W. 9,358
JUN 6 1963

NCNW Council Plans Luncheon

Mrs. William T. Mason of Norfolk, Va., will speak on "Builders of Democracy in an Era of Crisis" at the annual luncheon of the Montclair Council, National Council of Negro Women, to be given Saturday at 1 P.M. at Montclair State College.

Mrs. Mason is a member of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Ga., and the American Christian Palestine Committee. She is currently serving as chairman of the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, and is a board member of the National Council of Negro Women, Inc., and the Norfolk Chapter, N.A.A.C.P. Mrs. Mason was formerly national president of the National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

Mrs. Mason has studied and traveled in Israel as a guest of the Israeli government and has journeyed through northern Africa, Europe, the Middle East, the West Indies, and throughout the United States.

She is a public relations consultant, and recently served as a consultant for the Peace Corps.

SCIENCE NEWS LETTER
WASHINGTON, D.C.
W. 77,387

JUN 8 1963

SOCIOLOGY

Charge Outside Agitation To Deny Own Guilt

➤ STRONG DEFENSE mechanisms are at work in charges by Alabamians that racial turmoil in Birmingham is caused by outside agitators.

Intimations of Communist interference are part of "a standard routine that one hears in any area of the South," an Atlanta, Ga., psychiatrist told SCIENCE SERVICE.

The accusations are "based on ignorance and denial," Dr. Robert Coles, research consultant to the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, said. White officials have no idea how the Negro feels, he said, nor will they talk with the Negro to find out what he wants. Instead, the accusers try "not to look at the situation." Denying their own responsibility, they attempt to place the blame on others.

If Southern officials faced the situation, Dr. Coles said, they would see the Negro will no longer put up with the sense of inferiority forced upon him, and he is now "willing and able" to do something about it.

Negroes in Birmingham will never be the same, Dr. Coles explained, for they have shown Birmingham and themselves that they no longer have to put up with inequality. Their self-respect has been "enormously enhanced" by their efforts, he said.

The schoolchildren also feel more self-respect, Dr. Coles said. The demonstrations are not hurting them psychologically. Dr. Coles, who studied the New Orleans and Atlanta children spearheading school desegregation, called Alabama officials' concern for the children's mental health "nonsense."

There will be more Birminghams in the years ahead, Dr. Coles predicted, as Negro hostility toward the whites for his inferior treatment comes to the surface.

• Science News Letter, 83:361 June 8, 1963

FORT PIERCE, FLA.
NEWS TRIBUNE
D: 9,006 S. 8,425

JUN 12 1963

'New Sense Of Urgency' Has Entered The Racial Picture

The nation's drawing room drapes no longer can shut out the 'sights and smells — and even the screams — of black slums." They are beginning to come downtown, and the drapes are no match for this. Unless responsible people act, the windows behind the drapes will be smashed.

This was the warning voiced in Daytona Beach by Paul Anthony, field director of Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, before the annual Spring meeting of the Florida Council on Human Relations.

Anthony, who travels the South as a mediator in racial disturbances for the Council, left Daytona Beach for Huntsville, Ala. to work with White and Negro leaders there in advance of admission of a student at the University of Alabama branch.

Aware of the racial crisis building in Daytona and other areas of Florida, the native Southerner urged the statewide interracial organization to concentrate its efforts on areas where "real potential for change exists," but to do so "not as White delivering to Negro or as Negro taking from White, but as people together freeing themselves from a thing which is harmful to all of us."

The people of Florida, Anthony said, must understand the "new sense of urgency" that has entered the racial picture through Council members interpreting what has happened all over the country and "exploding the myth of 'It can't happen here."

Urging an all out drive for more members, he said: "Surely if in Mississippi, with less population, a group of racist, anti-democratic bigots can boast of a membership of 80,000, we (the Florida Council for Human Relations) can talk in terms of 10,000 in Florida."

Birmingham, which Anthony witnessed at the height of its recent racial turmoil, "wakened a slumbering giant" which "no man and no group controlled." He said this giant is the hate that has been building up over the years of denial for the Negro and the spurning of their leadership by the White "power structure" as the Negroes sought to use persuasion and mediation.

"Maybe the 'downtrodden' Negro had the dignity of protest for one instant; the school child had the exhileration of 'I'm not gonna take it; I'm gonna change it now': the pool-hall drunk one night lashed out against the despised blue uniform instead of at himself—but after all this, when the quiet settles in, when the deep, segregated, tokenism, third class citizenship quiet settles in — hate settles with it."

A cause for the deepening hate, said Anthony, is that the Negro leaders have been betrayed even more than the Negro masses. In trying to lead according to the rules Whites established, he had placed his faith in good will and good intent, only to find their fruits delayed to some vague future.

Now the Negro leaders are joining the faceless mass that is the Negro, the SRC worker went on. Their calls to the White House have become impatient, and their new message to the Attorney General's office has become a theme of "go to the devil; I'm tired."

They have taken up the new technique of mass demonstration, the mass protest, the mass arrest. They and their militant young followers are growing more resentful of tokenism granted for the sake of creating "a better industrial climate, while the voice for "it is right" remains almost inaudible. And they resent not being seen, this late after emancipation, as individuals instead of as a "Negro."

"To the extent that it existed," Anthony said, "White politics created the 'Negro block vote.' Now, to the extent that it exists, White society is creating the Negro en masse. Behind the mask of color there is a beginning to exist the hard, insoluble grouping—Negro. White society has willed it, without alternative, and it is becoming so."

Anthony's talk climaxed a day in which Human Relations Councils from all over the state gathered on the campus of Bethune-Cookman College for discussions on recial problems. Here to conduct a workshop was Lou Mitchell of Birmingham, who will take over July 1 as the new state executive director of FCHR, with offices in Daytona Beach.

Attending the meeting from Fort Pierce were the Rev. J. R. Cliffin, newly elected president of the Fort Pierce Community Assn., Mrs. LeRoy Floyd, Jack Caynon and Dr. James M. Howard, members of the association's guidance committee.

Dr. Howard was there also as a member of the Florida Council's board of directors and of its executive committee.

ATLANTA, GA
WORLD
D 29 800

PAGE ONE CERTIFIED

JUN 11 1963

Institute On Leadership In South At ITC

The Institute on Negro Leadership in the Changing South continues its 8-day meeting today at the Interdenominational Theological Seminary.

The institute is sponsored by the Negro College Committee on Adult Education, Chicago, Dr. Stephen J. Wright, chairman and Peter E. Siegle, secretary. The seminar, which has attracted a large number of college and community leaders from over the South, is designed to study the major economic, political and social developments in the South over the past several years, in order to understand the meaning of the changes that are occurring and to arrive at a definition of the emerging new setting.

Dr. Dan Thompson, professor of sociology at Howard University, keynoted the institute Sunday night, delivering "A Manifesto for the Negro Leadership Classes."

The resident faculty and staff, excluding Thompson and Siegle, include C. H. Parrish, chairman of the Department of Sociology, University of Louisville, dean of the institute; Andrew P. Torrence, Dean of Academic Affairs, Tuskegee; Dr. S. M. Nabrit, president of Texas Southern University; Wiley A. Branton, project director of the Voter Education Project, Southern Regional Council; Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director, Southern Regional Council, and John Hope II, Assistant Executive Director for Government Employment, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

NEW YORK, N.Y.
WALL STREET JOURNAL
D. 326,200

JUN 13 1963

School Integration Likely to Become Easier Now That Major State Colleges Are Biracial

By JAMES C. TANNER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

TUSCALOOSA, Ala.—"Token integration is now a reality at every major state university in the South and it will become increasingly easy for Negroes to gain admission to formerly all-white schools."

This was the reaction of an official of the Southern Regional Council, a biracial group of Southerners who favor integration, to the news that two Negroes, Vivian Malone and James A. Hood, had been formally enrolled at the University of Alabama.

"Alabama probably represents the last big public battle over integrated education at the college level," the official added.

With the successful enrolment of the two Negro students at the Alabama campus, the number of tax-supported institutions of higher learning in the South that admit Negroes rose to 172. Only 68 state-owned colleges and universities in the 17 Southern and border states now bar Negroes, compared with 132 two years ago.

Many Integrate Quietly

Although many of the Southern schools—like the University of Alabama—have integrated only under court order, a growing number have decided voluntarily to abolish segregation barriers, the Southern Education Reporting Service said in Nashville. This week, for example, Armstrong Junior College in Savannah, Ga., quietly enrolled its first Negro student, becoming Georgia's fourth state college to do so. Last week Texas A&M voluntarily dropped its segregation policy and accepted three Negroes for the summer term.

This isn't to say that Negro educational problems at the college level have been completely resolved. In many instances the Southern schools have submitted only to "token" integration and Negro students still face lengthy and discouraging delays in efforts to enroll at predominately white universities. Nonetheless, racial leaders figure last fall's desegregation of the University of Mississippi and this week's developments here in Tuscaloosa have smashed the bulk of resistance to college desegregation.

Strides by Private Schools

Besides the strides being made in state-owned schools, private schools in the south also are dropping segregation policies. In the last two years 53 private colleges began admitting Negroes, including such larges schools as Tulane. Currently 147 of the South's private schools have integrated and at least six others have announced plans to do so within the next 15 months.

The Southern Education Reporting Service said 7,000 Negroes now go to class with whites in state-owned colleges. In addition, thousands more are attending college at formerly all-white private schools, but the Nashville organization said it didn't keep track of the total because many of these schools don't bother with a racial breakdown.

Arkansas, Kentucky, Maryland and Tennessee lead in the desegregation effort, with all tax-supported schools in these states open to both Negroes and whites. Texas, with 39 of its 54 state colleges desegregated, and North Carolina, with nine of 17, are next. Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina have been slowest in dropping racial bars, with one desegregated public university in each state.

Negro Activities Restricted

Negro encouragement at the pickup in Negro enrolments in the South has been dampened somewhat by severe restrictions often placed on activities of Negro students once they are on campus. Though Negroes have attended the University of Texas for 13 years, they still aren't permitted to participate in varsity athletics.

Even on this point Negroes are registering gains. Next fall, for example, several Atlantic Coast Conference schools will begin using Negroes on their football teams for the first time. The conference is primarily made up of schools in Maryland and the Carolinas.

In the Southeast Conference, which includes the Universities of Mississippi and Alabama, Negro athletes may also bow this fall.

This was disclosed a few weeks ago when the University of Kentucky announced it would permit Negroes to join its varsity athletic program.

TULSA, OKLA.
EAGLE
W. 6,500

JUN 13 1963

Between the Lines

By Dean Gordon Hancock

WASHINGTON NOT A HELL-HOLE

Ever since Washington made an honest attempt to integrate its public schools in accordance with the Supreme Court's decision in 1954, the Negro-phobe press of the Old South has gone about its subtle efforts to discredit Washington in the eyes of the world.

If it could be proved that Washington's integration was a great mistake, then the case of the Old South against integration would stand up. The Old South and its Negro-phobe press went out to prove that integration was a failure, because by integration Washington has been turned into a modern Sodom and Gomorroh with its unparalleled crime wave.

A serious attempt has been made to brainwash the nation by painting a lurid picture of crime in the nation's capitol. It has been made to appear that rape and robbery were routine in that fine city of culture and fine things. Washington's streets have been declared unsafe for the passers-by, and in short the city was the nation's hell-hole, and all because it went about public school integration as the whole South and nation should have gone about it.

In order to justify its massive resistance and its interposition tactics, the Old South went about the villification of a beautiful city to prove that integration was a great mistake. The lie about Washington's integration has been powerfully told by the Negro phobe press of the Old South, but the truth is just coming to light. Washington is not the hell-hole it has been painted!

Rape and robbery are not routine in that city that stands among the best governed cities of the land and one of the most orderly.

The Southern Regional Council in its May newsletter releases facts and figures based upon FBI reports which counter the big lie that Washington is the most criminal city in the land.

From the Council's newsletter we read: "These statistics are taken from a March 4, 1963 report of the FBI. This report also shows that in murder, non-negligent manslaughter, Atlanta is first with a 13.5 increase over 1961, and Washington is fourth with an increase of 3.4 per cent forcible rape. Chicago is first and Washington eighteenth with an 18 percent decrease; robbery, Chicago is first again and Washington sixth with a 16.6 per cent increase; burglary-breaking or entering, Los Angeles is first with a 6.4 increase, and Washington is sixteenth with a 2.4 per cent increase; larceny $50 and over, Los Angeles is first with a 6.5 per cent increase, and Washington is eighteenth with a 8.2 per cent increase auto theft, Chicago is first and Washington is fourteenth with a 5 per cent increase.

Only in aggravated assault is Washington first with an increase of 1.7 per cent. However, aggravated assaults increased in Los Angeles 2.6 per cent in Houston 12.9 per cent and in St. Louis 99.9 per cent. Washington stands high among the larger cities in law and order and while the crime rate is too high throughout the nation, there is no point in describing Washington as the hell-hole of America and just because of its stand on the desegregation of its schools in accordance with the dictates of the laws of the land.

Inasmuch as the FBI has come up with figures that give the lie to the preachments of the Negrophobe press of the Old South we are wondering which way will this press turn for food for its grist mills, which have ground out a big lie and proved it.

In all the major crimes Washington stands first in only one category and that is aggravated assault. In forcible rape which the Negrophobe press would have us believe is the Negro's specialty Washington is 18th and in robbery another supposed Negro specialty, Washington is sixth, with Chicago first.

But Washington has been held up to the world as the hell-hole of the land and all because of its policy on school integration. In the premise the distortion of fact has been abominable and dangerous.

The Old South and its Negrophobe press are millstones about the neck of our nation struggling for survival against communism.

LYNCHBURG, VA.
ADVANCE
D. 18,429

JUN 14 1963

Mrs. George S. Mitchell

African Politics Viewed By Visitor As Complicated

By LIB WILEY

Politics in Africa are too complicated for Mrs. George S. Mitchell to discuss she said in an interview at the apartment of her sister, Margaret Armstrong in The Parkmont where Mrs. Mitchell is a guest.

The visitor has recently returned after spending six months with her son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Philip Craib, at their home in Northern Rhodesia.

"I can tell you how vast the country is and how beautiful Africa is. I saw about one fourth of it and it took me five days and five nights to travel by train from Capetown to my destination in Rhodesia. The politics are too involved for me to try to understand, much less discuss the problems," the attractive woman declared.

The Craibs live in Kalulushi where Craib is a personnel worker with a large copper concern.

"There are no evidences of turmoil or trouble in the cities in Northern Rhodesia," Mrs. Mitchell said. "The cities and the shops are extremely modern with merchandise and architecture up to the minute. Africa is a fascinating continent," she added.

Before her marriage Mrs. Mitchell was a school librarian in Knoxville, Tenn. She is an alumna of Randolph-Macon Woman's College and she took her graduate work in library science at the Emory University Library School.

Since her husband's death last year, she says she would like to return to the work of school librarian "I like that phase best," she said "because I love working with children and with students."

Mrs. Mitchell's daughter, Charlotte, lives in New York where she is with the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

A few years ago the Mitchell family went to Scotland to live. Dr. Mitchell, a former Rhodes Scholar to Oxford University in England, became interested in living in Scotland after his retirement while he was a student in Great Britain, Mrs. Mitchell said. Scottish friends permitted the Mitchells to build a house on their land. Mrs. Mitchell laughs at the recollection.

"My memories of our life in Scotland are very happy ones but let me tell you building a house is no easy task. I was chief cement mixer," she recalled. The result was a house with enough bedrooms and two baths and ample accommodations for the Mitchells.

"We had lots of fun. We lived in the village of Glencoe and every one was wonderful to us. I felt they were truly our friends. We moved into the house when it simply had walls and a roof. One of our friends who came to see us remarked, 'this is the first time I have ever visited in the bare bones of a house!' We loved it and had a great time."

Mrs. Mitchell is naturally vitally interested in the progress of the Negro race and in race relations. She is the widow of a man who was an authority on the subject and Dr. Mitchell devoted his entire time working with the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, an inter-racial organization with a membership of both white and Negro leaders.

"I am not capable of commenting on any thing," Mrs. Mitchell remarked, "but," she added, "I am sure my husband would be bitterly disappointed at the turn events have taken. He hoped and believed and worked toward the end that everything and all problems between the races could be worked out amicably, intelligently and satisfactorily for all concerned."

GARDEN CITY, N.Y.
NEWSDAY
D. 344,789

JUN 14 1963

Increased Racial Effort Starts to Show Results

By Bernie Bookbinder

By mass demonstration, court order and quiet negotiation, the stepped-up campaign by integrationists this week began to make headway across the nation. Although civil rights leaders recognized that many of the concessions were merely token, they were also aware that they indicated a measure of progress.

From a public pool in Atlanta, where white and Negro children swam together for the first time, to a meeting room in San Francisco, where the school board announced it would eliminate de facto segregation, the barriers of discrimination were being breached. And it appeared that this kind of progress would continue to be made despite current outbreaks of racial violence.

The changes could be assessed from (1) how much has been accomplished and (2) how much remained.

The Southern School News reported that only 7.9 per cent of the 3,300,000 Negro children in the South attended classes with whites this year — an increase of merely .3 per cent over 1962.

But an official of the biracial Southern Regional Council said that the University of Alabama "probably represents the last big public battle over integrated education at the college level. Token integration is now a reality at every major state university in the South and it will become increasingly easy for Negroes to gain admission to formerly all-white schools."

The Southern Education Reporting Service said that of 240 state-owned colleges and universities in 17 southern and border states, 172 have admitted Negroes — 64 of them within the past two years. And 147 of the South's private colleges — including 53 in the past two years — have become integrated.

Headway on Other Fronts

On other fronts, Nashville's leading hotels, motels and restaurants have agreed to desegregate in what Negro leaders described as a "major breakthrough after three years of battling." The agreement was announced by a biracial committee appointed after a violent demonstration on May 13.

Similar committees are functioning in virtually all sections of the country. Their purpose, as expressed by University of Kansas Law Dean Frederick Lewis, head of the Kansas City committee, is "to keep ahead of the problem and do the right thing by all citizens of this community without force."

Last week such bodies were set up in Oklahoma City and Wayne County, Mich. Their effectiveness has been apparent in North Carolina, where hotels and restaurants dropped color bars in Winston-Salem, Raleigh, Durham, Statesville and Charlotte, theaters ended segregated seating and some municipal swimming pools were integrated. Just last night, Mayor David Schenck of Greensboro ordered immediate integration of his racially-troubled city's hotels, restaurants and theaters.

In many areas, integration was being accomplished quietly. Two Negro women entered Texarkana Junior College in northeast Texas without serious incident Wednesday, although in 1956 crowds of whites prevented Negro students from enrolling.

And in Little Rock, Ark., where schools were violently integrated in 1957, city officials said that restaurants, hotels, lunch counters and theaters have been desegregated in recent months.

In Orlando, Fla., a majority of businessmen have agreed to hire Negroes as clerks, salesmen, secretaries and in other "visible" jobs generally reserved for whites.

FLORENCE, ALA.
TIMES
D. 11,691 S. 11,191

JUN 15 1963

Letters To The Editor

THE BUSINESSMEN POINT THE WAY

Editor: Business groups in a number of southern cities have recently issued statements calling on all businesses serving the public to desegregate. The texts of these statements are reprinted below:

DIRECTORS OF THE RALEIGH, N. C., MERCHANTS BUREAU:

"God-fearing people, as responsible citizens, and all people of good will, must face the fact that peace in human relations is essential.

"Being charged with the responsibility of offering leadership to business in the community of Raleigh, we are convinced we should, without further delay, remove all policies in both government and business which deny rights and services because of race.

"The overriding challenge now confronting every Raleigh business person is to do these things that would further human relations and the continued growth of Raleigh."

CHARLOTTE, N. C., CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

"We, the Directors of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, recommend that all businesses in this community catering to the general public be opened immediately to all customers without regard to race, creed or color."

GREENSBORO, N. C., CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

"The Board of Directors of the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce endorses the principle of equal treatment for all persons, without regard to race, color or religion and urges business firms to begin immediately serving all persons of the community.

"The Board also recommends cooperation of community organizations to muster support of Greensboro citizens for the principle endorsed by this resolution."

"Further, in the interest of public safety and to encourage the continued development of good community relationships, the Board urges that gatherings of large masses of people, which endanger public safety and disrupt the orderly movement of people and traffic, be discontinued along with unlawful activities of any kind."

ATLANTA, GA., CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

"The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce has as its prime mission that of building a strong economy, one that all Atlanta citizens might share. This is [illegible] the climate of harmony and [illegible] operation that has [illegible] and [illegible] will be able to successfully continue its efforts only if this climate continues.

"The future of Atlanta is too bright and too sure to be tarnished by hatred, strife, and discord. The Chamber of Commerce will never allow itself to be placed in the position of trying to tell any proprietor how he should conduct his business. This choice belongs to each proprietor.

"Atlanta has too much ahead of her that needs to be accomplished to allow her attention to be diverted to nonproductive strife and conflict that can bring only chaos to the city and its people."

KNOXVILLE, TENN., CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

(A statement circulated for voluntary signatures in Knoxville; about 3,500 citizens had signed this statement as of June 3, 1963).

"Believing in the equal rights of all people. . .

And; believing that what is morally right is economically sound . . .

And, believing in observing the law of the land . . .

We, the undersigned, pledge ourselves to work peacefully for the prompt and orderly desegregation of all public facilities in our community."

(Signed) Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

ATLANTA, GA.
INQUIRER
W. 18,960

PAGE ONE CERTIFIED

JUN 15 1963

$10,000 Offered For Ever's Slayer

Medgar Evers

NAACP's Roy Wilkens and Ruby Hurley are among top officials who flew to Jackson Miss. this week after the Tuesday shooting in the back of their fellow worker. $10 thousand dollars reward is being offered for the apprehension of the murderer.

"Men love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil". This biblical statement never crossed the minds of the murderer who released a shot in the shadows of darkness and struck down 37 year old Medgar Evers, NAACP field secretary for the state of Mississippi.

Evers was born in Decatur, Mississippi and received his education in his native state at Alcorn A&M University. In 1952 he joined the NAACP and became a staff member of the organization in 1954.

No stranger to Mississippi

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

$10,000 Offered

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

violence, Evers witnessed more in his 37 years than a person should be exposed to in a lifetime. At the age of 14, he saw his father's friend lynched for "insulting a white woman". He became more involved in 1961 when police beat him in a courtroom for applauding Negro defendants. As recently as May 28 of this year, a bombing attempt was made on his home. Since that time Evers was reportedly quite edgy, fearing for the safety of his wife and three children, aged 9, 8, and 3 years.

The June 1, 1963 issue of the New York Times carried a story on the Quiet Integrationist - Man in the News. In this issue, the Times quoted Evers thusly: I may be going to heaven or hell, but I'll be going from Jackson (Miss.) . . . "We're going to get Negroes registered and voting, despite the literacy test. With that basic political power, we'll continue working toward economic strength." "When my sons are grown, they're going to find Jackson even better than New York City."

The newspaper article also pointed out the quiet, methodical manner in which Evers handled his affairs.

Atlantans who either knew Evers or were aware of his work had this to day of his untimely death:

Heman Sweat - Urban League - I think the death of Medgar Evers illustrates the stupidity of the common mind. It is ironical that the man who assassinated him though very likely white, was in Medgar's great vision a cold benefactor in the cause to which he gave of his young intelligent and militant soul. He was very truly one of America's great young men of this generation.

Clarence Coleman - Atlanta Urban League - The killing of Evers was an atrocious

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

$10,000 Offered

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

dastardly act. All the forces for good, churches and civic organizations, should do everything to bring the culprit to justice.

VERNON JORDAN - SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - Medgar Evers was a personal friend of mine. He was a good courageous person with an unusual sense of dedication and purpose in the area of civil rights in Mississippi. The freedom fight in Mississippi will never be the same without him. I have lost a close friend and I think his death was a damnable and inhuman act.

WILEY BRANTON -SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - Voter Education Project - I view the death of Medgar Evers as such a great personal loss that I have not had the time to think about his death in any other light. We were so closely associated on so many occasions that have great meaning to me.

I do not know how to really express my feelings over his death.

DONALD HOLLOWELL - ATTORNEY - I view the death of Medgar Evers with extreme regret and equally extreme alarm. He was an unusually amiable, effective and tireless worker for Human Rights. Few people were as dedicated or as enthusiastic. His loss to the civil rights field is national in scope. I sincerely trust we will not permit his untimely death to be in vain.

The Atlanta Branch NAACP sent telegrams to the Mayor of Jackson Mississippi, the Governor of Mississippi, and President Kennedy. A letter of condolence was also sent to Evers' family.

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800

PAGE ONE CERTIFIED

JUN 19 1963

Appeal Made In Airport Strike

Officials of the Union representing over 250 Negroes striking against the Dobbs House restaurant chain at the Atlanta airport are appealing to the general public for moral and active support for what they called "a rotten setup in which someone's got to do something about it."

Picketing action at the airport is in its second month with no sign of mediation with company officials in sight. The company, meanwhile, is continuing its operations with non-union workers, or what is commonly called "scabs."

The compay's apparent success in the use of these non-union workers (who are also Negroes), and the company's refusal to mediate with the union in ending the strike has caused the union great concern.

A decision to carry the issues involved to the public was reached by the union a few days ago. This is one of numerous moves designed to bring the issues out into the open and to level a many-front attack at Dobbs House.

THE PUBLIC SHOULD KNOW

W. B. Race of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union has said that since this is an action to get decent wages and working conditions for Negroes it is only fitting that the Negro public be told what the fight is about.

Race also said the Negro public, must be told how important is that they not hurt the cause of their own racial group by crossing their picket lines as Dobbs House customers or taking jobs as non-union workers.

Representatives of several organizations last week heard union representives appeal for their influence in getting the message of the strike issues to the masses. In addition to the press and radio, representatives of Atlanta Baptist Ministers Union, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta Negro Voters League and the Atlanta Urban League heard the appeal.

In reply to the union's appeal for public concern and support the Atlanta Baptist Union Tuesday went on record as backing the union's fight in behalf of the Negro strikers, and announced it would appoint committee to study the issues and make recommendations as to how ministers can put their backing into action.

In reviewing the issues and employee griviences which precipitated the strike the employees say they object to numerous company practices, including wages, overtime and reporting pay, uniforms, and what they say is a company rule that they pay for their meals "regardless."

PICKETS HARRASSED

The union, which won the right to represent the employees shortly before the strike started, more recently has charged the company, the airport patrol, and a private detective agency with constant har-

(Continued on Page 6, Col. 3)

Appeal Made

(Continued from Page One)

ressment of the pickets. There have been approximately 60 pickets arrested since the strike began, says the union, with charges ranging from too many congregating to attempted murder.

The union has made certain accusations on the company in its use of non-union workers, and charges Dobbs House with operating in violation of city ordiances and county health regulations. We are prepared to back up all of these charges we make against Dobbs House, says Joseph Jacobs, the union attorney.

One leading Negro minister, after listening to union and strike representives, said "Dobbs House is not hurt yet." Since they are not willing to arbitrate we must find a way to hurt them and to give moral and physical strength to those Negroes who are picketing.

ATLANTA, GA
WORLD
D. 29,800

PAGE ONE
CERTIFIED

JUN 20 1963

Meets 30 Leaders Saturday . . .

Hollowell, Branton Invited To JFK Rights Meet With Lawyers

President Kennedy has invited three Altanta Negro Lawyers along with a group of bar leaders to meet with him at the White House Friday to discuss certain aspects of the nation's civil rights problems.

The three Atlantans, civil rights lawyer Donald L. Hollowell, Willy Branton, director of Voter Education with the Southern Regional Council, and State Sen. Leroy Johnson, will meet today and map plans for their discussions with the President, it was learned.

The telegram to the lawyers stated: This matter merits serious and immediate attention, and I would be pleased to have you attend the meeting to be held in the East room of the White House. Please advise whether you will be able to attend.

Kennedy also invited 30 Negro and white leaders to meet with him Saturday for a discussion of the nation's racial problems.

The group includes the Rev. Martin Luther King and Roy Wilkins, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

A White House announcement said the Saturday morning session would be part of the continuing effort of the President to meet with a number of different groups on the racial problem confronting the nation.

Press Secretary Pierre Salinger stood on that statement when asked whether the meeting was in line with Kennedy's plea Wednesday for an end to racial demonstrations that could provoke violence while Congress considers his civil right proposals.

Kennedy already has discussed civil rights with specialized groups from the fields of business, labor, religion-and-Wednesday education. He will meet with a group a lawyers Friday.

The announcement of Saturday's session came after the President talked with 250 leading educators. He asked them to set up a committee that would work at the grass roots level to provide better schools ing wihout racial barriers.

Invitations were said to have gone out for Saturday to a group including the following: King and Wilkins; James Farmer, national secretary of the Committee on Racial Equality, (CORE); Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers; Boris Shishkin, director of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department; Ralph McGill, writer and editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Oscar Lee, executive director for race relations of the National Council of Churches; Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League; and A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800

JUN 23 1963

Race Relations Workers To Meet In Nashville

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — Over 140 workers in the field of race relations from more than 30 states are preparing to meet here from June 24 to July 6 for the 20th Annual Race Relations Institute, to be held at Fisk University. They will represent both public and private agencies ,ranging from state and municipal antidiscrimination commissions to church groups ,and other community organizations, working for interracial harmony.

The Institute, sponsored by the United Church of Christ, is the nation's oldest form for the discussion of racial problems. Throughout its 20 years of existence, as U. S. racial patterns have been undergoing increasingly rapid change, it has provided training for local leaders in intergroup relations. Many past participants are now involved in promoting peaceful and equitable resolutions to the current racial crisis in their own communities.

Dr. Herman H. Long, director of the Institute, states that its basic purpose is "to assess the status of current developments, provide authoritative information on the psychological, sociological, political, economic and religious aspects of intergroup problems, and to evaluate tehniques and strategies."

Dr. Long is Race Relations Secretary of the American Missionary Association Division of the United Church of Christ's Board for Home land Ministeries. This division and the Council for Christian Social Action of the same church have the responsibility for the yearly Institute program.

The Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. and Fisk University also assist in the presentation of the Institute.

The participants will hear government officials discuss the programs and problems of government agencies concerned with racial matters. These include the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, the Federal Housing Administration and the Public Housing Administration. Non-federal agencies represented are the Department of Labor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the Pennsylvania Commission on Human Relations.

Other Institute sessions will feature speakers from private organizations working to promote better human relations and equal opportunities for all citizens. Some of these will be the N. A. A. C. P., the Catholic Interracial Council, the American Jewish Committee, the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Christian Leadership Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Their topics will include the current status of school desegregation — north as well as south, the religious dimensions of racial issues, the historical background of U. S. race relations, race and housing, voter registration in the South, employment problems of minority groups, and the international implications of domestic racial conflict.

The problems and prospects of American Indians and Puerto Ricans will also be examined, rounding out the study of U. S. minority problems. There will also be a discussion of anti-Semitism in the U. S. today.

All speeches form the basis for seminar discussions among the participants, with questions directed to the speakers. In addition, there will be clinics and workshops concentrating on employment problems, community action, and religion and race. Films will also be shown, dealing with these and other aspects of racial issues which effect the lives of U. S. citizens today.

ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION
SUN. 504,755

JUN 23 1963

JFK Questions Marches In Meeting With King

No Pledge to Cease Either Asked or Given

By MARGARET SHANNON
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, June 22—President Kennedy questioned the advisability of racial demonstrations in a private meeting Saturday with Negro integration leader Martin Luther King Jr. of Atlanta, but did not ask for nor get a promise to call them off.

Dr. King said the President "made it clear that he has seen some of the constructive aspects of demonstrations, but some have led to violence and he is very much concerned about that."

The private meeting preceded a conference at which the President asked some 30 civil rights leaders for support for legislation he sent to Congress this week. He received their pledge of help.

DR. KING, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said that a plan for 100,000 Negroes to march on Washington this summer still stands.

He reported that President Kennedy said that "some had expressed to him the fear that it may hurt rather than help" the chances of passing the civil rights legislation.

But Dr. King said that he and other Negro leaders backing the idea "feel that if there is a filibuster, we will have no alternative" except to stage the massive demonstration in the capital.

The President "made it clear" to the larger group that he does not think racial demonstrations will be helpful while Congress considers the civil rights legislation, another participant in the conference said.

Whitney M. Young Jr. of New York, formerly of Atlanta, said, however, that no Negro leader present made any promise about a moratorium on demonstrations. Mr. Young is executive director of the National Urban League.

DR. KING said the President "hopes that all demonstrations will be peaceful and that any disturbances can be minimized." The Negro leader said he is doing all he can to see that his nonviolent approach is followed by demonstrators.

President Kennedy met with Dr. King privately for about half an hour. He also held a separate private meeting with Roy Wilkins of New York, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Wilkins, in talking to reporters, was noticeably cool toward the idea of any giant demonstration in Washington. "I have no plans to participate," he said.

DR. KING said details of the demonstration here have not been

Turn to Page 11, Column 3

MARCHES

Continued From Page 1

worked out and he is not sure yet that there will be sit-ins in the offices of Southern senators and House members, as proposed by some Negro leaders.

Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson and Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy attended the larger conference. The civil rights leaders present included advocates of varying ideas of how to go about ending racial discrimination.

The President remained in the meeting about an hour and a half and the discussion continued after he left. The meeting took place in the cabinet room at the White House.

BESIDES Dr. King, Atlantans on the list of participants included John Lewis of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Lesley Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council and James M. Dabbs, also of the council.

Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, whose name was on the list, was not present.

DAYTONA BEACH, FLA.
NEWS-JOURNAL
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JUN 2 3 1963

Our Culture Is Increasing, Too

Culture can soften the stern walls of existence and open windows in the heart to laughter, conjecture and gentle wonder.

The past year in the Greater Daytona Beach Area brought an upsurge in cultural activity matching the increased population.

The dictionary defines culture as "the training, improvement and refinement of mind, morals or taste."

In the colorful forms and movement of art, the caress of music, or the challenge of ideas discussed or read, many find a balance of sanity modifying the increased pressures and regimentation of an automated era.

Whether the inclination of the individual was toward dramatics or discussion, chamber music or musical comedy, participation or observation, there were offerings during the past year in the Daytona Beach area to please and improve the "mind, morals or taste."

Dramatics for all ages were at Peabody Auditorium, the Little Theater, and in nightblooming coffee houses.

Music from abroad, Broadway and band rooms of Florida high schools and colleges was presented by the Florida Symphony, Civic Music Assn., Tourist Club, and by the City of Daytona Beach Recreation Dept. at the Bandshell.

Subjects ranging from parental authority to the Peace Corps, from great books to grim human responsibilities, were discussed at the Open Forum meetings and by individual groups of the area.

Art dabblers, devotees and critics were kept busy by shows and activities of the Art League, Beaux Arts, the Museum of Arts and Sciences, and individual artists and designers.

Light and sprightly music and patter brought sellout crowds for two independent Peabody Auditorium offerings that highpointed the lighter side of the past year. The first was a full road company production of the Broadway musical, "Carnival," that jammed the house in November. The second SRO engagement was "An Evening With Victor Borge" in February that showcased the rapid wit and keyboard talent of the "great Dane" for a solid two hours of in the aisle entertainment.

Other Peabody Auditorium programs ran the gamut from Grand Old Opry twang and suds in your eye vaudeville to the science of surfboarding and diamond evaluation.

A high voltage finale to Little [illegible] 1962-63 terlude that prefaced the LT season's biggest success; February's swinging, singing "Bells Are Ringing."

A stark view of the good earth was vividly portrayed in March by the Green Room players in "An Evening with Tennessee Williams," but the outlook brightened with April's madcap "Come Blow Your Horn."

The light but deft touch of the young was given the sprightly old lines of "Ladies in Retirement," by senior members of LT's Junior Theater in May; and the still younger Junior Theater set proved they were professionals, too, in that month's "Cinderella."

"Antigone," a Greek tragedy in modern dress, was a bonus performance for LT audiences that closed the season and opened the Florida Theater Festival.

Over the years the Daytona Beach Open Forum has brought to this area a long roster of illustrious names. It has probably sparked more debate and discussion than any other local activity.

In the 50 years the Open Forum has been in existence, there have been several occasions when lack of finances threatened to end the thought prokoving sessions. The latest crisis came halfway through this past year's season.

State and national political structure was analyzed Jan. 13 by Dr. William G. Carleton, University of Florida professor emeritus of political science.

The responsibilities of those in educational fields were pointed out by Dr. Louis Joughin, associate secretary of the American Assn. of University Professors, on the Open Forum Jan. 20.

A "bonus" speaker was U. S. Sen. Birch Bayh, Indiana Democrat, on Jan. 27. Sen. Bayh outlined his views of Medicare as a strong advocate of the King-Anderson - Javits medicare program.

The U. S. and U. N.'s potential for peace was discussed Feb. 3, by B. Tartt Bell, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee's Southeastern Office, and associate director of the U. N. program of the Quakers.

Edith Green, U. S. Representative from Oregon's Third Dist., seored the religious controversy that has hampered passage of a federal aid to education bill in her Forum talk Feb. 10.

"No longer can we depend on our natural resources, luck and pluck," she emphasized, "We realize now that brainpower, including competent scientists, is our first line of defense."

The story of Pres. Kennedy's Peace Corps was told Feb. 17 by John Hutchison, administrative officer in the Corps' selection division.

Deviating from politics and international affairs, the Feb. 24 Open Forum dealt with the fine arts and their interpretation. Philip Rhys Adams, director of the Cincinnati Art Museum and Art Academy of Cincinnati, enlarged on the opinion that art is the lasting reflector of a country's character.

"The population Explosion, a Challenge to Responsible Action," was the topic of Richard M. Fagley, at the March 3 Forum. Dr. Fagley is executive secretary for the Commission of the Church of International Affairs, World Council of Churches, New York City.

U. S. Sen. Sherman Cooper, Republican Senator from Kentucky, announced his feelings on Senate reform March 10. Members of the Senate waste too much valuable time on filibusters, traveling between committees and chambers for votes, on late arrivals at committee meetings who hold up progress until they are briefed on the part of the meeting they missed, Cooper stated.

The final offering of the Open Forum season, March 17, came in two parts.

The first was a program danced by the Daytona Beach Civic Ballet Company, a group of junior high school students and young people of high school and college age who are studying ballet, and meet once a week to perform together.

The speaker's part of the program brought the audience from the fantasy world of ballet to the stark reality of today, with a sharp edged description of Southern statesmanship by Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta.

Tourist Club is a nonprofit organization established to bring quality programs of broad interest to the area, and make them available at minimal cost. The club was formed primarily to serve low income retired residents, but has grown to include members of all ages and income. Membership has become so large almost every [illegible]

Brahms concert Jan. 23. One reviewer described the evening thusly: "Under the distinguished direction of Wallenstein, the (Florida Symphony) orchestra performed with vigor and enthusiasm. The symphony was particularly well done, and the main credit goes to Wallenstein, who obviously knows what he wants and how to go after it."

The bright and spritely score of Humperdinck's "Hansel and Gretel" charmed Daytona Beach's younger set (and escorting adults) at a special children's matinee Feb. 9. The musical adaptation of Grimm's fairy tale was played by the Florida Symphony, and danced by the Edith Royal Ballet Troup of Orlando.

Applause at the Feb. 15 program finale was as much for the fine effect of a newly installed acoustical shell that smoothed and properly diffused the skillfully orchestrated sound of the Symphony as it was for the brilliant, impeccable piano style of guest soloist Rudolph Firkusny.

An 18 year old pianist, Lorin Hollander, was guest at the next to last concert March 27.

A young people's matinee and a full evening performance of Haydn and Verdi selections augmented by four soloists and the massed choirs of Rollins College concluded the Florida Symphony's season April 4. The final, towering chords that closed the 1963 season had barely faded, however, before some of the guest soloists for the coming season were announced.

Cesare Siepi, Van Cliburn, Andre Previn and Isaac Stern are signed as guests for next Winter's season — strong inducement to acquire season tickets.

An effort to list the dozens of groups of artists active in the area would be a truly formidable task.

There are those who create with words, with water colors, with wire and wheels. They work with pottery, photography, and bits of dried geography. And all of them are artists. Some are schooled in the lines of formal design, others of all ages are attending arts and crafts classes, and many work alone with their individual, self taught forms of expression.

Some of the larger groups of area artists are the Daytona Beach Art League, the Art Center, the Beaux Arts Club; and the more inclusive Volusia County Artists Assn. and Florida Artists Group.

The work of individuals, classes and clubs are displayed throughout the year at small showings in lobbies, show windows and art galleries, in conjunction with social and civic club events, and in sidewalk exhibits usually tied in with large scale area activities.

Statewide and national interest was attracted to the Daytona Beach area in March by the Daytona Beach Sidewalk Art Festival in Riverfront Park. Artists, photographers, sculptors and craftsmen from throughout the state displayed their works in a two day exhibit to benefit the growing Museum of Arts and Sciences, sponsored by the Downtown Merchants Assn.

The organization most actively supported by organizational activities in the past year has been the Museum of Arts and Sciences, presently housed on the campus of the Daytona Beach Junior College.

In addition to the donations of various civic groups this past year, the Museum was advised that Volusia County Commissioners had allocated it a $10,000 operating fund, to be used when the new Museum building has been built and is in operation.

The museum presently offers exhibits and artifacts, children's nature and art programs and field trips, lectures on archaeology, science and modern art, and archaeology diggings.

A lease has been obtained on a section of Tuscawilla Park for a Children's Museum; and plans are now being made for an early construction date.

"Sound of Music," the touring Broadway musical by Rodgers and Hammerstein, Lindsay and Crouse and other assorted notables, delighted the largest Civic Music Assn. audience in history at Peabody Auditorium in March. The auditorium was filled.

Packed audiences have become a habit with Civic Music, and last year's advance membership sold out for the first time in the association's history.

In addition to the smash hit musical, Civic Music's 25th anniversary season offered a concert by the Vienna Choir Boys Jan. 21 and one by pianist James Mathis Feb. 7.

The Ramat - Gan Israeli Chamber Orchestra, comprised of 12 young men and women instrumentalists on their first tour of North America, played for members and guests Feb. 24.

Civic Music's final concert, by baritone Theodore Uppmann, was sprinkled liberally with seldom heard selections. Included in the program were an aria from "The Damnation of Faust," and a group of contemporary songs by Ives, Cowell, and Vaughn Williams.

There are many more area, neighborhood, interorganizational and private groups that meet regularly to share a love of music, or handwork, discussion or design.

Where people gather to share a mutual interest in books, in history, in anything that improves the mind and sensibilities, the community is enriched by the association.

Without these groups, without such "cultural" influence, it would be a drab and joyless World.

"mind, morals or taste."

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Other Peabody Auditorium programs ran the gamut from Grand Old Opry twang and suds in your eye vaudeville to the science of surfboarding and diamond evaluation.

A high voltage finale to Little Theater activities for the 1962-63 season was the fourth annual Florida Theater Festival in Daytona Beach June 8 through 15. The festival schedule this year called for afternoon drama seminars at the Voyager Motel, and performances each night at the Little Theater riverfront location on Jessamine Blvd. Represented were dramatic groups from Barry College, Miami; University of South Florida's Drama Dept., Fort Lauderdale Children's Theater; Florida Players of the University of Florida; Orlando Players Little Theater; Miami Dade County Junior College; and the Orange Blossom Players from Orlando.

The versatility of our Little Theater players was displayed. "Gigi," in October, was a bit of French fluff; and November's "Country Girl," by Clifford Odets, was American flavored comedy.

The experimental LT Green Room players put on the controversial "Hat Full of Rain" in December; balanced by the Gremlins, youngest Little Theater members, who started the New Year by taking the audience to "Alice in Wonderland's" magic world.

It was back to reality, of sorts, for January's "Everybody Loves Opal," a merrily murderous in-

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The last Tourist Club season began Dec. 4, and consisted of 15 weekly programs of music, travelogues and vocal groups.

Music was provided by the Stetson University Concert Band, Seabreeze High School Band, and the University of Florida Orchestra and Gator Band.

Vocal entertainment was by the University of Florida Woman's Glee Club, Stetson University Concert Choir, and barbershop harmonizers from the SPEBSQSA.

Armchair travelers, by way of color films, visited countries from Tasmania to the Tropics; including Italy, Central America, Puerto Rico and the Mediterranean.

Exceptional programs were the Christmas Oratorio by the Stetson University Concert Choir and Orchestra, and a special performance by the Stetson University players of the comedy, "Boy Friend."

Classic orchestral studies of melodic theme and counterpoint as well as experimental tonal patterns were developed under the baton of Henry Mazer in the Florida Symphony Orchestra's 12th Daytona Beach season this year.

The Orlando based orchestra opened its season here Jan. 9 with a program of Mendelssohn, Beethoven, Debussy and Prokofieff.

Alfred Wallenstein, of Carnegie Hall Symphony of the Air, was guest conductor of an all

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A young people's matinee and

alone with their self taught formi sion.

Some of the lar area artists are th

CHICAGO, ILL.
SUN-TIMES
D. 543,420 S. 651,327
JUN 23 1963

PAGE ONE
CERTIFIED

New Rights Marches Due

By Julius Duscha
Washington Post Special

WASHINGTON—President Kennedy warned Negro leaders Saturday of the dangers of peaceful civil-rights demonstrations leading to violence. But in a 90-minute White House meeting with Negro and white leaders of civil-rights organizations, the President did not call for an end to demonstrations.

The leaders, who included Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Roy Wilkins of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, told Mr. Kennedy that demonstrations would continue.

"I made it very clear we could not in all good conscience call off any massive demonstrations," Dr. King told reporters after the meeting, "until the problems that brought these demonstrations into being are solved."

Among the demonstrations being planned by Dr. King's organization is a march on Washington by 100,000 persons in mid-August. The demonstration would be part of an effort to get Congress to pass the President's civil rights program.

Dr. King said it had not yet been decided whether the marchers would stage a sit-in at the Capitol and in the Senate and House office buildings.

Shortly after the President

Turn to Page 4

Kennedy Told Rights Marches To Go On

Continued from Page 1

met with the Negro and white leaders the White House announced two major civil rights actions taken by Mr. Kennedy.

1 He issued an executive order giving government agencies the authority to cut off federal funds from any construction project where there is discrimination against Negroes.

2 He sent to Defense Sec. Robert S. McNamara a report prepared by a White House advisory committee recommending the armed services consider the closing of military installation in areas where there is discrimination and asked McNamara for his recommendations for action on the report within 30 days.

Racial disturbances continue in many states. Story on Page 16.

Public's attitude on racially mixed neighborhoods. See Gallup Poll, Page 10, Section Two.

Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy (left) talks with Negro leaders on the White House grounds. With him are (l. to r.) Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Roy T. Wilkins, National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, and A. Phillip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. (AP)

In Eighth Meeting

The meeting with civil rights leaders was the eighth that the President has held during the last two and a half weeks with community leaders from throughout the nation.

At the White House meetings he conferred with more than 1,000 businessmen, labor leaders, churchmen, educators and lawyers as well as governors and the civil rights leaders in an unprecedented effort to bring about desegregation of public accommodations and other civil rights advances on a voluntary basis. Similar meetings with other groups are planned when he returns from Europe.

Before meeting with the 30 Negro and white leaders, Mr. Kennedy had separate half-hour conferences with Dr. King and Wilkins, two of the principal forces in the Negro civil rights movement.

At both of these meetings as well as at the conference with all 30 of the civil rights leaders the President made no direct plea for the halting of demonstrations.

But he sought to convey his fear that demonstrations, however peaceful their intent may be, could lead to violence that would set back the progress being made by civil rights advocates.

One participant in the meeting said afterward that Mr. Kennedy obviously understood that the civil rights leaders hesitate to call off demonstrations because of the successes they have had with them in breaking down racial barriers and also because of the intensifying rivalries among Negro organizations.

The President seemed to be saying, this participant said, "Look, you've got your problems, but remember that I have my problems."

Mr. Kennedy did ask for, and promptly received, a pledge of help from the civil rights leaders in getting Congress to approve the broad civil rights program that he sent to Capitol Hill on Wednesday.

Government sources said the President and his aides are most concerned about demonstrations that have no specific purpose and that seemed designed to harass and intimidate local officials and businessmen.

Peaceful demonstrations organized in accordance with municipal ordinances and state laws and carried out with a specific goal in mind are less likely to bring violence and consequently are of less concern to the administration, it was said.

In talking with reporters about demonstrations after the White House meeting, Dr. King said violence usually was caused by "bystanders or brutal police forces."

Suggests New Group

"I would not go along with violent demonstrations at any time," he added. "I would be the first to urge everyone engaged to call them off. But these will be peaceful, nonviolent demonstrations."

Wilkins said the President suggested establishment of a new co-ordinating group to bring together church societies, service clubs and civic groups into the campaign for civil rights legislation.

"I offered support in grass roots work and not just pronouncements," Wilkins said. "I mean doorbell ringing, neighborhood and precinct work."

Among others attending the meeting were James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality, James M. Dabbs of the Southern Regional Council, president Walter P. Reuther of the AFL-CIO United Auto Workers, Whitney M. Young Jr. of the National Urban League, and Joseph M. Rauch of Americans for Democratic Action.

Johnson Takes Over

The White House meetings started at 9:30 a.m. The President left at 11:55. About 30 minutes later he went by helicopter to Camp David, Md., to spend a few hours with his family before taking off for Europe.

The conference continued with Vice President Johnson presiding. Then a number of the Negro leaders went to lunch together to discuss future strategy.

Both Wilkins and Dr. King insisted that reports about disagreement between the three major Negro groups—NAACP, Christian Leadership Conference and CORE—had been exaggerated.

Dr. King said: "We are united as never before."

Nevertheless, Wilkins said he had not been informed of the plans to march on Washington, except through the newspapers. Dr. King, whose group is considered more militant than the older NAACP, said conferences on the subject would be held this week.

MEMPHIS, TENN.
TRI-STATE DEFENDER
W. 24,000

JUN 29 1963

Race Relations Institute In Session On Fisk U. Campus

NASHVILLE — Over 140 workers in the field of race relations from more than 30 states are meeting here from June 24 to July 6 for the 20th Annual Race Relations Institute, at Fisk university, and represent public and private agencies, ranging from state and municipal antidiscrimination commissions to church groups, and other community organizations working for interracial harmony.

The Institute, sponsored by the United Church of Christ, is the nation's oldest forum for the discussion of racial problems. Throughout its 20 years of existence, it has provided training for local leaders in intergroup relations. Many past participants are now involved in promoting peaceful and equitable resolutions to the current racial crisis in their own communities.

Dr. Herman H. Long director of the Institute, states that its basic purpose is "to assess the status of current developments, provide authoritative information on the psychological, sociological, political, economic and religious aspects of intergroup problems, and to evaluate techniques and strategies."

Dr. Long is Race Relations Secretary of the American Missionary Association Division of the United Church of Christ's Board for Homeland Ministries. This division and the Council for Christian Social Action of the same church have the responsibility for the yearly Institute program.

The Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and Fisk University also assist in the presentation of the Institute.

GOVERNMENT SPEAKERS

The participants will hear government officials discuss the programs and problems of such government agencies concerned with racial matters as the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, the U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, the Federal Housing Administration and the Public Housing Administration. Non-federal agencies represented are the Department of Labor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the Pennsylvania Commission on Human Relations.

Other Institute sessions feature speakers from private organizations working to promote better human relations and equal opportunities for all citizens. These include the NAACP, the Catholic Interraical Council, the American Jewish Committee, the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Christian Leadership Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Topics include the current status of school desegregation — north as well as south, the religious dimensions of racial issues, the historical background of the U. S. race relations, race and housing, voter registration in the South, employment problems of minority groups, and the international implications of domestic racial conflict.

The problems and prospects of American Indians and Puerto Ricans will also be examined, rounding out the study of U.S. minority problems. There will also be a discussion of anti-Semitism in the U. S. today.

MEMPHIS, TENN.
WORLD
TW. 7,400

JUN 29 1963

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MEMPHIS, TENN.
TRI-STATE DEFENDER
W. 24,000

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ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800

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ATLANTA, GA. PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
WORLD
D. 29,800

JUN 30 1963

John Yungblut To Speak At Atlanta U. Summer Forum

Dr. John Yungblut, director of Quaker House, will be the guest speaker at the Atlanta University Summer School Forum to be held Tuesday, July 2, at 9:30 a. m. in Davage Auditorium, Clark College campus.

Dr. Yungblut graduated from Harvard in 1934 and attended the Harvard Divinity School. He has served in the pastoral ministry for over twenty years and in 1959-60 was director of a program for isolated liberals in Mississippi and Louisiana. He became director of Quaker House in Atlanta in the fall of 1960.

Dr. Yungblut's topic will be "The Witness of the Religious Society of Friends." The Summer School Forums are open to the public.

Wiley Branton, Director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, was the guest speaker at this week's Summer School Forum. His subject was "Re-Alignment in Southern Politics."

NASHVILLE, TENN.
TENNESSEAN
D. 129,288 S. 208,237

JUN 30 1963

Workers: Preparing a meal for the 13 students who are participating in a voter education and registration project in Councilmanic District 21 are, from left, Merrie Lou Douglas, Pullman, Ore., Mary Gellatly, Portland, Ore., Roberta Moseley, Bronx, N.Y., and David Dansby, Greensboro, N.C., all project participants.

—Staff photo by Eldred Reaney

Religion in Life

Group To Teach Voter Education

registration project in Councilmanic

Religion in Life

Group To Teach Voter Education

By EDMUND WILLINGHAM
Religious News Editor

AN INTERRACIAL group of 10 college students arrived in Nashville last week to begin work on a seven-week voter education and registration project.

The project will be carried on in Councilmanic District 21. It is co-sponsored by the National Student Christian Federation and the Southern Region, National Student YWCA.

District 21 is a predominantly Negro area. It is bound on the north by Centennial and Heiman, on the south by Charlotte, on the east by 27th Ave., N., and on the west by 42nd Ave., N.

One of three leaders for the project is Wilson Yates, a 1962 graduate of Vanderbilt Divinity School, now working on a doctor of philosophy degree in religion and society at Harvard University.

Survey Made

"We will be making a door-to-door survey in the district, trying to show the importance of voting," he said. "We also will be providing cars for trips to the courthouse for registering.

"Registration in the area is low, and we want to emphasize that if the Negro wants to better his local, as well as state and national, situation, he must exercise his right to vote.

"This applies whether he is concerned about improving community services or furthering his civil rights."

Yates said the project is not a training ground for later deep South work, but that information gained here would be used in similar projects, in both North and South.

Information gained will be turned over to the sponsors and to local political groups, he said.

In addition to community service, he said, the work will be enlightening for the participants, many of whom are studying social or political science.

"They've studied the theory; now they will be putting it into practice," he said.

The students, most of whom live outside the South, also will be learning about a Southern urban area, its race relations, and political structure. Community leaders will be assisting in this.

Local Aid Needed

The students also will be studying theological bases for participation in such a project, with assistance coming from Vanderbilt Divinity School faculty and graduate students.

Students will be living at 1901-7 Belmont Blvd. Other leaders are Mrs. Yates, immediate past president of the Methodist Student Movement, and David Dansby, a Negro student at the University of North Carolina Law School.

A group of Nashville citizens is serving as an advisory committee, with Mrs. Leander Keck and Mrs. Sherman Webster serving as co-chairmen. Councilman Mansfield Douglas III is a committee member.

The students are Irene Wiley, Boston, Daniel Marston, Eau Claire, Wis., Rosemary Jean Smith, Green Castle, Ind., Mary Susan Gellatly, Portland, Ore., Roberta Mosely, Bronx, N.Y., Raleigh Bailey, Miami, Fla., Merrie Lou Douglas, Pullman, Ore., Dean Zimmerman, Valley City, N.D., Mary Mills, Spartanburg, S.C., and Carol Tucker, Laughlintown, Pa.

✦ ✦ ✦

Oops!

This column last week carried an interview with the Rev. C. W. Parnell, a Baptist pastor in Johannesburg, South Africa, on race relations in that country.

He spoke of the government's efforts there to enable the races to live together. He said:

"They have no plans to obliterate other races. It is obvious, then, that their policy must be one of trying to help other races to live harmoniously with the white people."

The words "no plans" were dropped from this quote, by accident, in printing the interview.

NASHVILLE, TENN.
TENNESSEAN
D. 129,288 S. 208,237

JUN 30 1963

Racial Stigmas Erasure Asked

By W. A. REED JR.

A director of research in the Labor Department said here yesterday that stigmas attached to minority groups often affect their motivation, influence their aspirations and therefore their achievement.

Dr. Max Wolff, director of research, Labor Department, Puerto Rico, speaking at the sixth session of the 20th annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University, said the Negro has been brainwashed for 100 years.

Now, said Wolff, the stigma of inferiority has been proven to have no validity.

"THERE IS no biological proof that the Negro is inferior to the white, despite numerous attempts by some racists to advance this false theory," he said.

He said that it was the fundamental concern of a democratic society to bring all children together, at least for a time.

He gave four actions that he said should be taken by all parents Negro and white:

- Stop school dropouts.
- Emphasize reading.
- Destroy stigmas that apply to any minority.
- Parents must help challenge youngsters to learn.

The institute will enter its second week of lectures, clinics and panel discussion tomorrow. The institute is under the direction of Dr. Herman H. Long, successor to the late Charles S. Johnson, former Fisk president who founded the organization. Among the 200 delegates are representatives from two foreign countries and 35 states. Twenty-seven consultants are also on hand.

Sessions this week will focus on many areas including:

- Religious and moral implications of Human Rights.
- International implications of domestic race relations.
- Psychological and historical aspects of the racial and cultural backdrop.
- Problems in employment, housing, and federal action in the implementation of equal rights.

DR. LONG, explained the overall purpose of the institute yesterday. It is to orient leaders of local communities in the problems, processes and methods of implementing better intergroup relations," he said.

The program for the coming week includes:

Today, a special worship service at Fisk Memorial Chapel at 9:45 p.m., and a visit to the Hermitage at 2:00 p.m.

Tomorrow, 8:00-9:30—"Race and Housing," John McDermott, director, Catholic Interracial Council, Chicago; 10:00-11:30—"The Presidential Housing Order: its Implications," Albert Thompson, FHA, Atlanta and Hubert Jackson, Publication Housing Administration, Atlanta, 1:30-3:30 clinics.

Tuesday: 8:00-9:30—"Federal Initiative to Secure the Right To Vote," John Doar, Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice, 10:00-11:30—"Voter Registration in the Deep South," the Rev. Andrew Young, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta. 1:30-3:30 Clinics—7:30 p.m., "The Role of the Southern White Liberal," attorney Marion A. Wright, vice president, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta.

Wednesday: 9-9:30—"Federal Instrumentation of Equal Job Opportunity," Hobart Taylor Jr., former vice chairman, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, 10:00-11:30—"New Thrusts in the Civil Rights Field," Clyde C. Ferguson, general counsel, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. 1:30-3:30 clinics; 7:30 p.m., "Race in World Dimension," Dr. Daisuke Kitagawa, former secretary, Division of Domestic Mission, National Council of Protestant Episcopal Churches.

Thursday: 8:00-9:30—"The Status of School Desegragation," Reed Sarratt, former director, Southern Education Reporting Service (Southern School News) Nashville. 10:00-11:30—"The Legal Defense for Nonviolent Direct Action Participant," Attorney Peter A. Hall, Birmingham, Ala.

Friday: 8-9:30 — "State Action for Equal Opportunity," Elliott Shirk, former director, Pennsylvania Commission on Human Relations, Harrisburg, Pa. 10-11:30—"Impressions of the 20th Annual Race Relations Institute, Dr. Lewis W. Jones, Fisk University—1:30-3:30 Clinics: 7:30 p.m., "A Final Word", Dr. Herman H. Long, director of the Race Relations Institute.

MUSKOGEE, OKLA.
TIMES DEMOCRAT
D. 2,791

JUL 1 1963

Wiley A. Branton, executive director of the Voter Education Project (VEP) of the Southern Regional Council (SRC), said an 11-state drive conducted by the organizations added more than 115,000 negros to Southern voter registration lists in the first year of operation.

DALTON, GA.
CITIZEN-NEWS
D. 6,972

JUL 1 1963

More Negro Voters Added To Lists

DAYTON, Ohio (UPI) — More than 115,000 Negroes were added to voter registration lists in 11 Southern states in the first year of the campaign by major civil rights organizations, the project's director reported Sunday.

Wiley A. Branton; executive director of the voter education project of the Southern Regional Council, disclosed the figures for the first time at the annual convention of the Congress of Racial Equality.

The task was accomplished by hundreds of field workers, Branton said, "despite apathy on the part of many Southern Negroes, intimidation from segregationists and a lack of full cooperation from the federal government."

He said another 25,000 who would have been purged from the registration lists retained their voting rights through the project's efforts and other "uncounted thousands" of Negroes registered for the first time without the project workers' aid.

Branton said only 1.5 million of the five million eligible Negroes have been registered in the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama, and Virginia.

He reported significant successes in Chattanooga, Nashville, Knoxville and Memphis, Tenn.; Little Rock, Ark.; Huntsville, Ala.; Miami, Orlando, St. Petersburg and Clearwater, Fla.; Atlanta, Macon, Augusta and Savannah, Ga.; Sumter and Charleston, S.C., and Rocky Mount, Edenton and Durham, N.C.

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
D. 355,898 S. 451,270

JUL 1 1963

Negro Vote Drive Registers 115,000 In the South

DAYTON, Ohio (UPI).

An 11-state drive conducted by the nation's major civil rights organizations added more than 115,000 Negroes to Southern voter registration lists in the first year of operation, the project's director said yesterday.

The figures were announced for the first time by Wiley A. Branton, executive director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, following his appearance here before the annual convention of the Congress of Racial Equality.

Mr. Branton said the task had been accomplished by hundreds of field workers "despite apathy on the part of many Southern Negroes, intimidation from segregationists and a lack of full cooperation from the Federal government."

Another 25,000 Negroes who would have been purged from registration lists retained their voting rights through the project's efforts, Mr. Branton said, while "uncounted thousands" of Negroes registered for the first time without the aid of project workers.

Only 1.5 million of the five million eligible Southern Negroes have been registered in the 11-state area of Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama and Virginia, he added.

"As more and more Negroes and thinking whites get to the polls, men like (U.S. Sen. Allen) Ellender (D., La.), (Mississippi Gov. Ross) Barnett, (Alabama Gov. George) Wallace and other racists will be driven from office," Mr. Branton predicted.

BOSTON, MASS.
GLOBE (MORNING)
D. 194,870 S. 465,753

JUL 1 1963

Progress on Voting Rights: 115,000 Negroes Registered

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Although the project was originally established at the urging of the Justice Department, Branton was sharply critical of the Kennedy administration's cooperation with voter registration workers.

"Although they have filed hundreds of suits, they have not gone far enough," Branton said. "They must file more suits, follow them up vigorously and provide much-needed protection from violence and intimidation for our people and those who attempt to register.

NEGRO RIFT FLARES — in New York, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was jeered by a crowd of egg-tossing Negroes outside a Harlem church where he delivered a sermon on integration.

Rev. Dr. King, who heads the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and preaches non-violence in the Negro anti-segregation drive, was not struck by the eggs but several hit his car outside the Salem Methodist Church.

Police attributed the incident of the Black Muslim Negro supremacy organization. At a Harlem rally Saturday Muslim leader Malcolm X. urged his followers to "go up there (to Salem Church) tomorrow and let Uncle Tom (King) know that we are against him and do not believe what he preaches."

Inside the church, Rev. King told the congregation:

"I can't understand what my colored brothers have against me. I have become accustomed to white mobs in Mississippi and Alabama, but I have not yet adjusted myself to what I just experienced here in Harlem."

He then promised "to fight harder against the system which produced this violence."

RIGHTS BILL — In Washington, Sen. Warren G. Magnuson (D-Wash.) predicted that his Senate Commerce Committee will quickly approve the administration's controversial public accommodations section—but probably exempt "Mrs. Murphy's boarding house."

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy goes before the opening hearing of Magnuson's committee today to argue the administration's case for the civil rights bill, which would give the Federal government authority to ban discrimination in most privately owned businesses open to the public.

A so-called "Mrs. Murphy" amendment has been suggested to exempt certain small businesses—like boarding houses—from the proposed anti-discrimination ban.

MARCH ON D.C.—The Congress of Racial Equality reaffirmed its support of a march on Washington if President Kennedy's civil rights legislation bogs down in a Senate filibuster.

N.A.A.C.P. CONCLAVE — National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, oldest and largest of the Negro civil rights action groups in the United States, opens its 54th annual convention in Chicago today.

Among the highlights of the convention will be an emancipation centennial parade July 4 through Chicago's downtown streets with 50,000 white and Negro marchers.

Whites Fight Homeowner 'Panic'

PLAINFIELD, N.J. (AP)—Some 300 white and Negro homeowners have formed an association to prevent their integrated neighborhood from becoming a Negro ghetto.

The Hillside Terrace Neighborhood Assn. said the number of homes for sale in the area had caused a mild real estate panic.

David R. Nalvin, one of the group members who are white, said there was concern over the number of white families in the area who contemplate moving.

"It has been the experience in neighborhoods such as ours," he said, "that when houses go on the market, some real estate men show them only to Negroes on the assumption—which we believe to be incorrect—that white people would not desire to live in an integrated neighborhood.

"We hope to replace some of the white families who want to move, and will undoubtedly do so, with others who realize that people of different ethnic groups can live in harmony," he said.

The New York Times
D. 680,265 S. 1,306,418
JUL 1 1963

KENNEDY CHIDED ON RACIAL CRISIS

CORE Says White House Is Not Aware of Danger

By M. S. HANDLER

Special to The New York Times

DAYTON, Ohio, June 30 — Delegates to the annual convention of the Congress of Racial Equality charged here today that the Kennedy Administration was not aware of the potentialities for racial explosions in both North and South.

They urged Federal intervention in the South in the face of what they called "lawlessness" of the police, the local courts and "white hoodlums."

The convention, which ended today also urged President Kennedy to issue an Executive Order desegregating all public facilities.

The delegates rejected the Administration's suggestion that demonstrations be slowed and a march on Washington to coincide with debate on the Kennedy civil rights program be abandoned.

Wiley Branton, director of voter registration projects of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, told the convention that the illegal proceedings employed by the local courts in the South, including some Federal courts, had become so gross that it was useless for Negroes to seek trelief through the judicial process, as suggested by the President.

Negro 'Revolution'

Hence, Mr. Branton said, the Negro "revolution" must employ those means left open to it —nonviolent demonstrations.

The convention resolved to launch a nation-wide voter registration drive with emphasis on those Southern states that have erected the greatest obstacles to registration. Special task forces are to be sent to Baton Rouge, La., and to the Delta counties of Mississippi.

Delegates regarded the growing unemployment among Negroes as one of the keys to the problems. It was said that the rate of unemployment Negroes was two and one-half times as high as that in the white population. Speakers forecast a widening gap through automation.

A resolution that was referred to the congress's National Action Council referred to "the immediacy of the impending retaliation and mass violence on the part of the Negro community in our country, as evidenced by the fact that Negroes are increasingly arming themselves for the purpose of self-defense against continued oppression and violence," and charged:

"The Federal Government has evidenced no recognition of this situation."

Meeting to Plan March

Officers of the congress are scheduled to meet Tuesday in New York City with representatives of other civil rights organizations to set the date of the march and plan its details.

August 28 has been suggested as the tentative date, but the course of the expected Southern filibuster in the Senate will influence the choice of the date.

The convention also approved plans for demonstrations against slum housing in Brooklyn and on Newark, N. J.

A resolution pledging members to refuse to serve in the armed forces until discrimination had ceased was defeated on the floor.

According to convention reports, the organization has 61,000 contributors and 68 chapters totaling more than 4,000 active members who can be relied upon to organize mass demonstrations, picket lines, sit-ins, stand-ins and other forms of nonviolent action.

ATLANTA, GA.
CONSTITUTION
D. 202,635
JUL 1 1963

Vote Leader Stresses Negroes' Poll Power

By CLAUDE GEORGE SR.

Wiley Branton, director of the Voter Registration Project for the Southern Regional Council, said here recently that Southern politicians stand in fear of Negro voters and will give full recognition to the voting power that they have in any community.

Branton was a speaker at the Atlanta University Summer School Forum.

NEXT ELECTION

Politicians cannot see any farther than the next election, he told the summer school students, urging them to work for more registered voters in their own communities.

The end result of President John F. Kennedy's civil rights bill, now before Congress, he said, will be to encourage more Negroes to register and vote in their communities. There is little or no excuse for not becoming a registered voter, Branton said.

POWER TO CHANGE

Branton added that the coalition of the Southern white liberals and Negro voters can change the political thinking of politicians, including senators. School teachers, he said, can be "gap-fillers" in their communities by guiding the citizens on political issues.

There are 1,700 students enrolled for the summer school session at Atlanta University.

Booker Washington Has 1,700 for Term

Seventeen hundred students have enrolled at the Booker Washington High School for the summer session, the largest enrollment since the beginning of the summer school, Principal J. Y. Moreland announced.

Most of the students are taking advanced subjects, Moreland said, with only 15 per cent taking makeup subjects. The majority of the students are girls.

PATERSON, N.J.
CALL
D. 28,063

JUL 1 1963

115,000 Negroes Added To Southern Vote Lists

DAYTON, Ohio (UPI) — An 11-state drive conducted by the nation's major civil rights organizations added more than 115,000 Negroes to Southern voter registration lists in the first year of operation, the project's director said Sunday.

The figures were announced for the first time by Wiley A. Branton, executive director of the Voter Education Project (VEP) of the Southern Regional Council (SRC), following his appearance here before the annual convention of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

Branton said the task had been accomplished by hundreds of field workers "despite apathy on the part of many Southern Negroes, intimidation from segregationists and a lack of full cooperation from the federal government."

Another 25,000 Negroes who would have been purged from registration lists retained their voting rights through the project's efforts, Branton said, while "uncounted thousands" of Negroes registered for the first time without the aid of project workers.

Only 1.5 million of the five million eligible Southern Negroes have been registered in the 11-state area of Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama and Virginia, he added.

"As more and more Negroes and thinking whites get to the polls, men like (U.S. Sen. Allen) Ellender, (D-La.,) (Mississippi Gov. Ross) Bah)png, (Alabama Gov. George) Wallace and other racists will be driven from office," Branton predicted.

"Politicians respond to the demands of voters. The more active Negroes become in politics, the more responsive office-holders will become to Negroes."

Branton's preliminary report covered the period from April 1, 1962, when the project was established, through March 31, 1963. Currently allocated funds will run out in October, 1964.

BRISTOL, VA.
HERALD COURIER
D. 21,285 S. 27,222

JUL 1 1963

115,000 Negroes Added To Southern Voting Lists

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BATON ROUGE, LA.
STATE TIMES
D. 34,571

JUL 1 1963

Say Rights Push Added 115,000 To Voting Lists

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ROANOKE RAPIDS, N.C.
HERALD
D. 6,028 S. 6,039

JUL 2 1963

More Than 115,000 Negroes Added To Registration Lists

DAYTON, Ohio (UPI) — More than 115,000 Negroes were added to voter registration lists in 11 Southern states in the first year of the campaign by major civil rights organizations, the project's director reported here.

Wiley A. Branton, executive director of the voter education project of the Southern Regional Council, disclosed the figures for the first time at the annual convention of the Congress of Racial Equality.

The task was accomplished by hundreds of field workers, Branton said, "despite apathy on the part of many Southern Negroes, intimidation from segregationists and a lack of full cooperation from the federal government."

He said another 25,000 who would have been purged from the registration lists retained their voting rights through the project's efforts and other "uncounted thousands" of Negroes registered for the first time without the project workers' aid.

Branton said only 1.5 million of the five million eligible Negroes have been registered in the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama, and Virginia.

He reported significant successes in Chattanooga, Nashville, Knoxville and Memphis, Tenn.; Little Rock, Ark.; Huntsville, Ala.; Miami, Orlando, St. Petersburg and Clearwater, Fla.; Atlanta, Macon, Augusta and Savannah, Ga.; Sumter and Charleston, S.C., and Rocky Mount, Edenton and Durham, N.C.

BATON ROUGE, LA.
ADVOCATE
D. 45,681 S. 66,530

JUL 1 1963

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ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL
D. 259,003

JUL 2 1963

Legal Aid Fund On Integration Due

By FRED POWLEDGE

Seven leading civil rights organizations were expected to announce soon the establishment of a joint "emergency fund" to be used partly to pay the staggering legal bills which accumulate in the desegregation struggle.

If the fund does become a joint undertaking, it could have a unifying effect on the civil rights organizations, some of whom have been quarreling with each other in recent months.

INFORMED SOURCES said the announcement of the fund's establishment would come from these organizations:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the NAACP Legal and Defense Educational Fund (a separate body from the NAACP itself), the Congress on Racial Equality, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Urban League, and the National Council of Negro Churchwomen.

JUST WHERE the fund would come from was not known. There were some reports that one or more foundations might supply some of the money.

The fund would be used, sources said, to underwrite some of the cost of legal defense in desegregation crises.

The Southern Regional Council, a fact-finding body which supports integration, has estimated that 10,420 arrests have been made in the 11 Southern states since last April 3.

In the period between Feb. 1, 1960, and Sept. 1, 1960, the council had estimated the number of arrests at 3,600. This included not only the Southern states, but the border states as well.

SOURCES SAID the fund also would be used to support more "field staff" personnel for the civil rights organizations.

Some critics of the organizations have said recently that certain of the civil rights groups are top-heavy with office workers and short on persons to do the work in the field.

There has been some public fighting recently among some of the organizations about the cost of legal defense. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, was quoted not long ago as complaining that other groups specialize in getting Negroes into jail, then wait for the NAACP to get them out.

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800

JUL 3 1963

Voter Project Director Reports 115,000 Added

DAYTON, Ohio — (UPI)— An 11-state drive conducted by the nation's major civil rights organizations added more than 115,000 Negroes to Southern voter registration lists in the first year of operation, the project's director said Sunday.

The figures were announced for Washington. They will work as as executive director of the Voter Education Project VEP of the Southern Regional Council following his appearance here before the annual convention of the Congress of Racial Equality CORE.

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"As more and more Negroes and thinking whites get to the polls, men like U. S. Sen. Allen Ellender, D-La., Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett, Alabama Gov. George Wallace and other racists will be driven from office," Branton predicted.

"Politicians respond to the demands of voters. The more active Negroes become in politics, the more responsive office - holders will become to Negroes."

Branton's preliminary report covered the period from April, 1962, when the project was established, through March 31, 1963. Currently allocated funds will run out in October, 1964.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.
LABOR PRESS
W. 125,168

JUL 3 1963

Civil Rights Statement Is Praised by PO Clerks

Milwaukee Post Office Clerks Local 3 has forwarded an excellent statement on civil rights which originally appeared in the June issue of its publication, Hi-Lites, and local officers have asked that it be reprinted so that all union members may have an opportunity to read it.

* * *

Robert Hutchins, widely known scholar, recently described the position of Negroes in America as follows: "The Negro in America is not a part of the American society. This is the greatest single crime that the American people have committed and one of the greatest crimes that any people have ever committed. The American Negro is discriminated against in every conceivable way. His housing is execrable. His compensation is lower for the same work done by white men. He is regarded as socially undesirable. This is a tremendous source of permanent disharmony in the United States."

Words Are Repeated

The Southern Regional Council states the same thing in these words: "Negroes are a disadvantaged tenth of Americans from cradle to grave. By American standards the typical Negro is born without adequate prenatal care, of uneducated parents, who dwell in an unstable neighborhood permeated and surrounded by cultural and economic poverty.

"He is reared amid deprivation and discrimination. His schools are inferior. He learns early the handicaps of his color and his incentives are fashioned to fit the bleak reality.

"He will endure all his life the ignominy of having to wheedle, bargain, negotiate or campaign for his elemental rights."

This situation exists because millions of white people are content to live with it. Though they may say they are not prejudiced, they must have subjective reasons for being actually prejudiced. The four common reasons are as follows: 1) the racist reason. These people start with the principle that Negroes are by nature inferior. Genuine science has totally disproved the theory that any race is by nature inferior to another.

And although most of these people are nominally Christian they cannot understand that God created all peoples equal and in his image and likeness. And so their Christian pronouncements become [illegible] for they make them so. 2) very matters is to inevitably push them farther into substandard and even subhuman ways of living.

Some Negroes, notably the Black Muslims, hold this separatist theory and they do a disservice to their people by holding this erroneous reason. 4) There are those who say that no matter what rights the colored have, the white people have a superior right to protect their homes, neighborhoods, business, public facilities, even their churches from damages that flow from the encroachment by Negroes.

Problems Arise

No one will deny that there are and will be specific problems constantly arising but this attitude simply brushes aside all the rights of Negroes and sweeps them under the rug. This is, perhaps the most common one in the north. And no matter how many disclaimers of prejudice or declarations of belief in rights, this still is a form of racism for it has to reduce Negroes to inferior human beings in every conceivable situation in which there is a conflict of rights.

This we have seen in our state in the open housing law which was not passed. All of these four attitudes are morally wrong.

And the only way to counteract them is to take positive action to promote racial justice. It is not enough to say "I am not prejudiced, but . . ." As union members who are supposed to be dedicated to the principle of brotherhood, we must make sure that in our own area we grant fully the right to be judged before we prejudge anyone. We must be fully aware that the interplay of various human rights requires the most careful study and the most delicate moral decisions. We cannot and should not hope to sweep it under the rug and think thereby that we shall be rid of it.

Get all the information you can from your interracial council on how and what you can do to bring about the day when equality will be a reality and people will be judged by their individual actions and not by group discrimination.

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"He is reared amid deprivation and discrimination. His schools are inferior. He learns early the handicaps of his color and his incentives are fashioned to fit the bleak reality.

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This situation exists because millions of white people are content to live with it. Though they may say they are not prejudiced, they must have subjective reasons for being actually prejudiced. The four common reasons are as follows: 1) the racist reason. These people start with the principle that Negroes are by nature inferior. Genuine science has totally disproved the theory that any race is by nature inferior to another.

And although most of these people are nominally Christian they cannot understand that God created all peoples equal and in his image and likeness. And so their Christian pronouncements become a lie for they make them so. 2) There are those who do not believe the racist reason but who say that the Negro himself is at fault for his inferior position.

Not Honest Statement

As soon as they abandon their criminal and shiftless ways, as soon as they become as cultured as we are, as soon as they prove they can be trusted, we will accept them — so they say. This holier than thou attitude is not honest. The majority of Negroes cannot rise very high in culture, education and virtue so long as they are discriminated against in employment, education, housing and recreation.

These discriminations must be first removed to fulfill the conditions laid down by the 'holier than thou' people. Actually, some Negroes against almost impossible odds have surpassed most white people in education, culture, virtue and citizenship. Are they then to be deprived of their rights until all Negroes lift themselves up by their bootstraps? 3) There are those who say in theory the Negro has all the rights of the white but should practice these rights in and among their own people.

In many areas of social life Negroes want to associate with their own people. But to make them completely dependent on themselves for schools, jobs, housing, recreation when they have been discriminated against in these beings in every conceivable situation in which there is a conflict of rights.

This we have seen in our state in the open housing law which was not passed. All of these four attitudes are morally wrong.

And the only way to counteract them is to take positive action to promote racial justice. It is not enough to say "I am not prejudiced, but . . ." As union members who are supposed to be dedicated to the principle of brotherhood, we must make sure that in our own area we grant fully the right to be judged before we prejudge anyone. We must be fully aware that the interplay of various human rights requires the most careful study and the most delicate moral decisions. We cannot and should not hope to sweep it under the rug and think thereby that we shall be rid of it.

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ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800

JUL 4 1963

Alpines Club Addressed By Dr. C. M. Smith

Dr. C. Miles Smith, president of the Atlanta Branch of the NAACP, was guest speaker at civic meeting of the Alphines Club, Sunday at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Andrews.

Dr. Smith explained the organization of the local branch of the NAACP and the civil rights proposals pending before Congress and the role of his organization in the current freedom crusade in the South.

Marion Johnson, president of the club, introduced the speaker, who was aompained by Vernon Jordan of the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Johnson was formerly a field secretary of the NAACP.

Several club representatives were present for the give and take session which was highlighted by the Alpines Club presenting $50 toward a life membership the club pledged to underwrite.

Among the club representatives were Mrs. Bertha Cauthern and Mrs. Grace Sterling, Les Poinsettas; Mrs. Emma Showers and Ruth Thompson, La Dames and W. J. Ruth, Bronzemen.

Guests present include L. M. Ross, Leon P. Jones and M. E. Jackson.

Other members of the Alpines Club are Nathaniel Rogers, vice president; Malon D. Ware, corresponding secretary and financial secretary; Mr. Andrews, business manager; Robert Pooler, treasurer; Johnnie C. Carmichael, chaplain, Lewis Grizzle, reporter and Horace Price, member.

NORFOLK, VA.
JOURNAL AND GUIDE
SAT. 30,579
JUL 6 1963

On The Civil Rights Front . . .

First Demonstrations In Martin County, N. C.

Special Correspondence

WILLIAMSTON, N. C. — Martin County, N. C., was untouched by segregation protest demonstrations until Sunday when some 250 colored residents turned up at the City Hall here for a "prayer meeting for the end of segregation"

Indication was given that other demonstrations are in the offing unless racial barriers in the area are lifted. Golden Frinks, field secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by the Rev. M. L. King Jr., is cooperating with area citizens in planning their protests.

In other racial developments:

- The Good Neighbor Council named by N. C. Gov. Terry Sanford in January, was to hold its first formal meeting in Raleigh Wednesday to seek means of providing training for Negroes seeking equal employment opportunities.
- At Dunn, N. C., Mayor George Blalock is to name a committee of four whites and two Negroes this week to work out racial problems. The president of the Dunn branch of the NAACP reported Sunday he and other Negro leaders were pleased with progress made by Blalock and no picketing was planned.
- At Greensboro, N. C., the Guilford County Board of Education agreed Saturday to transfer six Negro students to previously all-white schools in the first integration move in the county system. Greensboro schools have been integrated for some time.
- At Greensboro, tough talking Teamsters President Jimmy Hoffa told a Greensboro news conference Saturday there was no need for severe new laws outlawing job discrimination because racial bias would break the back of the American labor movement.
- At Dayton, Ohio, Wiley A. Branton, executive director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, said Sunday his group had made major strides in registering Negro voters in Rocky Mount, Edenton and Durham, N. C.
- At Kansas City, Kan., between 700 and 800 Negroes marched Sunday in downtown Kansas City in memory of slain civil rights leader Medgar Evers of Mississippi.
- At Philadelphia, four hundred Negro ministers said Sunday they had called off their "selective patronage" campaign against a chain store because the firm had yielded to their integration demands.
- At Stamford, Conn., an hour-long demonstration protesting alleged inequities in employment and housing opportunities for minorities was held Sunday by more than 600 Negroes.
- At Cambridge, Md., the city commission instructed its attorney Sunday night to prepare an amendment to the city charter providing equal public accommodations in the racially troubled Eastern Shore city guarded by National Guardsmen.

NORFOLK, VA.
JOURNAL AND GUIDE
SAT. 30,579

JUL 6 1963

Purge Of 25,000 Halted

More Than 115,000 Added To 11 States' Vote Rolls

DAYTON, Ohio — (UPI) — More than 115,000 Negroes were added to voter registration lists in 11 Southern states in the first year of the campaign by major civil rights organizations, the project's director reported Sunday.

Wiley A. Branton, executive director of the voter education project of the Southern Regional Council, disclosed the figures for the first time at the annual convention of the Congress of Racial Equality.

THE TASK was accomplished by hundred of field workers, Mr. Branton said, "despite apathy on the part of many Southern Negroes, intimidation from segregationists and a lack of full cooperation from the federal government."

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He reported significant successes in Chattanooga Nashville, Knoxville and Memphis, Tenn.; Little Rock, Ark.; Huntsville, Ala.; Miami, Orlando, St. Petersburg and Clearwater, Fla.; Atlanta, Macon, Augusta and Savannah, Ga.; Sumter and Charleston, S. C., and Rocky Mount, Edenton and Durham, N. C.

LOUISVILLE, KY.
COURIER JOURNAL
D. 220,140 S. 324,549

JUL 7 1963

Cities To Get Relations Council Aid

Kentucky communities will be offered help in setting up local councils on human relations, the Kentucky Council on Human Relations decided at a meeting yesterday at Plymouth Settlement House.

A committee headed by the Rev. J. T. Davis will confer with the State Commission on Human Rights and offer cooperation in finding leadership and establishing communications to promote good race relations throughout the state.

Dr. Hugh A. Brimm, compliance supervisor for the U. S. Army Materiel Command's Office of Equal Employment Opportunity, Birmingham, Ala., told the group some of his experiences in dealing with manufacturers holding Government contracts in the Southeastern area.

Only one instance of reluctance was apparent on the part of a manufacturer and he was brought promptly into line by threat of loss of his contract, Brimm said.

The Kentucky Council on Human Relations, of which Mrs. Harry S. McAlpin is chairman, is an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council.

ST. LOUIS, MO.
POST-DISPATCH
D. 347,672 S. 564,337

JUL 7 1963

Negro March On Capital May Backfire

Demonstration Could Be 'Disastrous,' Expert on Racial Equality Warns

By RAYMOND P. BRANDT
Contributing Editor of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, July 6

THE DECISIONS of Negro leaders to hold a massive "convention" in Washington early next month and a "march on Washington" three weeks later raise two far-reaching questions. They are:

1. Will the assembling in the national capital of large numbers of Negroes and their white sympathizers hasten or delay legislative action on President John F. Kennedy's comprehensive civil rights program?

2. Whatever the immediate effect on Congress, how will the huge gatherings affect the presidential and congressional elections next year?

Advocates of the President's recommendations both in the executive and legislative branches are against the two meetings, but are not publicly opposing them. Some may take part in the demonstrations. Moderates in Congress, who intended to vote for most of the program, are definitely against the influx into Washington of marchers whose numbers may exceed 100,000.

For the people of Washington and others who fear that the large crowds may get out of control, Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, with an outstanding record for accomplishments in the racial equality field, has become an informed spokesman. Writing this week in the New York Times, Mrs. Meyer, whose family owns the Washington Post and Newsweek magazine, said:

"Of all the plans for demonstrations now contemplated, none would be more disastrous than the march of thousands of Negroes upon Washington in August to urge the passage of the Administration's civil rights bill. Democratic government itself is imperiled when any group seeks to intimidate members of Congress.

"Accommodations for the invaders in the District of Columbia would be inadequate. Tempers would flare in the heat of a Washington summer. It can readily be foreseen that catastrophic outbreaks of violence, bloodshed and property damage would inevitably take place. And for what purpose? It could only set back the just claims of the Negro for economic, education and social progress."

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who testified on three days this week before a Senate committee on the public accommo-

Brandt

FROM PAGE ONE

fighting a miserable rear guard action. We are now engaged in mopping up operations."

The Dayton and Chicago conventions revealed the organized Negroes's dissatisfaction with the President's program as inadequate. The principal complaints of the NAACP were that the White House recommendations did not provide for a federal Employment Practices Commission with subpoena powers; that they did not give the Attorney General enough authority to initiate suits to protect all civil rights, and that they did not provide sanctions against labor unions that discriminate against Negroes.

After Wilkins had bitterly criticized Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois and Republican Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, whose names were booed by the delegates, the convention adopted a resolution to support the President's program plus the desired expansion of authority. It included a section implying retaliation at the polls next year against Senators who vote against the imposition of cloture which said:

"We shall construe the failure of any Senator to support such action (limitation of debate) as a vote against civil rights."

THE DAYTON MEETING of the CORE delegates was more concerned about local discriminations than national issues. Nevertheless, Wiley A. Branton, executive director of the voters' educational project of the Southern Regional Council, reported that 115,000 additional Negro voters had been registered in 11 southern states, where only 1,500,000 of the 5,000,000 eligible Negroes are registered.

"As more and more Negroes and thinking whites get to the polls," he said, "men like (Senator Allen J.) Ellender (Dem.), Louisiana, (Gov. Ross R.) Barnett (Dem.), Mississippi and Gov. George C. Wallace (Dem.), Alabama, and other racists will be driven from office."

There were unsubstantiated reports that CORE and other organizations that have supported the Freedom Riders, sit-inners and school desegregation demonstrators would attempt similar tactics at the Capitol when the civil rights bill is being debated, particularly if the southern Senators carry out their threats of a prolonged filibuster.

Several Senators and Representatives, speaking for a larger number of their colleagues, flared up at these reports and

In his civil rights message to Congress, Mr. Kennedy foresaw that disorderly demonstrations could endanger his recommendations. Cautioning against continued violence, he said.

"This problem is now before the Congress. Unruly tactics or pressures will not help and may hinder the effective consideration of these measures. If they are enacted, there will be legal remedies available; and, therefore, while the Congress is completing its work, I urge all community leaders, Negro and white, to do their utmost to lessen tensions and to exercise self-restraint. The Congress should have an opportunity to freely work its will. Meanwhile, I strongly support action by local public officials and merchants to remedy these grievances on their own."

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"Accommodations for the invaders in the District of Columbia would be inadequate. Tempers would flare in the heat of a Washington summer. It can readily be foreseen that catastrophic outbreaks of violence, bloodshed and property damage would inevitably take place. And for what purpose? It could only set back the just claims of the Negro for economic, education and social progress."

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who testified on three days this week before a Senate committee on the public accommodations section of the civil rights bill, warned that the Washington march could "backfire" on the President's program. Speaking in McLean, Va., he observed that "it is a basic American right to petition," but predicted "an adverse effect" if Congressmen feel they are being pressured or intimidated.

He did not oppose the Washington gatherings or suggest they be canceled, but said:

"It comes down to how they are going to handle themselves. A good deal of judgment will be required of the leaders to prevent it (the march) from backfiring."

The deputy chief of police for Washington announced that he would hold meetings next week with the Negro leaders about handling the marchers.

THE DECISIONS for large, peaceful demonstrations in Washington were made in three cities. In Dayton, O., the twenty-first annual convention of the Congress of Racial Equality passed a resolution favoring a mammoth march into Washington. At Chicago, the fifty-fourth annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People unanimously resolved for a civil rights convention to be held in the national capital Aug. 6 to 8.

In New York, leaders of seven major civil rights organizations decided Tuesday to co-ordinate their campaigns to expand the President's program and to support a mass demonstration in Washington on Aug. 28. They said also that they would work together to try to raise $1,500,000 for a joint emergency fund to employ additional field staffs and more lawyers to handle the increasing number of court cases resulting from mass arrests. They said $800,000 had been collected or pledged.

The leaders who met in New York included the most respected Negroes in the civil rights movement. The principal spokesmen were Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of NAACP, and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Both emphasized that the march to end in Washington would not be marred by "civil disobedience" or sit-ins in the Capitol corridors or chambers.

The other organizations represented at the summit unity meeting were the National Urban League, whose executive director is Whitney M. Young Jr.; CORE, headed by James Farmer; the National Council of Negro Women, whose president is Mrs. Dorothy Height; the NAACP legal defense and educational fund, Jack Greenberg, general counsel, and the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, whose executive director is James Foreman.

AN OBJECTIVE of the unity meeting was to curb the rivalry between the various organizations and their leaders. The NAACP is the oldest and best financed group, with 1600 chapters throughout the country. Wilkins recently complained that "other groups make the noise while NAACP pays the bills." He was referring to the money his organization had paid for lawyers and fines and put up for bonds.

Wilkins told the Chicago meeting:

"It is our contention that the backbone of segregation has been broken. Philosophically, we have won. Our opponents are

TURN TO PAGE 8, COLUMN 3

THE DAYTON MEETING of the CORE delegates was more concerned about local discriminations than national issues. Nevertheless, Wiley A. Branton, executive director of the voters' educational project of the Southern Regional Council, reported that 115,000 additional Negro voters had been registered in 11 southern states, where only 1,500,000 of the 5,000,000 eligible Negroes are registered.

"As more and more Negroes and thinking whites get to the polls," he said, "men like (Senator Allen J.) Ellender (Dem.), Louisiana, (Gov. Ross R.) Barnett (Dem.), Mississippi and Gov. George C. Wallace (Dem.), Alabama, and other racists will be driven from office."

There were unsubstantiated reports that CORE and other organizations that have supported the Freedom Riders, sit-inners and school desegregation demonstrators would attempt similar tactics at the Capitol when the civil rights bill is being debated, particularly if the southern Senators carry out their threats of a prolonged filibuster.

Several Senators and Representatives, speaking for a larger number of their colleagues, flared up at these reports and predicted that the President's whole program might be defeated if the Negroes and their sympathizers became unruly or openly threatened reprisals against individual legislators who did not vote down the line for all the President's recommendations.

The New York summit meeting took note of this resentment by deciding against a demonstration at the Capitol. Instead, there will be a parade through downtown Washington culminating in a two-hour rally at the Lincoln Memorial. The leaders obtained the promise that Catholic, Protestant and Jewish social welfare organizations would participate in the gathering. Civil disobedience, such as occurred in Baltimore on July 4, was ruled out.

Whether the managers will be able to curb the more militant groups, colored and white, is a question that perplexes the Administration and the Washington police. Disorders, like that in Chicago, where Mayor Richard J. Daley was prevented from speaking by unruly groups and a Negro church leader's life was threatened, would have congressional repercussions adverse to the President's recommendations.

THE WIDESPREAD, militant demonstrations in northern and border states already have brought letters of condemnation to Senators and Representatives from white voters in suburban and small towns who fear that the Administration plans legislative and executive measures that would affect private housing.

These communications come from constituencies where the Negroes are a small but growing minority and do not yet have the balance of power on election day as they do in the larger industrial cities. A Representative from a medium-size city in a border state said that 90 per cent of his mail on civil rights was against the Kennedy recommendations.

Democratic Congressmen in this category are weighing whether a vote for the President's program will bring primary and election opposition from the white majority. Republicans, in the same class, are beginning to prefer Senator Goldwater over Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York for their presidential nomination.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.
OBSERVER
W. CIRC.N.AVAIL.
JUL 12 1963

Liberals Urged To "Bridge Gulfs"

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — The nation's liberals, colored and white, were urged to "bridge gulfs and tear down walls" on the civil rights front by a Southern Regional Council official. last week.

Attorney Marion A. Wright, vice president of SRC, rallied liberals to participate in the "birth of a genuine partnership between white and Negro" which began with the sit-in efforts of four Negro college students at Greensboro, North Carolina in February of 1960 to the end, or near end, of segregation and racial discrimination. "We have moved towards the millenium of the South when those who could, took up the cudgel for those who couldn't eat at lunch counters," he said. "We now have a lasting, common fraternity between the races and we must never again go our respective ways."

development of strong civil liberties to implement civil rights gains; 2. and establishment of a world government to redress racial wrongs. "Clouds of fear still hang over the heads of many southerners, causing men to whisper their views rather than shout them from housetops," he said, adding: "civil rights will never be secured until civil liberties are secured."

Mr. Wright warned that, while segregation is on the way out, "southern political minds haven't changed an iota since the days of John C. Calhoun." He also warned against those who "would drive lines separating us" among forces already at work to negate gains. The SRC executive charged that history shows northern states ended discrimination only to re-establish it in more efective, subtle forms.

HOUSTON, TEXAS
INFORMER
W. 11,193
JUL 13 1963

Negroes to Vote

DAYTON, OHIO (ANP)—One hundred and fifteen thousand more Negroes in 11 southern states will be ready to cast votes for the next President of the United States as the result of a year long vote drive, it was reported here last week.

The figures were announced by Wiley A. Branton, executive director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council after his appearance here before the annual convention of the Congress of Racial Equality.

Branton, a lawyer at Pine Bluff, Ark., until he accepted the voting drive assignment of Atlanta, is the attorney for the plaintiffs in the Little Rock School desegregation case. He reported that the drive had scored a "significant success" at Little Rock.

Branton said the task had been accomplished by hundreds of field workers "despite apathy on the part of many Southern Negroes, intimidation from segregationists and a lack of full cooperation from the federal government."

Another 25,000 Negroes who would have been purged from registration lists retained their voting rights through the Project's efforts, Branton said, while "uncounted thousands" of Negroes registered for the first time without the aid of Project workers.

Only 1,500 of the 5,000 eligible Negroes in Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, Georgia, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama and Virginia are registered, he added.

"As more and more Negroes and thinking whites get to the polls, men like (Senator Allen) Ellender, (Dem., La.) (Mississippi Governor Ross) Barnett, (Alabama Governor George) Wallace and other racists will be driven from office," Branton predicted.

"Politicians respond to the demands of voters. The more active the Negroes become in politics, the more responsive office-holders will become to Negroes.

Branton's preliminary report covered the period from April 1, 1962, when the Project was established, to March 31, 1963. The projects funds will run out in October, 1964.

Six Project staff members working out of an Atlanta office coordinate field work being done by CORE, the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, the National Urban League and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Although the Project originally was established at the urging of the Justice Department, which reportedly believes that Negro voting power will lead to desegregation in other fields, Branton was sharply critical of the Kennedy administration's co-op nedy administration's cooperation with voter registration workers.

"Although they have filed hundreds of suits, they have not gone far enough," Branton said. "They must file more suits, follow them up vigorously and provide much needed protection from violence and intimidation for our people and those who attempt to register.

"Why is it that when a bank is robbed in Mississippi, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has men on the scene in two hours, but when our people are illegally jailed and beaten it takes them two days or longer?" he asked.

SHREVEPORT, LA.
SUN
W. 9,600
PAGE
CERTIFIE
JUL 13 1963

Says 115,000 More Negroes Ready To Vote In South

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(See—VOTE, page 8)

Vote

(Continued from page 1)

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The New York Times
D. 680,265 S. 1,306,418
JUL 14 1963

11 States Accused of Bad Faith For 'Token' School Integration

Sociologist Reports That Less Than 1% of All Negroes Attend Classes With Whites—Nominal Laws Assailed

Bad faith in the operation of integration plans in 11 Southern states, it has been asserted, has maintained racial segregation in public schools intact nine years after the Supreme Court outlawed it.

This is the conclusion of a new report, "Token Desegregation and Beyond," issued yesterday by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in New York.

However, the report said, recent Federal district court and High Court rulings now offer hope of bringing to an end the evasive tactics of the "resistant" states and to force the Deep South to speedier compliance.

The author of the report is J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va.

Professor Morland reported that only four-tenths of the 1 per cent of all Negroes in the 11 "most recalcitrant" states were attending schools with white children by the end of the current term. The states involved, he said, are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

92 of 100 Segregated

Even when adding the record of "compliant" states — Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia — and the District of Columbia, he said, nearly 92 of every 100 Negroes in the Southern and border states attended segregated classes.

In the 11 resistant states only 11.8 percent of the so-called biracial school districts had been even nominally desegregated, Professor Morland said. This "inadequate" performance, he continued, was even more apparent than real.

By contrast, 90.6 percent of the biracial districts in the the border states integrated their schools in November, 1962. Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia and the District of Columbia desegregated all their school districts.

Professor Morland described as "token integration" those measures that are designed to offer nominal and technical compliance with the Supreme Court ruling but actually maintain complete or almost complete segregation.

"Token integration operates on the basis of fear and subterfuge—fear of integration itself and subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive," he said.

"While difficult problems can arise as communities change a biracial school ssytem into a nonracial one," he continued, "compliant states have demonstrated that this change can be made creatively and successfully."

Recent rulings by United States circuit courts and the Supreme Court, Professor Morland noted, have begun to recognize these token measures as evasions of the law.

Among these are pupil-placement plans and restrictive transfer provisions. The former, he said, gives to school boards the right to assign pupils individually to specific schools, with no specific mention made of race among the criteria for selection.

In practice, the boards assign Negroes and whites alike to schools in which all or nearly all attendance is of the same race, he declared.

Transfers Limited to Race

Such laws, Professor Morland said, have provisions for appeal from such assignments, but these are so complex and costly to pursue that few petitioners have the energy or resources to carry litigation to a successful conclusion.

Restrictive transfer provisions, he reported, have been widely used to lessen or nullify the effect of the so-called "grade-a-year" desegregation plans adopted in some school districts.

Under theses plans, one grade is desegregated each year and children of both races are assigned to schools nearest their homes. However, by administrative decision, the professor said, white children assigned to predominantly Negro schools and Negroes attending schools with a white majority are freely granted transfers to schools of their own race. The transfer of Negroes to white schools or, in rare cases, that of whites to Negro schools are not permitted, he said.

He cited other evasions that have given local communities the option of closing down public schools ordered to desegregate. Tuition grants by states to permit pupils to attend segregated private schools were also noted.

When the report was written the Supreme Court had not yet ruled on the constitutionality of the pupil-placement provisions. It has ruled unanimously that two representative pupil transfer plans are unconstitutional.

"Ostensibly, the plans for keeping integration at token levels have been devised to try to satisfy the courts," Professor Morland said. "It is quite obvious now that they are not doing so, and that the courts are becoming less and less patient with the bad faith implicit in them."

It is essential that the attack on such evasions be pressed, he went on, by "the determination of Negro plaintiffs, the vigor of the Federal Government and the willingness of school boards and communities to act in good faith."

The professor also attacked what he termed the racial and social fallacies on which resistance to segregation is based. These include, he said, the idea, universally rejected by scientists, that capacity to learn has any direct connection with race and that school integration will result in lower educational standards and heightened social tensions.

He dismissed the argument of racial inequality, saying:

"Americans can be treated as individuals rather than as members of races and they can be given equal opportunity as individuals to develop their abilities without fear of any consequences known to science."

He said those in the forefront of the integration movement—notably in Louisville and Baltimore—have declared that desegregation of schools has improved educational standards and has coincided with, if not actually caused, a decline in juvenile delinquency.

MEMPHIS, TENN.
WORLD
TW. 7,400
JUL 13 1963

Liberals Urged To "Bridge Gulfs"

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — The nation's liberals, colored and white, were urged to "bridge gulfs and tear down walls" on the civil rights front by a Southern Regional Council official, last week.

Attorney Marion A. Wright, vice president of SRC, rallied liberals to participate in the "birth of a genuine partnership between white and Negro" which began with the sit-in efforts of four Negro college students at Greensboro, North Carolina in February of 1960 to the end, or near end, of segregation and racial discrimination. "We have moved towards the millenium of the South when those who could, took up the cudgel for those who couldn't eat at lunch counters," he said. "We now have a lasting, common fraternity between the races and we must never again go our respective ways."

Attorney Wright sees problems yet to be resolved. Among them: 1. development of strong civil liberties to implement civil rights gains; 2. and establishment of a world government to redress racial wrongs. "Clouds of fear still hang over the heads of many southerners, causing men to whisper their views rather than shout them from housetops," he said, adding: "civil rights will never be secured until civil liberties are secured."

Mr. Wright warned that, while segregation is on the way out, "southern political minds haven't changed an iota since the days of John C. Calhoun." He also warned against those who "would drive lines separating us" among forces already at work to negate gains. The SRC executive charged that history shows northern states ended discrimination only to re-establish it in more efective, subtle forms.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.
TIMES-PICAYUNE
D. 193,514 S. 302,677

JUL 14 1963

Study Reveals Mixing Slowed

'Token Integration and Beyond' Published

By HOYT HARWELL

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed today.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation league of B'nai B'rth and the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, biracial research and educational organization.

A professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

NO MIX IN SOME AREAS

The study, based on compilations in November 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

Moreland's findings dealt with Southern and border states school districts. They showed that 31.8 per cent of biracial districts have been desegregated in the area.

An over-all percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

In the 11 other states, which Morland labeled "resistant" toward desegregation, 11.8 per cent of the districts have been desegregated.

States in which all school districts have been desegregated were listed as Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia.

In the "resistant" states, .4 per cent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "compliant" states, Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

He said that state legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

"A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of pupil placement laws," he said.

In actual operation, Morland contended, these laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race."

'LOCAL OPTION' METHOD

The professor added:

"In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment."

A second anti-integration method, he said, has been "local option" provisions which allow communities to close schools ordered to desegregate.

"Another device for avoiding integrated schools has been the offer of tuition grants to allow pupils to attend private, nonsectarian schools instead of public schools," Morland said. "Six states — Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia — have passed such legislation."

'GRADE-A-YEAR PLAN'

He said:

"Still another way of keeping integration at low levels has been the grade-a-year or stair-step plan."

Morland said that if communities "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

He said the federal courts have become "less and less patient" with token integration plans and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans.

"Federal courts," he concluded, "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels."

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.
JOURNAL
D. 48,784 S. 70,885

JUL 14 1963

Integration of Schools Resisted in 11 States

ATLANTA (AP) — Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study shows.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a non-profit, non-political, biracial research and educational organization.

A professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

No Integration

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Morland's findings dealt with southern and border state school districts. They showed that 31.8 per cent of biracial districts have been desegrated in the area.

An over-all percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

In the 11 other states, which Morland labeled "resistant" toward desegregation, 11.8 per cent of the districts have been desegregated.

States in which all school districts have been desegregated were listed as Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia.

379 Laws Passed

In the "resistant" states, 4 per cent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "compliant" states, Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

He said that state legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

"A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of pupil placement laws," he said.

In actual operation, Morland contended, these laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race."

Steps Expensive

The professor added:

"In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment."

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NEWPORT NEWS, VA.
PRESS
D. 40,661 S. 60,536
JUL 14 1963

Few Negroes In Integrated Dixie Schools

By HOYT HARWELL

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed today.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation league of B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, biracial research and educational organization.

A professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

The study, based on compilations in November 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

Morland's findings dealt with Southern and border states school districts. They showed that 31.8 per cent of biracial districts have been desegregated in the area.

An over-all percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware. District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

In the 11 other states, which Morland labeled "resistant" toward desegregation, 11.8 per cent of the districts have been desegregated.

States in which all school districts have been desegregated were listed as Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia.

In the "resistant" states, .4 per cent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "compliant" states, Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

He said that state legislatures

ASBURY PARK EVENING PRESS
ASBURY PARK, N. J.
D. 40,080 S. 39,701
JUL 14 1963

Racial Mixing In Southern Schools Lags

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The study, based on compilations in November 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

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Percentage High

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He said that state legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

"A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of pupil placement laws," he said.

In actual operation, Morland contended, these laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race."

The professor added:

"In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment."

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Evasion Detailed

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A second anti-integration method, he said, has been "local option" provisions which allow communities to close schools ordered to desegregate.

"Another device for avoiding integrated schools has been the offer of tuition grants to allow pupils to attend private, nonsectarian schools instead of public schools," Mr. Morland said. "Six states—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia—have passed such legislation."

He said:

A Third Plan

"Still another way of keeping integration at low levels has been the grade-a-year or stair-step plan."

Mr. Morland said that if communities "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

He said the federal courts have become "less and less patient" with token integration plans and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans.

"Federal courts," he concluded, "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels."

OAKLAND, CALIF.
TRIBUNE
D. 197,851 S. 225,824
PAGE ONE
CERTIFIED
JUL 14 1963

Dixie Stalls On School Integration

Less Than One in 200 Attend Mixed Schools in 11 States

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — Fewer than one in 200 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed today.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation league of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, biracial research and educational organization.

A professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

The study, based on compilations in November 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

AREA SURVEYED

Morland's findings dealt with Southern and border states school districts. They showed that 31.8 per cent of biracial districts have been desegregated in the area.

An over-all percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

In the 11 other states, which Moreland labeled "resistant" toward desegregation, 11.8 per cent of the districts have been desegregated.

States in which all school districts have been desegregated were listed as Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia.

In the "resistant" states, .4 per cent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "compliant" states, Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

LEGAL DODGES

He said that state legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

"A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of pupil placement laws," he said.

In actual operation, Morland contended, these laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race.

"Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race."

The professor added:

"In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes.

"Thus actual integration of schools has depended upon

Continued Page 4, Col. 1

South Lags On School Integration

Continued from Page 1

whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment."

A second anti-integration method, he said, has been "local option" provisions which allow communities to close schools ordered to desegregate.

"Another device for avoiding integrated schools has been the offer of tuition grants to allow pupils to attend private, nonsectarian schools instead of public schools," Morland said. "Six states — Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia—have passed such legislation."

He said:

"Still another way of keeping integration at low levels has been the grade-a-year or stair-step plan."

Morland said that if communities "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

He said the federal courts have become "less and less patient" with token integration plans and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans.

"Federal courts," he concluded, "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token

Trenton Sunday
Times Advertiser
TRENTON, N. J.
SUN. 71,397

JUL 14 1963

'Token' Measures Assailed

Integration In Southern Schools Is Still Far Off, Survey Shows

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed today.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation league of B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, biracial research and educational organiaztion.

A professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

3 States Still Segregated

The study, based on compilations in November 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

Moreland's findings dealt with Southern and border states school districts. They showed that 31.8 per cent of biracial districts have been desegregated in the area.

An over-all percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

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He said that state legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

Placement Laws

"A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of pupil placement laws," he said.

In actual operation, Morland contended, these laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race."

The professor added:

"In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment."

Other Devices

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Courts Impatient

He said the federal courts have become "less and less patient" with token integration plans and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans.

"Federal courts," he concluded, "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels."

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
D. 355,898 S. 451,270

JUL 14 1963

The Schools in South: A Token of Integration

By The Associated Press

ATLANTA.

Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed yesterday.

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State Legislatures have passed 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

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The Professor added:

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DANVILLE, VA.
REGISTER
D. 10,267 S. 20,902
JUL 14 1963

Study Shows

Fewer Than One In 100 Negro Pupils In 11 Dixie States Attending Integrated Units

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed today.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the anti-Defamation league of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical biracial research and educational organization.

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In the "resistant" states, .4 per cent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "compliant" states, Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

He said that state legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

"A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of pupil placement laws," he said.

In actual operation, Morland contended, these laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly n criteria other than race."

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"In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment."

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"Another device for avoiding integrated schools has been the offer of tuition grants to allow pupils to attend private, nonsectarian schools instead of public schools," Morland said. "Six states — Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia — have passed such legislation."

He said:

"Still another way of keeping integration at low levels has been the grade-a-year or stair-step plan."

Morland said that if communities "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

He said the federal courts have become "less and less patient" with token integration plans and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans.

"Federal courts," he concluded, "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels."

THE PLAIN DEALER
CLEVELAND, OHIO
D. 336,210 S. 507,694
JUL 14 1963

Find School Segregation Continuing

By ROBERT C. DOTY
© New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Subterfuge and bad faith in the operation of "Token Integration" plans in 11 southern states have maintained racial segregation virtually intact nine years after the Supreme Court outlawed it.

Recent federal district court and high court rulings. however, give hope of ending the evasive tactics of the "resistant" states and forcing the Deep South to speedier compliance with integration laws.

These are the major conclusions o fa new report, "Token Desegregation and Beyond," issued yesterday by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in New York.

Author is J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va.

Morland reports that only 4/10ths of 1% of all the Negroes in the 11 most recalcitrant states were attending schools with white children. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

EVEN ADDING the better record of the "compliant" states—Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma and West Virginia—and the District of Columbia leaves approximately 92 out of each 100 Negroes in the southern and border states attending segregated classes.

In the 11 "resistant" states only 11.8% of the biracial school districts had been even nominally desegregated.

By contrast, in the "compliant" border states 90.6% of the biracial districts had integrated their schools in November, 1962.

"Token integration operates on the bases of fear and subterfuge," the author writes. "Fear of integration itself and subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive. While difficult problems can arise as communities change a biracial school system into a nonracial one, compliant states have demonstrated that this change can be made creatively and successfully."

Recent ruling by U.S. Circuit Courts and the Supreme Court, the author says, have begun to recognize "token" plans as evasions of the law and to outlaw them.

Among them are pupil placement plans and restrictive transfer provisions.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.
TIMES
D. 52,218 S. 82,245
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
JUL 14 1963

DEEP SOUTH BIAS IN SCHOOLROOMS IS NEARLY INTACT

Under 1% of Negroes in 11 States Are Attending Classes With Whites

By ROBERT C. DOTY
© New York Times News Service

NEW YORK — Subterfuge and bad faith in the operation of "token integration" plans in 11 Southern states have maintained school racial segregation virtually intact nine years after the Supreme Court outlawed it.

Recent federal district court and high court rulings, however, now give hope of bringing to an end the evasive tactics of the "resistant" states and force the Deep South to speedier compliance with the desegregation laws.

These are the major conclusions of a new report, "Token Desegregation and Beyond," issued Saturday by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in New York.

High Cost of Resistance

The author of the report is J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. He stresses also the high cost — in money, lost educational facilities and violence to democratic principles—of the Southern resistance.

Morland reports that only fourtenth of 1 per cent of all the Negroes in the 11 most recalcitrant states are attending schools with white children. These states are Alabama, Arkansas, Floria, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Even adding the better record of the "compliant" states—Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia and the District of Columbia leaves approximately 92 out of each 100 Negroes in the Southern and border states attending segregated classes.

Nominal Desegregation

In the 11 "resistant" states only 11.8 per cent of the biracial school districts have been even nominally desegregated and even this inadequate performance is more apparent than real, the report said.

By contrast, in the "compliant" border states 90.6 per cent of the biracial districts had desegregated their schools in November 1962. Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia and the District of Columbia have desegregated all their school districts.

Morland calls "token" desegregation those measures designed to offer nominal and technical compliance with the Supreme Court ruling but to maintain full, or very nearly full segregation in fact.

"Token integration operates on the bases of fear and subterfuge," the author writes. "Fear of integration itself and subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive. While difficult problems can arise as communities change a biracial school system into a nonracial one, compliant states have demonstrated

See Page Two, Column Seven

DEEP SOUTH BIAS IS NEARLY INTACT

From Page One

that this change can be made creatively and successfully."

Recent rulings by U.S. circuit courts and the Supreme Court, the author says, have begun to recognize these "token" plans as evasions of the law and to outlaw them.

Among them are pupil placement plans and restrictive transfer provisions. The first type gives to school boards the right to assign pupils individually to specific schools, with no specific mention made of race among the criteria for selection. But in practice, the boards assign Negroes and whites alike to schools in which all or nearly all the attendance is of the same race.

Appeals Complex, Costly

Such laws, Morland finds, have provisions for appeal from such assignments but these are so complex and costly to pursue that few petitioners have the energy or resources to carry litigation to a successful conclusion.

Restrictive transfer provisions have been widely used to lessen or nullify the effect of the so-called "grade - a - year" desegregation plans adopted in some school districts, in nominal compliance, the report found.

Under these plans, one grade is desegregated each year and children of both races are assigned to schools nearest their homes. But, by administrative decision, white children assigned to predominantly Negro schools and Negroes attending schools with a white majority have been freely granted transfers to schools of their own race. But transfers in the other direction, to white schools by Negroes or, in the rare cases that might have arisen, to Negro schools by whites, are not permitted.

A Resegregation

The result has been to rapidly resegregate the desegregated classes, the report states.

Other evasions have been accomplished by giving local communities the option of closing down public schools ordered to desegregate and by tuition grants by states to permit pupils to attend segregated private schools.

The pupil placement plan has been condemned in the circuit court in a decision that said it is not compatible with the "deliberate speed" concept and that "it is not a plan for desegregation at all." At the time of writing of the report the Supreme Court had still to affirm or reject this ruling.

The high court, however, has already ruled unanimously that two representative pupil transfer plans are unconstitutional.

In later sections of the report, Morland discusses the racial and social fallacies on which resistance to desegregation is based. These include the idea, universally rejected by scientists, that capacity to learn has a direct connection with race and that school desegregation will result in lower educational standards and heightened social tensions.

He dismisses the argument of racial inequality with the statement that "Americans can be treated as individuals rather than as members of races and they can be given equal opportunity as individuals to develop their abilities without fear of any consequences known to science."

He quotes those in the forefront of the desegregation movement—notably in Louisville and Baltimore—to show that desegregation of schools has improved educational standards and coincided with, if not actually caused, a decline in juvenile delinquency.

This effect, he argues, might be even more marked if the millions spent by the resistant states on legislation and litigation to block desegregation were to be devoted to educational purposes.

BOSTON, MASS.
HERALD
D. 178,553 S. 283,819

JUL 14 1963

Shady Token Integration Charged to 'Deep South'

By ROBERT C. DOTY
(New York Times News Service)

NEW YORK—Subterfuge and bad faith in the operation of "token integration" plans in 11 Southern states have maintained racial segregation virtually intact nine years after the Supreme Court outlawed it.

Recent federal district court and high court rulings, however, now give hope of bringing to an end the evasive tactics of the "resistant" states and thus force the Deep South to speedier compliance with the integration laws.

CHIEF CONCLUSIONS

These are the major conclusions of a new report, "token desegregation and beyond," issued by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in New York.

The author of the report is J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. He stresses also the high cost—in money, lost educational facilities and violence to democratic principles—of the Southern resistance.

Morland reports that only four-tenths of one per cent of all the Negroes in the 11 most recalcitrant states were attending schools with white children. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Even adding the better record of the "compliant" states—Delaware Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia—and the District of Columbia leaves approximately 92 out of each 100 Negroes in the Southern and border states attending segregated classes.

VERY LITTLE DONE

In the 11 "resistant" states only 11.8 per cent of the bi-racial school districts had been even nominally desegregated and even this inadequate performance was more apparent than real, the report said.

By contrast, in the "compliant" border states 90.6 per cent of the bi-racial districts had integrated their schools in November, 1962. Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia and the District of Columbia had desegregated all of their school districts.

Morland calls "token" integration those measures designed to offer nominal and technical compliance with the Supreme Court ruling but to maintain full, or very nearly full segregation in fact.

"Token integration operates on the basis of fear and subterfuge," the author writes. "Fear of integration itself and subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive. While difficult problems can arise as communities change a bi-racial school system into a non-racial one, compliant states have demonstrated that this change can be made creatively and successfully."

OMAHA, NEBR.
WORLD-HERALD (MORNING)
D: 126,435 S. 268,388

JUL 14 1963

'Token Plans Not Even Token'

© New York Times Service.

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The Washington Post
WASHINGTON, D.C.
D. 408,701 S. 491,212

JUL 14 1963

Report Shows South's Fight to Keep Schools Segregated Has Been Costly

By Susanna McBee
Staff Reporter

Southern efforts to fight school integration heve kept all but a few Negroes out of desegregated schools in the 11 Confederate states, but the dollar cost of resistance has been high.

This conclusion is contained in a 27-page report published yesterday by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and written by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va.

It has been nine years since the Supreme Court ruled that school segregation is unconstitutional, but today only four-tenths of one per cent of the Negro students in the Old Confederacy are attending desegregated schools, Morland noted.

The "resistant" Confederate states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

In the District of Columbia and six "compliant" states—Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia—51.1 per cent of Negro students are in school with white students. The percentage of Negroes in desegregated schools throughout the South—"resistant" and "compliant" states combined—is 7.8 as of last November, the report showed.

If the "resistant" states continue to resist, they can be assured of two things, Morland said—"It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

For instance, as of last November, 293 school cases had been filed in Federal and state courts. Figuring the cost of each case at $15,000, Morland estimated the total cost at $4,395,000.

Another cost has been that of drawing up and passing legislation designed to prevent or slow down integration. Morland said 379 such laws were passed by 16 Southern state legislatures after the 1954 decision. An "enormous amount of time, effort, talent and money" went into these laws, many of which have been declared unconstitutional, the professor observed.

Tuition grants have been costly, too. In five years, Virginia has paid more than $7.7 million, Morland said. Georgia paid $216,987 last year, and Louisiana paid $850,216 in the first four months of the last school year.

"Less tangible but perhaps more significant" costs involve the "handicapping of school administrators in improving the quality of education in the public schools," he said.

"With so much time, energy, and money spent in keeping certain children out of certain schools," he added, "less time, effort, and money have been available for strengthening the educational program itself."

HOUSTON, TEXAS
POST
D. 220,491 S. 243,883

JUL 14 1963

Slow Desegregation Of Southern Schools Cited

ATLANTA — (AP) — Fewer than one in 200 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed Sunday.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a non-profit, non-political, biracial research and educational organization.

A PROFESSOR of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va, J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

The study, based on compilations in November, 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina had no desegregation at all in public and primary and secondary schools.

Morland's findings dealt with Southern and border states school districts. They showed that 31.8 per cent of bi-racial districts have been desegregated in the area.

AN OVER-ALL percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

In the 11 other states, which Morland labeled "resistant" toward desegregation, 11.8 per cent of the districts have been desegregated.

States in which all school districts have been desegregated were listed as Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia.

In the "resistant" states, .4 per cent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "compliant" states, Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

HE SAID that state legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

"A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of pupil placement laws," he said.

In actual operation, Morland contended, these laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race."

THE PROFESSOR added:

"In practice, the children who gave applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus actual desegregation of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment."

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"Still another way of keeping integration at low levels has been the grade-a-year or stairstep plan."

MORLAND SAID that if communities "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

AUGUSTA, GA.
CHRONICLE-HERALD
SUN. - CIRC.N.AVAIL.
JUL 14 1963

'Token' integration study reveals delay

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Ostensible Criteria

In actual operation, Morland contended, these laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race."

The professor added:

"In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment."

A second anti-integration method, he said, has been "local option" provisions which allow communities to close schools ordered to desegregate.

Morland said that if communities "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

BOSTON, MASS.
ADVERTISER
SUN. 448,810

JUL 14 1963

Integration in Dixie Schools Fou

ATLANTA (UPI)—A new report on the progress of school desegreation said that fewer than one out of 200 Negro children in 11 southern states are now in integrated classes.

The report, published by Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League, was prepared by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va.

The report said the 11 "resistant" states had adopted token integration plans designed "to meet the demands of the Supreme Court by allowing some integration while still keeping the number of Negroes in school with whites at such a low level a facto (in fact

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JACKSON, MISS.
CLARION-LEDGER
D. 54,056

JUL 14 1963

LESS THAN 1 IN 200

Dixie's Integrated Schools Still Have Only Few Negroes

ATLANTA (UPI) — A new report on the progress of school desegregation said Saturday that fewer than one out of 200 Negro children in 11 Southern states are now in integrated classes.

The report, published by Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League, was prepared by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon woman's college. Lynchburg, Va.

The report said the 11 "resistant" states had adopted token integration plans designed "to meet the demands of the Supreme court by allowing some integration while still keeping the number of Negroes in school with whites at such a low level as to maintain de facto (in fact) segregation."

Morland listed pupil placement laws, local option provisions with their school closing authorizations, tuition grants and restrictive transfer plans as the main programs that have kept 99.6 per cent of the Negroes in schools of the 11 states in segregated classes.

Morland singled out as the "resistant" states Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

STATES THAT COMPLIED

Previously - segregated areas that have "complied" with the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision were listed as Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia and the District of Columbia.

Morland pointed out that overall school desegregation statistics fail to show the slow pace in the deep South and in some cases hide the facts inside the South.

He noted that statistics show Nashville, Tenn., with 810 Negroes in schools with whites but that actually 540 of them were in a school with a single white child and a Chinese-American.

Of the 270 desegregated districts in the "resistant" states last fall, 176 were in Texas alone, he said.

"Racial integration in public schools is by any standard at token levels in resistant states, where 98 per cent of the Negro pupils in desegregated districts and 99.6 per cent in all school districts are in segregated schools," Morland concluded.

SEGREGATION FUTILE

The federal courts "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools," Morland emphasized. He said de facto segregation would be "futile in the long run" and very costly.

On the basis of a Civil Rights Commission estimate that one racial case costs $15,000, Morland estimated that litigation over the issue already had cost $4,395,000. There have been 223 cases in "resistant" states and 70 in the others.

He estimated the cost of extraordinary legislative sessions on the race question at $934,000, $7,750,000 for 38,000 tuition grants to children who refused to attend integrated schools and the "less tangible" cost of "handicapping school administrators in improving the quality of education in the public schools."

"Another cost of token integration is the keeping of the race issue alive, the catering to racial prejudice and the giving of false hope to segregationists," Morland wrote.

He said that fear of social troubles and lowering of academic standards governed much of the reluctance to move into integrated programs.

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ST. LOUIS, MO.
POST-DISPATCH
D. 347,672 S. 564,337

JUL 14 1963

ONLY NOMINAL INTEGRATION IN SOUTH REPORTED

ATLANTA, Ga., July 13 (UPI) —A new report of the progress of school desegregation said today that less than half of 1 per cent of Negro children in 11 Southern states are in integrated classes.

The report, published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League, was prepared by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va.

The report said that the 11 states had adopted token integration plans designed "to meet the demands of the Supreme Court by allowing some integration while still keeping the number of Negroes in school with whites at such a low level as to maintain de facto segregation."

The 11 states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

CHICAGO, ILL.
CHICAGO'S AMERICAN
D. 444,559 S. 554,928

JUL 14 1963

How 3 Dixie States Block Integration of Schools

BY HOYT HARWELL

ATLANTA (AP) — Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 southern states are attending desegregated schools, a recently completed study, "Token Integration and Beyond," shows. It was published by the Anti-Defamation league of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, biracial research and educational organization.

A professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's college in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

The study, based on compilations in November, 1962, showed Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

Morland's findings dealt with southern and border states school districts. They showed 31.8 per cent of biracial districts have been desegregated in the area.

An over-all percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.

In the 11 other states, which Morland labeled "resistant" toward desegregation, 11.8 per cent of the districts have been desegregated.

All school districts have been desegregated in Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia.

In the "resistant" states, .4 per cent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "compliant" states, Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

He said state legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme court ruling.

"A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been thru the adoption of pupil placement laws," he said.

Local Option Method

A second anti-integration method, he said, has been "local option" provisions which allow communities to close schools ordered to desegregate.

"Another device has been the offer of tuition grants to allow pupils to attend private, nonsectarian schools instead of public schools," Morland said. "Six states — Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia—have passed such legislation.

"Still another way of keeping integration at low levels has been the grade-a-year or stair-step plan."

Morland said that if communities "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

He said the federal courts have become "less and less patient" with token integration plans and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans.

HOUSTON, TEXAS
CHRONICLE
D. 206,663 S. 243,876

JUL 14 1963

Segregation Still Rules in 11 States

Atlanta (UPI)—A new report on the progress of school desegregation said Saturday fewer than one out of 200 Negro children in 11 Southern states are now in integrated classes.

The report, published by the Southern Regional Council and the Antidefamation League, was prepared by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va.

The report said the 11 "resistant" states had adopted token integration plans designed "to meet the demands of the Supreme Court by allowing some integration while still keeping the number of Negroes in school with whites at such a low level as to maintain de facto segregation."

Morland listed pupil placement laws, local option provisions with their school closing authorizations, tuition grants and restrictive transfer plans as the main programs that have kept 99.6 per cent of the Negroes in schools of the 11 states in segregated classes.

"Resistant" States

Morland singled out as the "resistant" states Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Previously segregated areas that have "complied" with the 1954 Supreme Court decision were listed as Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia and the District of Columbia.

Morland pointed out over-all school desegregation statistics fail to show the slow pace in the deep South and in some cases hide the facts inside the South.

He noted that statistics show Nashville, Tenn., with 810 Negroes in schools with whites but that actually 540 of them were in a school with a single white child and a Chinese-American.

Of the 270 desegregated districts in the "resistant" states last fall, 174 were in Texas alone, he said.

"Racial integration in public schools is by any standard at token levels in resistant states, where 98 per cent of the Negro pupils in desegregated districts and 99.6 per cent in all school districts are in segregated schools," Morland concluded.

"Futile in Long Run"

of false hopes to segregationists," Morland wrote.

He said fear of social troubles and lowering of academic standards governed much of the reluctance to move into integrated programs.

Resolute Firmness

"It has been demonstrated repeatedly that when state and local officials act in resolute firmness there has not been violence or serious opposition in carrying out the mandate of the courts," Morland said.

He said there was "no factual support" for fears that Negro pupils in white schools lower academic standards, adding that some school administrators have testified standards were improved with desegregation.

The S.R.C. was formed in 1944 by white and Negro Southerners with the avowed purpose of advancing "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

tucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia and the District of Columbia.

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"Futile in Long Run"

The federal courts "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools," Morland said. He said de facto segregation would be "futile in the long run" and very costly.

On the basis of a civil rights commission estimate that one racial case costs $15,000, Morland estimated litigation over the issue already had cost $4,395,000. There have been 223 cases in "resistant" states and 70 in the others.

He estimated the cost of extraordinary legislative sessions on the race question at $934,000, $7,750,000 for 38,000 tuition grants to children who refused to attend integrated schools and the "less tangible" cost of "handicapping school administrators in improving the quality of education in the public schools."

"Another cost of token integration is the keeping of the race issue alive, the catering to racial prejudice and the giving

RICHMOND, VA.
TIMES-DISPATCH
D. 140,135 S. 188,901
JUL 14 1963

Study Shows Most Souther

From T-D Wire Dispatches

Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study prepared by a Virginia college professor shows.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical biracial research and educational organization. The study's author is J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg.

PROFESSOR MORLAND says in his report, released yesterday, that subterfuge and bad faith in the operation of "token integration" plans in 11 states have maintained racial segregation virtually intact nine years after the Supreme Court outlawed it.

Only four-tenths of one per cent of the Negroes in 11 Southern states were attending schools with white children, compilations in November, 1962, showed.

These states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Even adding the better record of the "compliant" states—Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia—and the District of Columbia leaves approximately 92 out of each 100 Negroes in the Southern and border states attending segregated classes.

IN THE 11 "resistant" states only 11.8 per cent of the biracial school districts had been even nominally desegregated and even this inadequate performance was more apparent than real, the report said.

By contrast, in the "compliant" border states 90.6 per cent of the biracial districts had integrated their schools in November, 1962. Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia and the District of Columbia had desegregated all their school districts.

Morland calls "token" integration those measures designed to offer nominal and technical compliance with the Supreme Court ruling but to maintain full, or very nearly full, segregation in fact.

RECENT RULINGS by United States circuit courts and the Supreme Court, the author says, have begun to recognize these "token" plans as evasions of the law and to outlaw them.

Among them are pupil placement plans and restrictive transfer provisions. The first type gives to school boards the right to assign pupils individually to specific schools, with no specific mention made of race among the criteria for selection, but in practice, the boards assign Negroes and whites alike to schools in which all or nearly all of the attendance is of the same race.

Such laws, Morland finds, have provisions for appeal from such assignments

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but these are so complex and costly to pursue that few petitioners have the energy or resources to carry litigation to a successful conclusion.

RESTRICTIVE TRANSFER provisions have been widely used to lessen or nullify the effect of the so-called "grade A year" desegregation plans adopted in some school districts, in nominal compliance, the report found.

Under these plans, one grade is desegregated each year and children of both races are assigned to schools nearest their homes, but, by administrative decision, white children assigned to predominantly Negro schools and Negroes attending schools with a white majority have been freely granted transfers to schools of their own race. But transfers in the other direction, to white schools by Negroes or, in the rare cases that might have arisen, to Negro schools by whites, are not permitted.

The resulted has been rapidly to resegregate the integrated classes, the report states.

OTHER EVASIONS have been accomplished by giving local communities the option of closing public schools ordered to desegregate and by tuition grants by states to permit pupils to attend segregated private schools.

The pupil placement plan has been condemned in the circuit court in a decision that said it was not compatible with the "deliberate speed" concept and that "it is not a plan for desegregation at all." At the time of writing of the report the Supreme Court had still to affirm or reject this ruling.

The high court, however, already has ruled unanimously that two representative pupil transfer plans are unconstitutional.

IN LATER sections of the report, Morland discusses the racial and social fallacies on which resistance to segregation is based. These include the idea, universally rejected by scientists that capacity to learn has any direct connection with race and that school integration will result in lower educational standards and heightened social tensions.

He dismisses the argument of racial inequality with the statement that "Americans can be treated as individuals rather than as members of races and they can be given equal opportunity as individuals to develop their abilities without fear of any consequences known to science."

He quotes those in the forefront of the integration movement—notably in Louisville and Baltimore—to show that desegregation of schools has improved educational standards and coincided with, if not actually caused, a decline in juvenile delinquency.

This effect, he argues, might be even more marked if the millions spent by the resistant states on legislation and litigation to block integration were to be devoted to educational purposes.

MEMPHIS, TENN.
COMMERCIAL APPEAL
D. 216,858 S. 260,847

JUL 14 1963

Dixie School Integration Is 'Token'

From Our Press Services

Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 Southern and border states is attending desegregated schools, a study showed yesterday.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a non-profit, non-political, bi-racial research and educational organization.

A professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

In other racial news, Birmingham Mayor Albert Boutwell announced the formation of a city Community Affairs Committee with members "from all walks of life." The committee, which apparently will be bi-racial, will "inform, advise and recommend to the mayor and the council . . . what steps may be taken toward the development, improvement and general growth of the Birmingham area."

Establishment of such a committee was one of the conditions Negro leaders set forth in their recent massive desegregation campaign at Birmingham.

At Albany, Ga., Robert J. Kelley of Baltimore, a 19-year-old Marine who told police he had been brooding over recent racial unrest, was charged with wounding a Negro railroad flagman, Jessie Bailey. Bailey received pellet wounds in the back, but was not seriously hurt.

In Humboldt, Tenn., Mayor Dan Scott gave further details of a Negro demonstration which resulted in the arrest Friday of about 35 Negroes.

The Negroes moved into the municipal park and took over the playground area. A group of whites gathered and threats were made and police asked the Negroes to leave for "their own protection." When the Negroes refused, they were arrested on charges of threatening a breach of the peace and disorderly conduct.

Rev. J. T. Freeman, president of the Humboldt-Gibson County branch of the NAACP, said he and 39 others were arrested. Three juveniles among those arrested were released to await hearing in juvenile court, he said, and the others were taken to the Gibson County Jail and released late yesterday under $250 bond each pending trial in City Court at Humboldt July 27.

In New York, eight Congress of Racial Equality members left a picket line of about 100 persons outside a Bronx restaurant and launched a sit-in at the diner, scene of weeklong demonstrations and sporadic violence. They filled all available seats inside.

A police detachment, from among the hundreds of police in the area guarding against a renewal of violence, also was inside. There were no customers.

Meanwhile, in Harlem, Black Muslim leader Malcolm X told a rally of the Negro supremacy group that the Federal Government will provoke a civil war among whites "by trying to force them to give up their jobs to Negroes."

In Atlanta, white demonstrators picketed a desegregated restaurant, while Negroes and a few whites picketed one which serves only white persons.

In St. Louis, Negro pickets protesting alleged discriminatory policies of two amusement parks said they will continue their demonstrations until the parks change their policies.

At Danville, Va., small picketing by Negroes kept harried police on the run and by early evening 14 of the pickets had been jailed. The arrests stemmed from picketing in two downtown department stores.

In Peoria, Ill., 100 Negro and white demonstrators who have been protesting alleged discrimination in hiring practices of Central Illinois Light Co. visited its headquarters. They milled around the showroom, handling merchandise on display and making complaints about the lack of sales personnel on duty.

In Detroit, 60 Negroes and 15 whites peacefully picketed 18 apartment houses in protest of alleged housing discrimination.

ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION
SUN. 504,755

JUL 14 1963

'Token' Plans Seen Aiding Racial Bias

By FRED POWLEDGE

Legislative attempts in 11 Southern states to forestall large-scale desegregation through "pupil placement plans" have apparently achieved their purpose, a study showed Saturday.

The report, called "Token Desegregation and Beyond," shows that only four-tenths of 1 per cent of the Negro pupils in the "resistant" states were actually attending school with whites as of November 1962.

In six other states, designated as "compliant" with federal desegregation orders, 51.1 per cent of the Negro pupils are in school with whites.

THE REPORT is by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va. It is published jointly by the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Prof. Morland concludes that desegregation nine years after the 1954 Supreme Court decision is "exceedingly limited" in those states which may be described as "resistant" to desegregation. He names these states as Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

STATES WHICH have "moved more or less steadily toward compliance" were named as Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

Prof. Morland found that 11.8 per cent of the school districts which contain both white and Negro children in the resistant states had desegregated — and points out that desegregation is officially accomplished when one Negro attends a school formerly attended only by whites. In the compliant states, 90.6 per cent of the biracial districts are desegregated.

In the desegregated districts, he found that 2 per cent of the Negroes were attending schools with whites in the resistant states, 54.8 per cent in the compliant states.

AND IN A TABLE showing the number and percentage of Negro pupils in all public school districts with whites, Prof. Morland shows the actual rate of integration.

In the resistant states, 12,217 Negroes of a total of 2,803,882 attend school with whites, for a percentage of 0.4. In the complint states, 243,150 Negroes of a total of 475,549 attend with whites, for a percentage of 51.1.

Once the resistant and compliant states are lumped together, the percentage of Negroes attending schools with whites comes to 7.8.

"DESEGREGATION as a reality," says the report, "still lies in

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"DESEGREGATION as a reality," says the report, "still lies in the future, for it is to be remembered that 99 per cent of the Negro children in the 11 former Confederate states continue to be in all-Negro schools.

"Just how soon desegregated, non-racial school systems will develop throughout the South depends on several factors. These include the determination of Negro plaintiffs to press for equal treatment, the vigor of the federal government in demanding the elimination of discrimination, and the willingness of school boards and communities to act in good faith in compliance with the Supreme Court decision."

PROFESSOR MORELAND writes that if the resistant states "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things: It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

He estimates that the expense of legal litigation contesting desegregation until November 1962 could amount to $4,395,000. Five extraordinary sessions of the Louisiana Legislature have cost $934,000, and thousands of dollars have been spent in tuition grant funds, many of them to students who were attending private schools anyway.

MACON GA.
TELEGRAPH AND NEWS
SUN. 64,510

JUL 14 1963

Few Negroes in South in Mixed Classes

ATLANTA, Ga. [AP] — Fewer than one in 200 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed today.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation league of B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, biracial research and educational organization.

A professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

The study, based on compilations in November 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

Morland's findings dealt with Southern and border states school districts. They showed that 31.8 per cent of biracial districts have been desegregated in the area.

An over-all percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

In the 11 other states, which Morland labeled "resistant" toward desegregation, 11.8 per cent of the districts have been desegregated.

States in which all school districts have been desegregated were listed as Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia.

In the "resistant" states, .4 per cent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "compliant" states, Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

He said that state legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

"A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of pupil placement laws," he said.

In actual operation, Morland contended, these laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race."

The professor added:

"In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment."

A second anti-ingegration method, he said, has been "local option" provisions which allow communities to close schools ordered to desegregate.

"Another device for avoiding integrated schools has been the offer of tuition grants to allow pupils to attend private, nonsectarian schools instead of public schools," Morland said. "Six states — Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia — have passed such legislation."

He said:

"Still another way of keeping integration at low levels has been the grade-a-year or stair-step plan."

Morland said that if communities "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

He said the federal courts have become "less and less patient" with token integration plans and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans.

"Federal courts," he concluded, "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels."

End adv for ams Sun July 14

PAGE (s) MISSING

DULUTH, MINN.
NEWS TRIBUNE
D. 54,039 S. 78,586

JUL 14 1963

Desegregation Limps in South

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed today.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation league of B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, biracial research and educational organization.

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"Federal courts," he concluded, 'are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels."

RALEIGH, N.C.
NEWS & OBSERVER
D. 128,829 S: 141,373

JUL 14 1963

11 Deep-South States Have Only 1% School Integration

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed today.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation league of B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, biracial research and educational organization.

A professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

None At All.

The study, based on compilations in November 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

Morland's findings dealt with Southern and border states school districts. They showed that 31.8 per cent of biracial districts have been desegregated in the area.

An over-all percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

In the 11 other states, which Morland labeled "resistant" toward desegregation, 11.8 per cent of the districts have been desegregated.

States in which all school districts have been desegregated were listed as Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia.

In the "resistant" states, .4 per cent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "compliant" states, Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

He said that state legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

"A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of pupil placement laws," he said.

In actual operation, Morland contended, these laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though sotensibly on criteria other than race."

The professor added:

"In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment."

A second anti-ingegration method, he said, has been "local option" provisions which allow communities to close schools ordered to desegregate.

ROANOKE, VA.
TIMES
D. 55,233 S. 93,957

JUL 14 1963

Few Southern Negroes Now Attend Integrated Schools

By HOYT HARWELL

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed today.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation league of B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, biracial research and educational organization.

A professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

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A second anti-ingegration method, he said, has been "local option" provisions which allow communities to close schools ordered to desegregate.

"Another device for avoiding integrated schools has been the offer of tuition grants to allow pupils to attend private, nonsectarian schools instead of public schools," Morland said. "Six states — Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia — have passed such legislation."

VALLEJO, CALIF.
TIMES-HERALD
D. 26,055 S. 26,046

JUL 14 1963

NEGROES IN SCHOOL

Integration Affects Only One In 100

By HOYT HARWELL

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed yesterday.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation league of B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, biracial research and educational organization.

A professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

STUDY BASIS

The study, based on compilations in November 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

Moreland's findings dealt with Southern and border states school districts. They showed that 31.8 per cent of biracial districts have been desegregated in the area.

An over-all percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

In the 11 other states, which Morland labeled "resistant" toward desegregation, 11.8 per cent of the districts have been desegregated.

States in which all school districts have been desegregated were listed as Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia.

In the "resistant" states, .4 per cent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "compliant" states, Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

He said that state legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

"A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of pupil placement laws," he said.

In actual operation, Morland contended, these laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race."

"In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment."

A second anti-ingegration method, he said, has been "local option" provisions which allow communities to close schools ordered to desegregate.

"Another device for avoiding integrated schools has been the offer of tuition grants to allow pupils to attend private, nonsectarian schools instead of public schools," Morland said. "Six states — Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia — have passed such legislation."

He said:

"Still another way of keeping integration at low levels has been the grade-a-year or stair-step plan."

Morland said that if communities "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

He said the federal courts have become "less and less patient" with token integration plans and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans.

"Federal courts," he concluded, "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels."

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The professor added:

PRACTICE TOLD

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Arkansas Gazette.
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
D. 92,176 S. 105,024

JUL 14 1963

State Is Listed Among 11 Resisting Integration

Atlanta, July 13 (UPI).—A new report on the progress of school desegregation said today that fewer than one out of 200 Negro children in 11 Southern states are now in integrated classes.

The report, published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith, was prepared by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph - Macon Woman's College at Lynchburg, Va.

The report said the 11 "resistant" states had adopted token integration plans designed "to meet the demands of the Supreme Court by allowing some integration while still keeping the number of Negroes in school with whites at such a low level as to maintain de facto (in fact) segregation."

Morland listed pupil placement laws, local option provisions with their school closing authorizations, tuition grants and restrictive transfer plans as the main programs that have kept 99.6 per cent of the Negroes in schools of the 11 states in segregated classes.

Morland singled out as the "resistant" states Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisina, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Previously segregated areas that have "complied" with the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision were listed as Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia and the District of Columbia.

Morland pointed out that overall school desegregation statistics failed to show the slow pace in the Deep South and in some cases hid the facts inside the South.

He noted that statistics showed Nashville, Tenn., with 810 Negroes in schools with whites but that actually 540 of them were in a school with a single white child and a Chinese-American.

Of the 270 desegregated districts in the "resistant" states last fall, 176 were in Texas alone, he said.

"Racial integration in public schools is by any standard at token levels in resistant states, where 98 per cent of the Negro pupils in desegregated districts and 99.6 per cent in all school districts are in segregated schools," Morland concluded.

The federal courts "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools," Morland emphasized. He said de facto segregation would be "futile in the long run" and very costly.

On the basis of a Civil Rights Commission estimate that one racial case costs $15,000, Morland estimated that letigation over the issue already had cost $4,395,000. There have been 223 cases in "resistant" states and 70 in the others.

He estimated the cost of extraordinary legislative sessions on the race question at $934,000 $7,750,000 for 38,000 tuition grants to children who refused to attend integrated schools and the "less tangible" cost of "handicapping school administrators in improving the quality of education in the public schools."

"Another cost of token integration is the keeping of the race issue alive, the catering to racial prejudice and the giving of false hope to segregationists," Morland wrote.

He said that fear of social troubles and lowering of academic standards governed much of the reluctance to move into integrated programs.

"It has been demonstrated repeatedly that when state and local officials act in resolute firmness there has not been violence or serious opposition in carrying out the mandate of the courts," Morland said.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.
REGISTER
D. 97,672 S. 105,605

JUL 14 1963

Sucess Rate Less Than 1 Per Cent

School Integration Still Nil In South

ATLANTA (UPI) — A new report on the progress of school desegregation said Saturday that fewer than one out of 200 Negro children in 11 Southern states are now in integrated classes.

The report, published by Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League, was prepared by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon woman's college, Lynchburg, Va.

The report said the 11 "resistant" states had adopted token integration plans designed "to meet the demands of the Supreme court by allowing some integration while still keeping the number of Negroes in school with whites at such a low level as to maintain de facto (in fact) segregation."

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Segregation Futile

The federal courts "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools," Morland emphasized. He said de facto segregation would be "futile in the long run" and very costly.

He said that fear of social troubles and lowering of academic standards governed much of the reluctance to move into integrated programs.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
STAR
D. 258,167 S. 313,112

JUL 14 1963

South Holds Race Line Firmly, Study Finds

ATLANTA, July 13 (AP).—Fewer than one in 200 Negro pupils in 11 Southern States are attending desegreated schools, a study showed today.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a non-profit, non-political, biracial research and educational organization.

A professor of sociology at Randolph - Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

The study, based on compilations in November, 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

Mr. Morland's finding dealt with southern and border States school districts. They showed that 31.8 per cent of biracial districts have been desegregated in the area.

Higher in Border Area

An over-all percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virgina.

In the 11 other States, which Mr. Morland labeled "resistant" toward desegregation, 11.8 per cent of the districts have been desegregated.

States in which all school districts have been desegregated were listed as Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia.

In the "resistant" States, .4 per cent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "compliant" States, Mr. Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

He said that State legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

Placement a Weapon

"A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of pupil placement laws," he said.

In actual operation, Mr. Morland contended, these laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race."

"Federal courts," Mr. Morland concluded, "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and States may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels."

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
NEWS
D. 187,020 S. 220,313

JUL 14 1963

School integration in South still slow

BY HOYT HARWELL

ATLANTA, July 13 —(AP)— Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed today.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a non-profit, non-political, biracial research and educational organization.

A professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court Directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

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MORLAND'S FINDINGS dealt with Southern and border states' school districts. They showed that 31.8 per cent of biracial districts have been desegregated in the area.

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Flood of laws passed

HE SAID STATE legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

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Turn to Page 18, Column 1

School integration in South still slow

Continued from Page 15

In actual operation, Morland contended, the laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race."

The professor added:

"In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment."

'Local option' measures

A SECOND anti-integration method, he said, has been "local option" provisions which allow communities to close schools ordered to desegregate.

"Another device for avoiding integrated schools has been the offer of tuition grants to allow pupils to attend private, nonsectarian schools instead of public schools," Morland said. "Six states—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia — have passed such legislation".

He said:

"Still another way of keeping integration at low levels has been the grade-a-year or stair-step plan."

Morland said that if communities "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

HE SAID THE federal courts have become "less and less patient" with token integration plans and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans.

"Federal courts," he concluded, "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels."

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
TRIBUNE
D. 218,345 S. 654,561

JUL 14 1963

Integration Under 1% in Southern Schools

ATLANTA, Ga. — (AP) — Fewer than one in 200 Negro pupils in 11 southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed Saturday.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, biracial research and educational organization.

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The study, based on compilations in November 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

Morland's findings dealt with southern and border states school districts. They showed that 31.8 per cent of biracial districts have been desegregated in the area.

AN OVER-ALL percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

In the 11 other states, which Morland labeled "resistant" toward desegregation, 11.8 per cent of the districts have been desegregated.

States in which all school districts have been desegregated were listed as Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia.

In the "resistant" states, .4 per cent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "compliant" states, Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

State legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

"A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of pupil placement laws," he said.

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He said:

"**STILL ANOTHER** way of keeping integration at low levels has been the grade-a-year or stair-step plan."

Morland said that if communities "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

Chicago Tribune
THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER
D. 854,085 S. 1,157,232
JUL 14 1963

Report Finds Uneven Desegregation Trend

Atlanta, July 13 (AP) — Fewer than 1 in 100 Negro pupils in 11 southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed today.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation league of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, bi-racial research and educational organization.

A professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon woman's college in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

"Fear of Integration"

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

The study, based on compilations in November, 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

Morland's findings dealt with southern and border states school districts. They showed that 31.8 per cent of bi-racial districts have been desegregated in the area.

Cites Certain States

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States in which all school districts have been desegregated were listed as Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia, and the District of Columbia.

In the "resistant" states, .4 per cent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "compliant" states, Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

He said that state legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme court ruling.

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
JUL 14 1963

Token Desegregation

Few Negroes In Desegregated Schools Nine Years After Ruling

Although it is nine years since the Supreme Court decided that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional, less than half of one per cent of Negro pupils in eleven "resistant" states in the South are now attending desegregated schools, according to a study, "Token Desegregation and Beyond," published Saturday.

The study was prepared by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon woman's College Lynchburg, Virginia, and published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council.

The study is the first of several publications planned by ADL and SRC on problems of desegregation. A second study, to be released within the next month, is a psychiatric analysis of the effect of school desegregation in the South, by Dr. Robert M. Coles.

The fact that 99.6 per cent of Negroes in all the school districts of the eleven states are still attending all-Negro schools was attributed to "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive." The eleven states are Alabama, Arkansas Florida, Georgia Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

379 LAWS PASSED

Professor Morland said at least 379 laws have been passed by state legislatures since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling. He described the following as typical methods of keeping school integration at token levels:

Pupil placement laws authorizing a state or local board to assign pupils individually to different schools. When an Negro child applies for admission to a white school, the Board of Education can turn him down, not on grounds of race, but on as many as 20 detailed considerations including transportation, health, etc.

Local Option" provisions which allow communities to close their public schools.

—Tuition grants enabling pupils to attend private, nonsectarian schools.

—Restrictive transfer arrangements in schools which comply with the Supreme Court decision by assigning pupils to the school nearest their homes, and then automatically grant white students transfers to the nearest school in which whites are a majority.

According to the Morland study, no precise cataloging of the costs involved in these "devices" can be made. However, estimates show that the price is high. for example, a total of 293 court cases have been filed in state and federal courts at an average cost of about $15 000 each; in Louisiana, tutition grants amounted to some $859,000 in four months and five "Exeraordinary Sessions" held by the state legislature to prevent desgregation programs cost $934,000; Virginia's tuition grants totaled more than seven million dollars in five years; Georgia's legislature was forced to amend its law after tuition grants reached $215,987 in one year.

In direct contrast to the efforts of the "resistant" states to circumvent desegregation are the results in six "compliant" states which have tended to go along with the Supreme Court decision. In these states—Delaware. Kentucky, Maryland. Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia—51.1 per cent of Negro to non-racial schools with whites and changeovers from bi-racial to non-racial school systems have been made for the most part "creatively and successfully."

FEARS REFUTED

Although segregationists warned against "dire consequences" for the

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 6)

Few Negroes

(Continued from Page One)

quality of education if changes were made, the study declared areas refute the fears. The general consensus was that integration had not lowered the academic achievement of either white or Negro students. In addition, school children had shown themselves able to solve problems of adjustment to integration after the initial confrontation was over.

Professor Morland listed these among the factors determining when desegration will become a reality:

—The vigor of the federal government "in demanding the elimination of discrimination." The federal courts, he went on to say, have become "less and less patient" with token integration devices and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans.

—The speed with which pupil placement laws, initially accepted as constitutional on their face, are declared unconstitutional as practiced in some school systems.

—The extent to which school closing is challenged when other public schools in the state remain open, and restricted transfer provisions that result in resegregation are rejected.

Professor Morland warned that token integration has essentially the same goal as massive resistance because it seeks to preserve the established pattern of segregation. He added, however, that the effort "will be futile in the long run."

"Federal courts are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyound token levels," he said.

Copies of the study are available from the national office of the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York, or from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Atl. J. & C. 7/14/63

'Token' Plans Seen Aiding Racial Bias

Educ. - Soy.

By FRED POWLEDGE

Legislative attempts in 11 Southern states to forestall large-scale desegregation through "pupil placement plans" have apparently achieved their purpose, a study showed Saturday.

The report, called "Token Desegregation and Beyond," shows that only four-tenths of 1 per cent of the Negro pupils in the "resistant" states were actually attending school with whites as of November 1962.

In six other states, designated as "compliant" with federal desegregation orders, 51.1 per cent of the Negro pupils are in school with whites.

THE REPORT is by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va. It is published jointly by the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Prof. Morland concludes that desegregation nine years after the 1954 Supreme Court decision is "exceedingly limited" in those states which may be described as "resistant" to desegregation. He names these states as Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

STATES WHICH have "moved more or less steadily toward compliance" were named as Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

Prof. Morland found that 11.8 per cent of the school districts which contain both white and Negro children in the resistant states had desegregated — and points out that desegregation is officially accomplished when one Negro attends a school formerly attended only by whites. In the compliant states, 90.6 per cent of the biracial districts are desegregated.

and Virginia.

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In the desegregated districts, he found that 2 per cent of the Negroes were attending schools with whites in the resistant states, 54.8 per cent in the compliant states.

AND IN A TABLE showing the number and percentage of Negro pupils in all public school districts with whites, Prof. Morland shows the actual rate of integration.

In the resistant states, 12,217 Negroes of a total of 2,803,882 attend school with whites, for a percentage of 0.4. In the complint states, 243,150 Negroes of a total of 475,549 attend with whites, for a percentage of 51.1.

Once the resistant and compliant states are lumped together, the percentage of Negroes attending schools with whites comes to 7.8.

"DESEGREGATION as a reality," says the report, "still lies in the future, for it is to be remembered that 99 per cent of the Negro children in the 11 former Confederate states continue to be in all-Negro schools.

"Just how soon desegregated, non-racial school systems will develop throughout the South depends on several factors. These include the determination of Negro plaintiffs to press for equal treatment, the vigor of the federal government in demanding the elimination of discrimination, and the willingness of school boards and communities to act in good faith in compliance with the Supreme Court decision."

PROFESSOR MORELAND writes that if the resistant states "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things: It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

He estimates that the expense of legal litigation contesting desegregation until November 1962 could amount to $4,395,000. Five extraordinary sessions of the Louisiana Legislature have cost $934,000, and thousands of dollars have been spent in tuition grant funds, many of them to students who were attending private schools anyway.

LONG BEACH, CALIF.
INDEPENDENT-PRESS-TELEGRAM
SUN. 144,468
JUL 14 1963

Tiny Fraction of Negro Pupils Inte

By HOYT HARWELL

ATLANTA (AP) — Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states attend desegregated schools, a study showed today.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nail B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a non-profit, non-political, biracial research and education organization.

A professor of sociology at Randolph - Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

The study, based on compilations in November 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

* * * *

MORELAND'S FINDINGS dealt with Southern and border states school districts. They showed that 31.8 percent of biracial districts have been desegregated in the area.

An over-all percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

In the 11 other states, which Morland labeled "resistant" toward desegregation, 11.8 percent of the districts have been desegregated.

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In actual operation, Morland contended, these laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race."

The professor added:

"In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment."

A SECOND anti-integration method, he said, has been "local option" provisions which allow communities to close schools ordered to desegregate.

"Another device for avoiding integrated schools has been the offer of tuition grants to allow pupils to attend private, nonsectarian schools instead of public schools," Morland said. "Six states — Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia have passed such legislation."

He said:

"Still another way of keeping integration at low levels has been the grade-a-year or stair-step plan."

Morland said if communities "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

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The News, Lynchburg. VA. 7/14/63

LYNCHBURG TEACHER

Morland Does Survey On School Integration

Ed. South

By HOYT HARWELL

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed today.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation league of B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, biracial research and educational organization.

A professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

(EDITOR'S NOTE—Morland has been a member of and a top official of the Virginia Council on Human Rights which recently established a separate organization to offer advice to businessmen who wanted to integrate their businesses.)

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

The study, based on compilations in November 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

Moreland Findings

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An over-all percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

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States in which all school districts have been desegregated were listed as Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia.

In the "resistant" states, .4 per cent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "compliant" states, Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

Laws Cited

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Morland said that if communities "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

He said the federal courts have become "less and less patient" with token integration plans and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans.

"Federal courts," he concluded, "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels."

Ed - South

163

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JULY 14,

11 States Accused of Bad Faith For 'Token' School Integration

Sociologist Reports That Less Than 1% of All Negroes Attend Classes With Whites—Nominal Laws Assailed

Bad faith in the operation of integration plans in 11 Southern states, it has been asserted, has maintained racial segregation in public schools intact nine years after the Supreme Court outlawed it.

This is the conclusion of a new report, "Token Desegregation and Beyond," issued yesterday by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in New York.

However, the report said, recent Federal district court and High Court rulings now offer hope of bringing to an end the evasive tactics of the "resistant" states and to force the Deep South to speedier compliance.

The author of the report is J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va.

Professor Morland reported that only four-tenths of the 1 per cent of all Negroes in the 11 "most recalcitrant" states were attending schools with white children by the end of the current term. The states involved, he said, are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

92 of 100 Segregated

Even when adding the record of "compliant" states — Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia — and the District of Columbia, he said, nearly 92 of every 100 Negroes in the Southern and border states attended segregated classes.

In the 11 resistant states only 11.8 percent of the so-called biracial school districts had been even nominally desegregated, Professor Morland said. This "inadequate" performance, he continued, was even more apparent than real.

By contrast, 90.6 percent of the biracial districts in the the border states integrated their schools in November, 1962. Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia and the District of Columbia desegregated all their school districts.

Professor Morland described as "token integration" those measures that are designed to offer nominal and technical compliance with the Supreme Court ruling but actually maintain complete or almost complete segregation.

"Token integration operates on the basis of fear and subterfuge—fear of integration itself and subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive," he said.

"While difficult problems can arise as communities change a biracial school ssytem into a nonracial one," he continued, "compliant states have demonstrated that this change can be made creatively and successfully."

Recent rulings by United States circuit courts and the Supreme Court, Professor Morland noted, have begun to recognize these token measures as evasions of the law.

Among these are pupil-placement plans and restrictive transfer provisions. The former, he said, gives to school boards the right to assign pupils individually to specific schools, with no specific mention made of race among the criteria for selection.

In practice, the boards assign Negroes and whites alike to schools in which all or nearly all attendance is of the same race, he declared.

Transfers Limited to Race

Such laws, Professor Morland said, have provisions for appeal from such assignments, but these are so complex and costly to pursue that few petitioners have the energy or resources to carry litigation to a successful conclusion.

Restrictive transfer provisions, he reported, have been widely used to lessen or nullify the effect of the so-called "grade-a-year" desegregation plans adopted in some school districts.

Under theses plans, one grade is desegregated each year and children of both races are assigned to schools nearest their homes. However, by administrative decision, the professor said, white children assigned to predominantly Negro schools and Negroes attending schools with a white majority are freely granted transfers to schools of their own race. The transfer of Negroes to white schools or, in rare cases, that of whites to Negro schools are not permitted, he said.

He cited other evasions that have given local communities the option of closing down public schools ordered to desegregate. Tuition grants by states to permit pupils to attend segregated private schools were also noted.

When the report was written the Supreme Court had not yet ruled on the constitutionality of the pupil-placement provisions. It has ruled unanimously that two representative pupil transfer plans are unconstitutional.

"Ostensibly, the plans for keeping integration at token levels have been devised to try to satisfy the courts," Professor Morland said. "It is quite obvious now that they are not doing so, and that the courts are becoming less and less patient with the bad faith implicit in them."

It is essential that the attack on such evasions be pressed, he went on, by "the determination of Negro plaintiffs, the vigor of the Federal Government and the willingness of school boards and communities to act in good faith."

The professor also attacked what he termed the racial and social fallacies on which resistance to segregation is based. These include, he said, the idea, universally rejected by scientists, that capacity to learn has any direct connection with race and that school integration will result in lower educational standards and heightened social tensions.

He dismissed the argument of racial inequality, saying:

"Americans can be treated as individuals rather than as members of races and they can be given equal opportunity as individuals to develop their abilities without fear of any consequences known to science."

He said those in the forefront of the integration movement—notably in Louisville and Baltimore—have declared that desegregation of schools has improved educational standards and has coincided with, if not actually caused, a decline in juvenile delinquency.

MIDDLETOWN, N.Y.
TIMES HERALD RECORD
D. 26,298

JUL 15 1963

editorial

School segregation still dominates

The author of the report is J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va.

Professor Morland reported that only four-tenths of the 1 per cent of all Negroes in the 11 "most recalcitrant" states were attending schools with white children by the end of the current term. The states involved he said, are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Even when adding the record of "compliant" states--Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia--and the District of Columbia, he said, nearly 92 of every 100 Negroes in the Southern and border states attended segregated classes.

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"Token integration operates on the basis of fear and subterfuge--fear of integration itself and subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive," he said.

* * *

As much as any other argument, Professor Morland's report disproves the contention that, given time, the South will voluntarily move toward granting equal rights to all its citizens.

Strong laws and unyielding exercise of those laws are required.

Bad faith in the operation of integration plans in 11 Southern states has maintained racial segregation in public schools intact nine years after the Supreme Court outlawed it.

This is the conclusion of a new report, "Token Desegregation and Beyond," issued by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in New York.

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BOSTON, MASS.
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
MONITOR
EASTERN EDITION
D. 174,850
JUL 15 1963

Integration Study Examines Schools

By the Associated Press

Atlanta

Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, according to a study recently released.

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A professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

Border States Included

The study, based on compilations in November 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

Professor Morland's findings dealt with Southern and border states school districts. They showed that 31.8 percent of biracial districts have been desegregated in the area.

An over-all percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.

In the 11 other states, which Professor Morland labeled "resistant" toward desegregation, 11.8 percent of the districts have been desegregated.

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'Compliant' States

In the "resistant" states, .4 percent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "compliant" states, Professor Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

He said that state legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

"A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of pupil placement laws," he said.

In actual operation, Professor Morland contended, these laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race."

The professor added:

"In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment."

A second anti-integration method, he said, has been "local option" provisions which allow communities to close schools ordered to desegregate.

Stair-Step Plan

"Another device for avoiding integrated schools has been the offer of tuition grants to allow pupils to attend private, nonsectarian schools instead of public schools," Professor Morland said. "Six states—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia — have passed such legislation."

He said, "Still another way of keeping integration at low levels has been the grade-a-year or stair-step plan."

Professor Morland said that if communities "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

He said the federal courts have become "less and less patient" with token integration plans and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans.

"Federal courts," he concluded, "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels."

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"Federal courts," he concluded, "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels."

LYNCHBURG, VA.
ADVANCE
D. 18,429

JUL 15 1963

RMWC Professor Says States Face More Integration or School Closing

A Randolph-Macon Woman's College professor believes Southern States "may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels" because "Federal courts are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools."

This was the conclusion of Dr. J. Kenneth Morland, head of the sociology and anthropology department at RMWC and a former vice president of the racially integrated Virginia Council on Human Relations, in his summary of a study, "Token Integration and Beyond."

The study was published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, biracial and educational organization.

Morland noted that fewer than one in 100 Negroes in 11 Southern states are attending integrated schools.

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

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MIDDLETOWN, N.Y.
TIMES HERALD RECORD
D. 26,298

JUL 15 1963

Report shows south is slow in integrating

ATLANTA (UPI) — A new report on the progress of school desegregation said Saturday that fewer than one out of 200 Negro children in 11 Southern states are now in integrated classes.

The report, published by Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League, was prepared by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon woman's college, Lynchburg, Va.

The report said the 11 "resistant" states had adopted token integration plans designed "to meet the demands of the Supreme court by allowing some integration while still keeping the number of Negroes in school with whites at such a low level as to maintain de facto (in fact) segregation."

Morland listed pupil placement laws, local option provisions with their school closing authorizations, tuition grants and restrictive transfer plans as the main programs that have kept 99.6 per cent of the Negroes in schools of the 11 states in segregated classes.

Morland singled out as the "resistant" states Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Previously - segregated areas that have "complied" with the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision were listed as Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia and Washington, D.C.

Morland pointed out that overall school desegregation statistics fail to show the slow pace in the deep South and in some cases hide the facts inside the South.

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Morland pointed out that overall school desegregation statistics fail to show the slow pace in the deep South and in some cases hide the facts inside the South.

He noted that statistics show Nashville, Tenn., with 810 Negroes in schools with whites but that actually 540 of them were in a school with a single white child and a Chinese-American.

Of the 270 desegregated districts in the "resistant" states last fall, 176 were in Texas alone, he said.

"Racial integration in public schools is by any standard at token levels in resistant states, where 98 per cent of the Negro pupils in desegregated districts and 99.6 per cent in all school districts are in segregated schools," Morland concluded.

The federal courts "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools," Morland emphasized. He said de facto segregation would be "futile in the long run" and very costly.

On the basis of a Civil Rights Commission estimate that one racial case costs $15,000, Morland estimated that litigation over the issue already had cost $4,395,000. There have been 223 cases in "resistant" states and 70 in the others.

He estimated the cost of extraordinary legislative sessions on the race question at $934,000, $7,750,000 for 38,000 tuition grants to children who refused to attend integrated schools and the "less tangible" cost of "handicapping school administrators in improving the quality of education in the public schools."

"Another cost of token integration is the keeping of the race issue alive, the catering to racial prejudice and the giving of false hope to segregationists," Morland wrote.

He said that fear of social troubles and lowering of academic standards governed much of the reluctance to move into integrated programs.

DUBLIN, GA.
COURIER-HERALD
D. 6,543

JUL 16 1963

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ecisions

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

The U. S. Court of Appeals acted wtih an unusual degree of urgency in ordering a Mississippi voting registration list and to stop disregistration lst and to stop discriminating against other Negroes who want to vote.

The appeals court—with judges from Texas, Louisiana and Georgia acting unanimously—told Forrest County Hattiesburg registrar Theron Lynd Monday to comply wth its orders within 10 days or face a trip to prison. Other phases of his case are pending.

It is highly unusual for a federal court specifically to order individuals to be registered for voting. In the only recent case like it, a U. S. court handed down a similar order for a larger group of Negro registrants in Montgomery, Ala.

"MOST UNUSUAL"

The appeals court also said in the Lynd case that it was "most unusual" for that court to hand down an injunction as it did on a temporary basis in the Lynd case.

he Appeal court said it took the action so that the rights of the Negroes involved might be protected while the federal district court conducts a full hearing on a Justice Department request for an injunction against the Hattiesburg registrar. The lower court had earlier refused to grant the injunction.

Civil rights voting cases are expected to become increasingly prominent between now and the 1964 presidential election as Negro organizations step up pledges to "double the Negro registration."

Negro groups are finding the way fairly easy in some sections of the South. It is more difficult in others. Their problem is both opposition from "the courthouse crowd" in rural areas and lethargy on the part of Negroes.

SHOWS SLIGHT INCREASE

Latest figures available from the U. S. Civil Rights Commission and the Voter Education Project (VEP), a get-out-the-Negro-vote drive financed by the Taconic Foundation, show only a slight increase in Negro registration between 1960 and 1962.

A spokesman for the VEP says Misissippi's Negro registration is about 25,000, roughly what it was in 1960 and 1962. That's the low point for the South. There are 422,256 voting-age Negroes in Missisppi, according to most recent figures.

DUBLIN, GA.
COURIER-HERALD
D. 6,543

JUL 16 1963

Federal Courts In Unusual Orders And Haste In Decisions

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"MOST UNUSUAL"

The appeals court also said in the Lynd case that it was "most unusual" for that court to hand down an injunction as it did on a temporary basis in the Lynd case.

he Appeal court said it took the action so that the rights of the Negroes involved might be protected while the federal district court conducts a full hearing on a Justice Department request for an injunction against the Hattiesburg registrar. The lower court had earlier refused to grant the injunction.

Civil rights voting cases are expected to become increasingly prominent between now and the 1964 presidential election as Negro organizations step up pledges to "double the Negro registration."

Negro groups are finding the way fairly easy in some sections of the South. It is more difficult in others. Their problem is both opposition from "the courthouse crowd" in rural areas and lethargy on the part of Negroes.

SHOWS SLIGHT INCREASE

Latest figures available from the U. S. Civil Rights Commission and the Voter Education Project (VEP), a get-out-the-Negro-vote drive financed by the Taconic Foundation, show only a slight increase in Negro registration between 1960 and 1962.

A spokesman for the VEP says Misissippi's Negro registration is about 25,000, roughly what it was in 1960 and 1962. That's the low point for the South. There are 422,256 voting-age Negroes in Missisppi, according to most recent figures.

CHICAGO, ILL.
DAILY DEFENDER
D. 35,795

JUL 16 1963

Find Fewer Than One Out Of 200 Dixie Negro Pupils Integrated

ATLANTA — (UPI) — A new report on the progress of school desegregation said that fewer than one out of 200 Negro children in 11 Southern states are now in integrated classes.

The report, published by Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League, was prepared by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va.

The report said the 11 "resistant" states had adopted token integration plans designed "to meet the demands of the Supreme Court by allowing some integration while still keeping the number of Negroes in school with whites at such a low level as to maintain de facto (in fact) segregation."

Morland listed pupil placement laws, local option provisions with their school closing authorizations, tuition grants and restrictive transfer plans as the main programs that have kept 99.6 per cent of the Negroes in schools of the 11 states in segregated classes.

Morland singled out as the "resistant" states Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Previously-segregated areas that have "complied" with the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision were listed as Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia and the District of Columbia.

Morland pointed out that overall school desegregation statistics fail to show the slow pace in the Deep South and in some cases hide the facts inside the South.

He noted that statistics show Nashville, Tenn., with 810 Negroes in schools with whites but that actually 540 of them were in a school with a single white child and a Chinese-American.

176 IN TEXAS

Of the 270 desegregated districts in the "resistant" states last fall, 176 were in Texas alone, he said.

"Racial integration in public schools is by any standard at token levels in resistant states, where 98 per cent of the Negro pupils in desegregated districts and 99.6 per cent in all school districts are in segregated schools," Morland concluded.

The federal courts "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools," Morland emphasized. He said de facto segregation would be "futile in the long run" and very costly.

On the basis of a Civil Rights Commission estimate that one racial case costs $15,000, Morland estimated that litigation over the issue already had cost $4,395,000. There have been 223 cases in "resistant" states and 70 in the others.

He estimated the cost of extraordinary legislative sessions on the race question at $934,000, $7,750,000 for 38,000 tuition grants to children who refused to attend integrated schools and the "less tangible" cost of "handicapping school administrators in improving the quality of education in the public schools."

"Another cost of token integration is the keeping of the race issue alive, the catering to racial prejudice and the giving of false hope to segregationists," Morland wrote.

He said that fear of social troubles and lowering of academic standards governed much of the reluctance to move into integrated programs.

"It has been demonstrated repeatedly that when state and local officials act in resolute firmness there has not been violence or serious opposition in carrying out the mandate of the courts," Morland said.

He said there was "no factual support" for fears that Negro pupils in white schools lower academic standards, adding that some school administrators have testified standards were improved with desegregation.

The SRC was formed in 1944 by white and Negro Southerners with the avowed purpose of advancing "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

The Atlanta Journal
"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"
D. 259,003

JUL 1 8 1963

Abernathy, Letson to Tell Of Race Meet

Rev. Ralph Abernathy and Dr. John Letson will report on the recent White House conferences on race relations at a dinner meeting Monday of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations.

The human relations group will meet at Stouffer's Restaurant at 7 p.m.

Rev. Mr. Abernathy is an officer in Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Dr. Letson is Atlanta school superintendent.

ALSO taking part in the informal discussion will be Dr. Leslie Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council; Donald Hollowell, Atlanta civil rights lawyer, and Mrs. Grace Hamilton, former head of the Atlanta Urban League. They attended the conferences called by President Kennedy to discuss solutions to the present civil rights controversies.

"In spite of the progress made in Atlanta," council Chairman Mrs. Clifton Hoffman said in announcing the Monday meeting, "Negro citizens still have far less chance for success than whites."

"An Atlanta Negro," she said, "has about half as much chance . . . of completing high school and about one-third as much chance of completing college.

The meeting is open to the public, but reservations are required.

The Christian Science Monitor
BOSTON, MASS.
EASTERN EDITION
D. 174,850

JUL 1 8 1963

Desegregation Walks and Runs

The Supreme Court ordered that schools of the United States should be desegregated with "all deliberate speed." In some instances, according to recently published opinions, this process has moved much too deliberately while in others it is possibly being pushed with too much haste.

In the 11 southeastern states where Negro population is greatest and segregation most entrenched, 99.6 percent of Negro children still attend all-Negro schools, according to a study sponsored by the Southern Regional Council. Pupil placement laws and other measures have largely avoided the integration order thus far.

On the other hand six border states have made changeovers from biracial to nonracial school systems with apparently a considerable degree of success. In them, 51.1 percent of Negro pupils are in schools which also have white children.

A federal judge in North Carolina has ordered a school board to give elementary and junior high school students "the absolute right to attend the school of their choice." But a federal judge in southern Georgia has held that the school board for Savannah is justified in classifying schoolchildren in "coherent groups" according to "educational capabilities" even though this may result in virtually a biracial system.

These are views that will have to be reconciled by appellate courts. Meanwhile, without federal court pressure, some school systems in the North have been having their problems of pupil assignment. In New York City a decision to permit a pupil transfer on grounds that the youth should not be exposed to "possible tension" has come under criticism.

"Preoccupation with racial percentages in the schools," says one objective observer, "is going to have damaging effect" both on some of the better schools and on some which now receive special services. Such adjustments involve thousands of decisions; and they will have to be made one by one rather than in sweeping generalizations.

MORNING DEMOCRAT
DAVENPORT, IOWA
D. 23,007

JUL 1 8 1963

Southern School Segregation Per

By HOYT HARWELL

ATLANTA (AP) — Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed this week.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a non - profit, non - political, biracial research and educational organization.

A PROFESSOR OF sociology at Randolph - Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

The study, based on compilations in November 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

Morland's findings dealt with southern and border states school districts. They showed that 31.8 per cent of biracial districts have been desegregated in the area.

An over-all percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

In the 11 other states, which Morland labeled "resistant" toward desegregation, 11.8 per cent of the districts have been desegregated.

STATES IN WHICH all school districts have been desegregated were listed as Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia.

In the "resistant" states, .4 per cent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "complaint" states, Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

He said that state legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

gregation Persists Despite Token Integration

land, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

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He said that state legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

"A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of pupil placement laws," he said.

IN ACTUAL operation, Morland contended, these laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race."

The professor added:

"In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment."

A second anti-integration method, he said, has been "local option" provisions which allow communities to close schools ordered to desegregate.

"ANOTHER DEVICE for avoiding integrated schools has been the offer of tuition grants to allow private, nonsectarian schools instead of public schools," Morland said. "Six states — Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia — have passed such legislation."

He said:

"Still another way of keeping integration at low levels has been the grade-a-year or stair - step plan."

Morland said that if communities "continue to try to maintain de facto racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

He said the federal courts have become "less and less patient" with token integration plans and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans.

"Federal courts," he concluded, "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels."

BOSTON, MASS.
JEWISH ADVOCATE
W. 35,304

JUL 18 1963

ADL STUDY SEES RESISTANCE TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION "FUTILE"; CITES PROGRESS IN SIX STATES

Although it is nine years since the Supreme Court decided that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional, 99.6 percent of Negro pupils in eleven "resistant" states in the South are still attending all-Negro schools, according to a study, "Token Desegregation and Beyond," published recently.

The study was prepared by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Women's College, Lynchburg, Virginia, and published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council.

The fact that less than half of one percent of Negroes in all the school districts of the eleven states are now attending desegregated schools was attributed to "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive." The eleven states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Prof. Morland said that at least 379 laws have been passed by state legislatures since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

He described the following as typical methods of keeping school integration at token levels: Pupil placement laws authorizing a state or local board to assign pupils individually to different schools. When a Negro child applies for admission to a white school, the Board of Education can turn him down, not on grounds of race, but on as many as 20 detailed considerations including transportation, health, etc. "Local Option" provisions which allow communities to close their public schools. Tuition grants enabling pupils to attend private, non-sectarian schools. Restrictive transfer arrangements in schools which comply with the Supreme Court decision by assigning pupils to the school nearest their homes, and then automatically grant white students transfers to the nearest school in which whites are a majority.

According to the Morland study, no precise cataloging of the costs involved in these "devices" can be made. However, estimates show that the price is high. For example, a total of 293 court cases have been filed in state and federal courts at an average cost of about $15,000 each; in Louisiana, tuition grants amounted to some $850,000 in four months and five "Extraordinary Sessions" held by the state legislature to prevent desegregation programs cost $934,000; Virginia's tuition grants totaled more than seven million dollars in five years; Georgia's legislature was forced to amend its law after tuition grants reached $215,987 in one year.

In direct contrast to the effort of the "resistant" states to circumvent desegregation are the results in six "compliant" states which have tended to go along with the Supreme Court decision. In these states Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia 51.1 percent of Negro pupils attend schools with whites and changeovers from bi-racial to non-racial school systems have been made for the most part "creatively and successfully."

Although segregationists warned against "dire consequences" for the quality of education if changes were made, the study declared that school superintendents and statistical reports in desegregated areas refute the fears. The general consensus was that integration had not lowered the academic achievement of either white or Negro students. In addition, school children had shown themselves able to solve problems of adjustment to integration after the initial confrontation was over.

Prof. Morland listed these among the factors determining when desegregation will become a reality: The vigor of the federal government "in demanding the elimination of discrimination." The federal courts, he went on to say, have become "less and less patient" with token integration devices and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans. The speed with which pupil placement laws, initially accepted as constitutional on their face, are declared unconstitutional as practiced in some school systems. The extent to which school closing is challenged when other public schools in the state remain open and restricted transfer provisions that result in resegregation are rejected.

Prof. Morland warned that token integration has essentially the same goal as massive resistance because it seeks to preserve the established pattern of segregation. He added, however, that the effort "will be futile in the long run."

"Federal courts are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels," he said.

The study is the first of several to be issued jointly by the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Regional Council on problems of desegregation. Copies are available from the national office of the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. or from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800

JUL 20 1963

Token Desegregation

Few Negroes In Desegregated Schools Nine Years After Ruling

Although it is nine years since the Supreme Court decided that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional, less than half of one per cent of Negro pupils in eleven "resistant" states in the South are now attending desegregated schools, according to a study, "Token Desegregation and Beyond," published Saturday.

The study was prepared by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon woman's College Lynchburg, Virginia, and published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council.

The study is the first of several publications planned by ADL and SRC on problems of desegregation. A second study, to be released within the next month, is a psychiatric analysis of the effect of school desegregation in the South, by Dr. Robert M. Coles.

The fact that 99.6 per cent of Negroes in all the school districts of the eleven states are still attending all-Negro schools was attributed to "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive." The eleven states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

379 LAWS PASSED

Professor Morland said at least 379 laws have been passed by state legislatures since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling. He described the following as typical methods of keeping school integration at token levels:

Pupil placement laws authorizing a state or local board to assign pupils individually to different schools. When an Negro child applies for admission to a white school, the Board of Education can turn him down, not on grounds of race, but on as many as 20 detailed considerations including transportation, health, etc.

Local Option" provisions which allow communities to close their public schools.

—Tuition grants enabling pupils to attend private, nonsectarian schools.

—Restrictive transfer arrangements in schools which comply with the Supreme Court decision by assigning pupils to the school nearest their homes, and then automatically grant white students transfers to the nearest school in which whites are a majority.

According to the Morland study, no precise cataloging of the costs involved in these "devices" can be made. However, estimates show that the price is high. for example, a total of 293 court cases have been filed in state and federal courts at an average cost of about $15 000 each; in Louisiana, tutition grants amounted to some $859,000 in four months and five "Exeraordinary Sessions" held by the state legislature to prevent desgregation programs cost $934,000; Virginia's tuition grants totaled more than seven million dollars in five years; Georgia's legislature was forced to amend its law after tuition grants reached $215,987 in one year.

In direct contrast to the efforts of the "resistant" states to circumvent desegregation are the results in six "compliant" states which have tended to go along with the Supreme Court decision. In these states—Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia—51.1 per cent of Negro to non-racial schools with whites and changeovers from bi-racial to non-racial school systems have been made for the most part "creatively and successfully."

FEARS REFUTED

Although segregationists warned against "dire consequences" for the quality of education if changes were made, the study declared areas refute the fears. The general consensus was that integration had not lowered the academic achievement of either white or Negro students. In addition, school children had shown themselves able to solve problems of adjustment to integration after the initial confrontation was over.

Professor Morland listed these among the factors determining when desegration will become a reality:

—The vigor of the federal government "in demanding the elimination of discrimination." The federal courts, he went on to say, have become "less and less patient" with token integration devices and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans.

—The speed with which pupil placement laws, initially accepted as constitutional on their face, are declared unconstitutional as practiced in some school systems.

—The extent to which school closing is challenged when other public schools in the state remain open, and restricted transfer provisions that result in resegregation are rejected.

Professor Morland warned that token integration has essentially the same goal as massive resistance because it seeks to preserve the established pattern of segregation. He added, however, that the effort "will be futile in the long run."

"Federal courts are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyound token levels," he said.

Copies of the study are available from the national office of the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York, or from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

The Christian Science Monitor
BOSTON, MASS.
EASTERN EDITION
D. 174,850

JUL 20 1963

Integration View Blurred

By Bicknell Eubanks
Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Dallas

Token integration has replaced massive resistance in the South as a policy to keep public-school desegregation at a minimum.

While token integration differs from massive resistance in that it does allow for some breakdown of racial barriers, it has the same goal, which is to preserve the pattern of segregation.

It differs from gradual desegregation, which sets a slow pace of changing the status quo, but does make allowance for the eventual end of segregation. Token integration can be used to present a set of statistics that often give a false picture.

Thus, in the nine years since the Supreme Court of the United States decided that segregation of public schools is unconstitutional, the statistics can show that 11.8 percent of the school districts in the 11 states that made up the Confederacy are desegregated.

Ratio Dwindles

A school district is considered desegregated if only one Negro pupil attends school with white children. Yet in these 11 states only 2 percent of the Negro children are in school with white pupils. On a total basis, the ratio is even smaller. Of 2,800,000 children in all school districts, only 12,271, or 0.4 percent attend school with whites.

In a study published jointly by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Dr. J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va., points out that these 11 states, which he describes as resistant, have passed 374 laws since 1954 in an effort to find a legal channel to avoid compliance with the Supreme Court's decisions.

States Listed

The 11 resistant states are listed as Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

The pattern of resistance varies. Texas, for example, has 919 biracial school districts in which 7,000 Negroes attend school with whites. Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina have no Negroes in school with white pupils.

Fighting desegregation has been an expensive process, according to estimate of legal costs, tuition grants, and other actions taken in the 11 states. Dr. Morland says there is no precise cataloging of the costs. As one example, however, he writes that at least 293 cases have been filed in state and federal courts at an average cost of about $15,000 each.

Grants Tallied

In Louisiana, tuition grants came to about $859,000 in four months, and five special sessions of the Legislature which sought to prevent desegregation cost the taxpayers $934,000. Georgia spent $215,987 in tuition grants in one year.

Dr. Morland notes that the record of the six compliant states is good. These states are Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia. In these states 51.1 percent of the Negro pupils now attend schools with whites, and 90.6 percent of the school districts are desegregating. In the desegregating districts, 54.8 percent of the Negro pupils attend schools with whites.

Pressures Increased

The federal government, taking cognizance of foot dragging in Southern desegregation, has stepped up pressures. The judicial and executive branches both have taken positive steps. Associate Justice Arthur J. Goldberg, speaking for the Supreme Court, forcefully reminded the South of its slowness in compliance with orders to desegregate public-school facilities.

Mr. Justice Goldberg spoke out in the unanimous court decision ordering that public parks be desegregated immediately in Memphis.

He warned that the 1954 and 1955 decisions never contemplated that the concept of deliberate speed would countenance indefinite delay in removing racial barriers in schools. Mr. Justice Goldberg also implied strongly that some of the desegregation plans might have to be changed to speed up the program.

Mandate Recalled

He said that it is far from clear that the mandate of the court is fully satisfied by the types of plans and programs for desegregation of public educational facilities that might have been considered sufficient when the court issued its mandate of "all deliberate speed" eight years ago.

In his civil-rights message President Kennedy also criticizes this slowness. He has asked Congress to give the Attorney General authority to initiate desegregation suits. He also has asked that the federal government be given discretion to withhold federal funds from any program or activity in which racial discrimination occurs.

PENSACOLA, FLA.
NEWS-JOURNAL
SUN. 60,162

JUL 21 1963

Token Integration Shown in 11 States

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — Fewer than one in 100 Negro pupils in 11 Southern states are attending desegregated schools, a study showed today according to a study released last Sunday.

The study, "Token Integration and Beyond," was published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit, nonpolitical, biracial research and educational organization.

A professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Women's College in Lynchburg, Va., J. Kenneth Morland, summarized the findings.

He said continued segregation was a result of "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive" of 1954 which ruled public school segregation unconstitutional.

The study, based on compilations in November 1962, showed that Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina had no integration at all in public primary and secondary schools.

Moreland's findings dealt with Southern and border state school districts. They showed that 31.8 per cent of biracial districts have been desegregated in the area.

An over-all percentage of 90.6 was listed for Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

In the 11 other states, which Morland labeled "resistant" toward desegregation, 11.8 per cent of the districts have been desegregated.

States in which all school districts have been desegregated were listed as Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia.

In the "resistant" states, .4 per cent of the Negro pupils were in desegregated schools. In the other "compliant" states, Morland said, the percentage was 51.1.

He said that state legislatures have passed at least 379 laws since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

"A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of pupil placement laws," he said.

In actual operation, Morland contended, these laws "have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race."

The professor added:

"In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment."

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He said:

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"Federal courts," he concluded, "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels."

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
For 95 Years the South's Standard Newspaper
D. 202,635

JUL 2 3 1963

Race Push Involves 8 Cities in Georgia

Racial demonstrations protesting segregation have occurred in eight Georgia cities since April 1, according to figures compiled by the Southern Regional Council.

The recent wave of demonstrations in Savannah far exceeded the incidents anywhere else. But both Albany and Atlanta had a number of smaller demonstrations and arrests, the SRC figures showed.

Other cities listed by SRC as having at least some racial demonstrations included Americus, Augusta, Columbus, Macon and Rome.

There were arrests for sit-ins or other demonstrations in seven of the eight cities. The SRC report showed no arrests in Augusta.

There have been more than 1,200 arrests in Savannah since June 3, the SRC figures show, more than twice the combined total of arrests in all other racial demonstrations throughout the state.

100 ARRESTS IN ALBANY

In Albany, there were more than 100 arrests during May and nearly 200 in June and July.

Atlanta has had more than 100 arrests since April 12, most of them arising from sit-in attempts at local restaurants.

On July 12, 11 persons were arrested in Americus after a demonstration at a local movie theater. There were at least 10 arrests in Columbus after Negro demonstrations centering around the city library.

Five Negro girls were arrested in Macon April 22 after sitting-in at a segregated lunch counter. More than 60 high school students were arrested for lunch counter sit-ins in Rome.

10,400 ARRESTS IN SOUTH

The SRC figures indicated that there were more than 10,400 arrests in connection with racial demonstrations in 11 Southern states between April 3 and June 24. Complete figures for states other than Georgia were not available for July.

The Southern Regional Council is a bi-racial research organization, based in Atlanta, whose stated purpose is to promote equal opportunities for all races.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
For 95 Years the South's Standard Newspaper
D. 202,635

JUL 2 3 1963

Kennedy Held All-Out For Open-Cafe Law

President John F. Kennedy will push hard for his controversial "public accommodations" legislation, the executive director of the Southern Regional Council said here Monday.

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar said this was the impression he received at a recent White House conference with Kennedy. Between 30 and 40 leaders of civil rights organizations attended the meeting.

"I went into the meeting not believing the administration really thought they could pass public accommodations legislation," Dunbar said, adding that President Kennedy and Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson effectively "argued their sincerity in this."

Dunbar spoke at a dinner meeting of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, one of several Atlanta speakers to report on the recent series of White House conferences on race relations.

From 25 to 30 Atlanta citizens were invited by the President to attend the special meetings.

Dr. John W. Letson, superintendent of Atlanta schools, said that school "drop-outs" pose a serious racial problem because drop-outs and, later, the "impact of unemployment," fall much "more heavily on the Negro proportion of the population."

Educators attending one White House meeting, he said, recognized the need for a "better guidance program."

The Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Atlanta minister and an official of of the Southern Leadership Conference, said that President Kennedy "did not seek to evade the issues" at a meeting of religious leaders.

President Kennedy urged religious leaders to serve on bi-racial committees in their own communities, the Rev. Mr. Abernathy said.

The Rev. Vincent Harding, who also attended the meeting of religious leaders, noted that there was almost "too much of the public relations aspect to these meetings. There were too many people for him (President Kennedy) really to talk to the people there."

WAYCROSS, GA.
JOURNAL-HERALD
D. 9,872

JUL 24 1963

Voters Crusade Given Funds By 2 Atlanta-Based Groups

ATLANTA (AP) — The Chatham County Crusade for Voters at Savannah received funds from two Atlanta-based organizations for use in Negro voter registration and education drives, officials of the organizations say.

Leslie W. Dunbar, director of the Southern Regional Council, said Tuesday that his group granted $4,000 to the crusade last fall. Another $4,000 was approved last May, he said, but it was withdrawn when the Savannah group became involved in massive antisegregation demonstrations.

"We were very careful to be sure that the money was not spent on direct action (demonstrations)," said Jack Minnis, research director for the SRC's voter education project.

"When it became apparent that the crusade was engaged in other kinds of demonstrations, we, with agreement of the crusade, suspended the program," Dunbar added.

He said the SRC had suggested that $3,000 of the first grant be spent in Chatham County and the remaining $1,000 on voter education in seven other counties in the 1st District.

The second grant was withdrawn after $400 already had been spent.

A spokesman for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., said the organization put about $7,200 into a Negro voter education program in Chatham County.

The Rev. Andrew Young, program director for the SCLC, said the program probably would be renewed in the fall.

Commenting on reports the Savannah crusade had headquarters in the offices of a labor union described by a government agency as Communist influenced, Young said it "was one of those coincidences which I wasn't aware of."

He said there was "absolutely no connection" between the crusade and communism.

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COLUMBUS, GA.
LEDGER
D. 29,884

JUL 24 1963

Fulton Units Aided Chatham Vote Bid

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"When it became apparent that the crusade was engaged in other kinds of demonstrations, we, with agreement of the crusade, suspended the program," Dunbar added.

He said the SRC had suggested that $3,000 of the first grant be spent in Chatham County and the remaining $1,000 on voter education in seven other counties in the 1st District.

The second grant was withdrawn after $400 already had been spent.

A spokesman for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., said the organization put about $7,200 into a Negro voter education program in Chatham County.

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THOMASVILLE, GA.
TIMES-ENTERPRISE
D. 6,183

JUL 24 1963

Atlanta Funds Back Chatham Voter Crusade

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SAVANNAH, GA.
PRESS
D. 24,262 PAGE ONE CERTIFIED

JUL 24 1963

Came Out of Atlanta

$15,200 Was Set Up For Negro Use Here

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VALDOSTA, GA.
TIMES
D. 14,015

JUL 24 1963

CHATHAM VOTER DRIVE GIVEN ATLANTA FUNDS

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ALBANY, GA.
HERALD
D. 27,154 S. 26,791

JUL 24 1963

Negroes Get Cash Backing For Savannah Activities

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ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD (N)
D. 29,800

JUL 26 1963

SPORTS OF THE WORLD

BY MARION E. JACKSON

There are now in excess of 40 former major leaguers now coaching baseball in U. S. colleges and universities . . . Kentucky State College may rejoin the ranks of major football powers. Dr. Carl M. Hill, president of the Frankfort, Ky., institution, was a two-time All-American footballer at Hampton Institute. The new KSC president also was former chairman of the Athletic Committee at Tennessee A & I University . . . E. J. (Ox) Clemons returns to Atlanta, August 1.

Dr. Carl M. Hill, who took office at Kentucky State College, has changed the mission of his school, to an institution to one for all students, irrespective of race.

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Kentucky State functioned as an all - Negro institution until May 17, 1954 when the U. S. Supreme Court opened the doors to all races. While it has had white students since then, its athletic teams have remained all - Negro.

—0—

Dr. Hill has signified his intention to recruit without regards to race, although he faces rugged competition from four state -supported institutions in Kentucky.

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Kentucky State presently has an enrollment of 1,000. Twenty - six percent of the school's stuednts are white this summer. Last semester, five per cent of the student body was white.

—0—

Peru's national basketball team will stop at Kentucky State next December on its U. S. tour. For 1964-65, KSC will schedule predominantly mixed basketball opponents.

—0—

FACT SHEET — The Extra Point Club and the 100 Per Cent Wrong Slub, two stalwart Atlanta sports organizations, will sponsor a joint picnic, Saturday, July 27 at t he Line Roadclub, 120 Line Road S W. This is the second straight year the sportsmen have combin-

Vocational School star, will receive his degree in recreation at Grambling College in August.

—0—

Hardnett was signed in 1961 by the Chicago Zephyrs of the National Basketball Association. Recently, he inked his second professional contract with the Baltimore Bullets, who as the Zephyrs didn't cleik in the Windy City.

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The 6-10 star was a Grambling College pacesetter for four years, earning All - American honors as a junior and senior.

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An award - winning player, Hardnet has been honored by the 100 Per Cent Worng Club of the Atlanta Daily World and the Sportsmen 25 Club.

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A real clean - cut fellow with a likeable personality, Hardnett will continue to make his home in Atlanta.

—0—

With the Zephyrs, Hardnett was second in rebounds behind Walter Bellamy and fourth in scoring with a 10.5 average. As a first year man NBA scorers insist this is a better than average statistic.

—0—

Hardnett was coached by Alexander Sheppard, now topkick at C. W. Harper High School.

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FACT SHEET — The Extra Point Club and the 100 Per Cent Wrong Slub, two stalwart Atlanta sports organizations, will sponsor a joint picnic, Saturday, July 27 at t he Line Roadclub, 120 Line Road S W. This is the second straight year, the sportsmen have combined for a summer outing.

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Hubert M. Jackson is president of the Extra Point Club which sponsors the Dec. 5-7, 1963 Georgia Invitational Basketball Tournament at Morehouse College. A. L. Thompson heads the 100 Per Centers.

—0—

The 100 Per Cent Wrong Club of the Atlanta Daily World in conjunction with the Coca-Cola Company of Atlanta, Ga., the Atlanta Coca- Cola Bottling Company and the Atlanta Life Insurance Company sponsor the club.

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Families of the Extra Pointers and 100 Per Centers will make the trek to the picturesque Line Road Club, which is one of Atlanta's fine sphas.

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Sunday, July 27, Atlanta Daily World employees will hold their annual outing at Jordan's Lake. This fine playground is owned by Atlanta caterer, Mrs. Mary Jordan.

Mrs. Jordan is one of the best-known business women in the Gate City. For years, she has won success in the catering field. Most of her business is now handled by a Dinslow Jordan. She is also the mother of Vernon Jordan, who is employed by the Southern Regional Council. A summer outing is also planned by the Joymen Club for July 27.

—0—

There is a bit of Americana in this nation's moving to the great outdoors in the summer and these picnics are in line with the fine traditions of the season.

SPORTS BEAT — Arthur McAfee ,who formerly coached at Lane, Mississippi Vocational and Lincoln (Mo.) has been named head basketball coach at Bishop College in Dallas, Texas.

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McAfee succeeds Tommy Torain, former Tennessee A & I State University, football and track star Torain guided the Tiger cagers for one year. He will remain on the Bishop College staff as an assistant coach.

—0—

McAfee is a native of Wichita, Kansas and a graduate of Wichita University, where he starred on the basketball team....

—0—

Charles Hardnett, the former Atlanta George Washington Carver

—0—

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NEW YORK
Amsterdam News
W. 59,266

JUL 27 1963

9 Years Since Decision

Less Than ½ Per Cent In 11 States In South In Desegregated Schools

ATLANTA, Ga. — Although it is nine years since the Supreme Court decided that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional, less than half of one per cent of Negro pupils in eleven "resistant" states in the South are now attending desegregated schools, according to a study, "Token Desegregation and Beyond," published Sunday.

The study was prepared by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia, and published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council.

The study is the first of several publications planned by ADL and SRC on problems of desegregation. A second study, to be released within the next month, is a psychiatric analysis of the effects of school desegregation in the South, by Dr. Robert M. Coles.

Fear, Subterfuge

The fact that 99.6 per cent of Negroes in all the school districts of the eleven states are still attending all-Negro schools was attributed to "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive." The eleven states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Professor Morland said at least 379 laws have been passed by state legislatures since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling. He described the following as typical methods of keeping school integration at token levels:

—Pupil placement laws authorizing a state of local board to assign pupils individually to different schools. When a Negro child applies for admission to a white school, the Board of Education can turn him down, not on grounds of race, but on as many as 20 detailed considerations including transportation, health, etc.

—"Local Option" provisions which allow communities to close their public schools.

Tuition grants

—Tuition grants enabling pupils to attend private, non-sectarian schools.

—Restrictive transfer arrangements in schools which comply with the Supreme Court decision by assigning pupils to the school nearest their homes, and then automatically grant white students transfers to the nearest school in which whites are a majority.

According to the Morland study, no precise cataloging of the costs involved in these "devices" can be made. However, estimates show that the price is high.

For example, a total of 293 court cases have been filed in state and federal courts at an average cost of about $15,000 each; in Louisiana, tuition grants amounted to some $859,000 in four months and five "Extraordinary Sessions" held by the state legislature to prevent desegregation programs cost $934,000; Virginia's tuition grants totaled more than seven million dollars in five years; Georgia's legislature was forced to amend its law after tuition grants reached $215,987 in one year.

In contrast

In direct contrast to the efforts of the "resistant" states to circumvent desegregation are the results in six "compliant" states which have tended to go along with the Supreme Court decision. In these states—Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia—51.1 per cent of Negro pupils attend schools with whites and changeovers from bi-racial to non-racial school systems have been made for the most part "creatively and successfully."

Although segregationists warned against "dire consequences" for the quality of education if changes were made, the study declared that school superintendents and statistical reports in desegregated areas refute the fears.

The general consensus was that integration had not lowered the academic achievement of either white or Negro students. In addition, school children had shown themselves able to solve problems of adjustment to integration after the initial confrontation was over.

Federal vigor

Professor Morland listed these among the factors determining when desegregation will become a reality:

—The vigor of the federal government "in demanding the elimation of discrimination." The federal courts, he went on to say, have become "less and less patient" with token integration devices and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans.

—The speed with which pupil placement laws, initially accepted as constitutional on their face, are declared unconstitutional as practiced in some school systems.

—The extent to which school closing is challenged when other public schools in the state remain open, and restricted transfer provisions that result in resegregation are rejected.

Professor Morland warned that token integration has essentially the same goal as massive resistance because it seeks to preserve the established pattern of segregation. He added, however, that the effort "will be futile in the long run."

"Federal courts are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels," he said.

Copies of the study are available from the national office of the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York, or from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St. N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

JACKSON, MISS.
CLARION-LEDGER NEWS
SUN. 89,888

JUL 28 1963

Barnett Put Highlander School Right Into National Spotlight

If Governor Ross Barnett did nothing more than spotlight the Highlander Folk School of Monteagle, Tenn., in his appearance before the Senate Commerce Committee in Washington, he would have served a good purpose.

Of course he did much more, for it has now been admitted by Martin Luther King that one of his associates of recent days, Jack O'Dell of New York, has been linked by Congressional committees to the communist organization.

Back to the Highlander school, the institution, closed at Monteagle but moved to Knoxville where it is called a research and education center, is receiving nationwide attention after Gov. Barnett's reference to it.

Many a story and editorial are being written about the School, located near the mountain resort. Newspapers everwhere are digging up connections between the school and the agitators present in many areas of the south. Many of these got their training at Highlander.

In the Savannah, Ga., area, it was said that many adults were sent to school for training before returning for crusading work in that section.

The Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters has rentfree quarters furnished by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, a union found to be communist - controlled by the Subversive Activities Control Board of Georgia, a finding now under court appeal.

The Crusade is an affiliate of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. It has received $4,000 from the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, according to the Atlanta Constitution staffer, Bill Shipp.

Meanwhile, the Nashville Banner, published not too far from the Highlander operating base before it moved, discusses the "joy of living" and tax exemption privileges of the school in a lengthy editorial.

Says the Banner, "Highlander Folk School, it seems, has always been able to work a little "joie de vivre" into its mission. A pioneer in the field of integration, its avowed good works were undertaken in the early thirties, long before the Supreme Court confirmed the practices of the institution with stern orders for the mixing of the races.

"While many alumni have gone forth to remake the world by participating in deadly serious demonstrations, in some cases with the grim assistance at times of Federal troops, the loyal Highlander must look back with longing to the days of good fellowship and congeniality at the old alma mater.

"For example, there was the Labor Day celebration in 1957. Recently sworn testimony before a Congressional committee was to the effect that the now famous Dr. Martin Luther King was there, along with an alleged Communist or two and a considerable representation from Red front organizations.

"But as usual, at the idealistic refuge on the mountain not far from Monteagle, the agenda did not call for all work and no play. Photographic evidence shows breaks for dancing, swimming and other forms of relaxation. During the court hearing that ended in padlocking the school, the picture presented was hardly that of a religious convocation.

"But when the place was closed by the law, the director was undaunted. With whatever assets remained, he removed to Knoxville and set up the Highlander Research and Education Center. In a recent letter to friends and contributors, he proclaimed the Highlander "idea" had been "born anew, like Phoenix rising out of the ashes."

"The communication also contained the glad tidings that Mr. Kennedy's Internal Revenue Service had concluded the Center need not pay income taxes and that all who wished have a part in furthering a good cause could deduct their donations on their annual returns.

That must have been inspiring news for the harassed business man who needs to relax on a trip occasionally and entertain a few faithful customers. Then while the taxpayer might have been fretting about discrimination on the matter of deductible pleasure, some Highlander "researchers" decided that all work and no play tends to dull the edge of ideals.

"Knoxville newspaper bloomed out a few weeks ago with headlines about a Highlander camp in neighboring Blount County that caught the attention of the high sheriff. He decided to make an unannounced call, accompanied by deputies, with the net result that a group of Negroes and whites were hauled into court. Seven were bound over to the grand jury. There would have been eight, except that a judge was shocked to learn that one of the white girls was only 15 years old. Then there were seven. The charge: contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Some fines were also assessed for lewdness, disorderly conduct and possession of whisky.

"A story in the Knoxville Journal quoted the Judge as saying that the involvement of Negroes and whites had no effect upon his decisions, and that anonymous efforts to intimidate him by telephone had been useless. Then came the statement from the bench that there had been "scandalous and lewd" activity at the camp and the officers charged only those they could identify.

"Faced with the consequences of desegregation with joie de vivre, Director Horton told the court the camp was set up so people from the North and the South, as well as college students from all over the country, could get closer together and discuss their problems.

"There is no indication as yet, however, that the explanatory plea for tax exempt "togetherness" will satisfy the demands of the legal and moral standards of historic Blount County."

RICHMOND, VA.
NEWS LEADER
D. 120,884

JUL 3 1 1963

Protest Methods Explained

Special to The News Leader

HOPEWELL, July 31 — The Rev. Virgil Wood of Lynchburg has spoken to the Hopewell Council on Human Relations on "The Non-Violent Method." Mr. Wood was one of the participants in recent Danville demonstrations and is out on bond, pending a hearing on a charge in connection with the protests. He is pastor of the Diamond Hill Baptist Church of Lynchburg and has been active in civil rights causes in the Hill City.

Mr. Wood last night explained some of the techniques of the non-violent method and emphasized the need for the "black man and the white to work together for the common good."

He stated these are times of war—a war of ideals and ideologies.

"The whole philosophy (of non-violent action) arises from the profound love of the Master and there is the opportunity for the people of this community to share what can be one of the greatest experiences of mankind," he said.

COURSE TAUGHT

Mr. Wood noted that demonstrators are subject to a strong course in self-discipline, acting out beforehand the things that could happen to them in a demonstration.

Thus are weeded out the people who cannot stand the hurt and the humiliation of the non-violent demonstrations, he noted. Mr. Wood also mentioned that many times when they march, Negroes and whites who have not been disciplined join in on the outskirts of the march and often it is these people who "fight back."

He hopes that in the future this situation may be avoided by properly trained guards from the non-violent organization.

The Hopewell Council for Human Relations was organized in May by a group of local people, including an approximate equal number of whites and Negroes. It is a member of the Virginia Council of Human Relations and the Southern Regional Council.

PASTOR PRESIDENT

The Rev. Eugene Ensley, president of the Hopewell council, stated that the monthly programs will not necessarily deal with racial problems.

"One of the aims is to get the people of the two races together and to stop thinking in terms of black and white," stated Mr. Ensley.

Mr. Easley emphasized that the council is not concerned solely with race relations but with all kinds of problems among people. The racial problem is paramount today and receives perhaps a greater share of attention at this time, he observed.

Committees have been appointed to cover such fields as education, governmental agencies, fair employment, and housing. Their job will be to discover what human relations problems are created and how they can be helped.

The next meeting will beheld on August 15 at the Community building. Nick Mathias, director of recreation for the city of Hopewell, will be the principal speaker. His subject will be the Recreational Program of Hopewell As It Affects the Racial Problem."

THE CHARLOTTE NEWS
CHARLOTTE, N. C.
D. 62,581

AUG 1 1963

The Deepening Crisis

'I Just Want To Become A Citizen Of Our Country'

By RELMAN MORIN

TUSKEGEE, Ala. (AP)— The Negro woman says she is 50 years old and wants to register to vote.

She doesn't know the procedure, never having done it.

In the offices of the Tuskegee Civic Association a Negro organization, they give her a sample copy of the Alabama registration form. Slowly, studying it line by line, she fills in the form.

A TCA official finds some minor errors but otherwise, he says, the papers are in order.

He tells her where, and on which days, she can file a real application. If it is accepted, she will be a registered voter. She says, simply:

"I just want to become a citizen of our country. Being registered will make a full citizen."

* * *

THIS SCENE — with its immense potentialities for the Negro movement — is being reenacted in hundreds of cities in the South today.

It is the result of the voter-registration drive.

Throughout the South, Negro organizations are working to register more of their people, thousands who never voted before. As the number grows, political leverage of the Negro increases. Here, potentially, is a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation.

The drive moves through many channels.

The woman in Tuskegee may have decided to try to register after hearing a constantly-repeated radio appeal, attending a meeting, or simply receiving a handbill.

Elsewhere, Negro workers canvass a residential district on registration days, ringing doorbells. If the housewife isn't registered, they urge her to go to the Courthouse immediately.

If she has no transportation, they provide it. If she says she can't leave her children, they offer to baby-sit.

* * *

OR THEY STATION themselves in municipal buildings. A Negro comes in for, say, a driver's license. They ask whether he is registered. If not, they try to persuade him to do so, there and then.

Another device is the "voter clinic." This is a meeting in which Negro instructors show would-be applicants how to correctly fill out the forms. In Tuskegee alone, during the month of June, there were 19 such "clinics."

And there is the famous Alabama mule. He walks through the streets of Huntsville, carrying a sandwich billboard.

The sign reads, "I'm not registered because I'm a mule. What's your excuse?"

Speaking of the voter registration drives, Bishop George W. Baber of the African Methodist Episcopal Church said:

"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of two million new Negro voters, North and South."

The movement is steady and seems to be gaining momentum. What are the results?

In a potentially powerful weapon in his fight against segregation, the Negro is enthusiastically taking part today in a massive vote registration campaign. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. This is the fourth in a special series of articles on the racial crisis.

EXACT FIGURES for the South as a whole are not complete. However, the Department of Justice and the Southern Regional Council's "voter education project" pinpoint the changes in some specific areas.

In Tennessee's Haywood and Fayette Counties, a Justice Department official said, Negro registration has jumped from 150 to about 5,000 in five years.

Bullock County, Alabama, had four Negro voters on the rolls in 1961, he said. Now the figure is 1,341.

In Montgomery, the rate of registration of Negroes used to be about 200 a year. Now it is about 200 per month, he said.

Statistics on 11 southern states, compiled by the Southern Regional Council, indicate that about one-fourth of the Negroes of voting age are registered. The figures show a total of 5,045,000, of whom 1,344,000 are registered. Wiley Branton, an SRC executive, said the figures are incomplete, some counties being as yet untabulated.

Comparable figures for the white voting population in these states show 17,539,000, of whom 10,566,000 are registered.

Especially in areas where Negroes outnumber the whites — sometimes by as much as five to one — many devices have been used to keep political power in the hands of the whites.

Registration boards met irregularly and at widely-spaced intervals. They worked slowly, and then quit for the day, while Negroes were still waiting in line to file applications. Or they rejected applications on technical grounds.

* * *

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TOMORROW: The economic effects.

THE KANSAS CITY STAR
KANSAS CITY, MO.
D. 336,484 S. 370,535

AUG 1 1963

The Deepening Crisis—II

Negroes Could Wield Political Punch

In a potentially powerful weapon in his fight against segregation, the Negro is enthusiastically taking part today in a massive vote registration campaign. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. This is another in a special series of articles on the racial crisis.

By Relman Morin

TUSKEGEE, ALA. (AP) — The Negro woman says she is 50 years old and wants to register to vote. She doesn't know the procedure, never having done it.

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Wants Full Standing

"I just want to become a citizen of our country," she says. "Being registered will make me a full citizen."

This scene—with its immense potentialities for the Negro movement—is being re-enacted in hundreds of cities in the South today.

It is the result of the voter registration drive. Throughout the South, Negro organizations are working to register more of their people, thousands of men and women who never voted before. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. Here, potentially, is a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation.

The drive moves through many channels. The woman in Tuskegee may have decided to try to register after hearing a constantly-repeated radio appeal, attending a meeting, or simply receiving a handbill.

All-Out in Drive

Elsewhere, Negro workers canvass a residential district on registration days, ringing doorbells. If the housewife isn't registered, they urge her to go to the courthouse immediately. If she has no transportation, they provide it. If she says she can't leave her children, they offer to baby-sit.

Another device is the "voter clinic." This is a meeting in which Negro instructors show would-be applicants the technicalities of registering.

"And there is the famous Alabama mule. He walks through the streets of Huntsville, carrying a sandwich billboard. The sign reads, "I'm not registered because I'm a mule. What's your excuse?"

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NEGROES LEARN HOW TO REGISTER—The Rev. Fred C. Bennette, jr., instructs a group in Atlanta on how to fill out forms enabling them to vote. Similar classes are held in many southern cities for thousands who never have voted—(Wirephoto).

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AUG 1 1963

The Negro Finds Power In His Right to Vote

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THE DEEPENING CRISIS
—Chapter Four—

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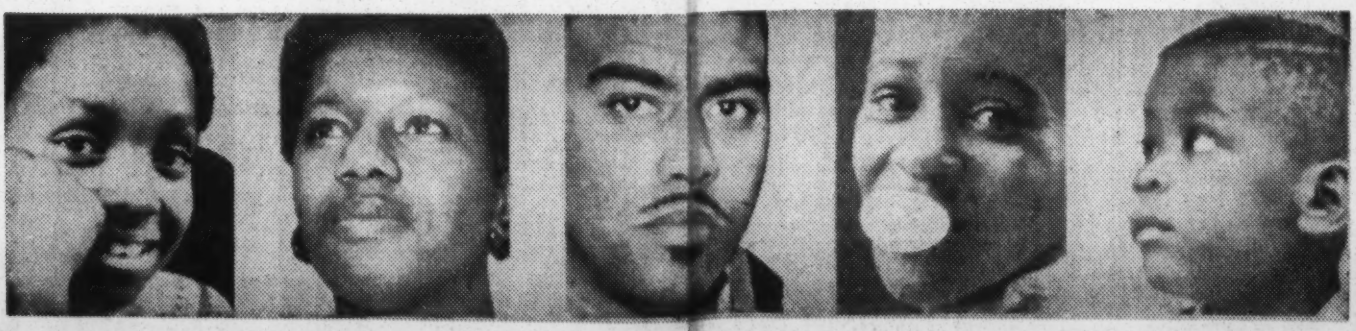

Fort Worth Star-Telegram
FORT WORTH, TEXAS
D. 105,967 S. 211,467

AUG 1 1963

NEGROES DRIVING FOR VOTES

Politics Changing in South

(One of a series)

BY RELMAN MORIN

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NEW BERN, N.C.
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AUG 1 1963

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DEEPENDING CRISIS IV Gal 2

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ASHEVILLE, N.C.
TIMES
D. 25,649

AUG 1 1963

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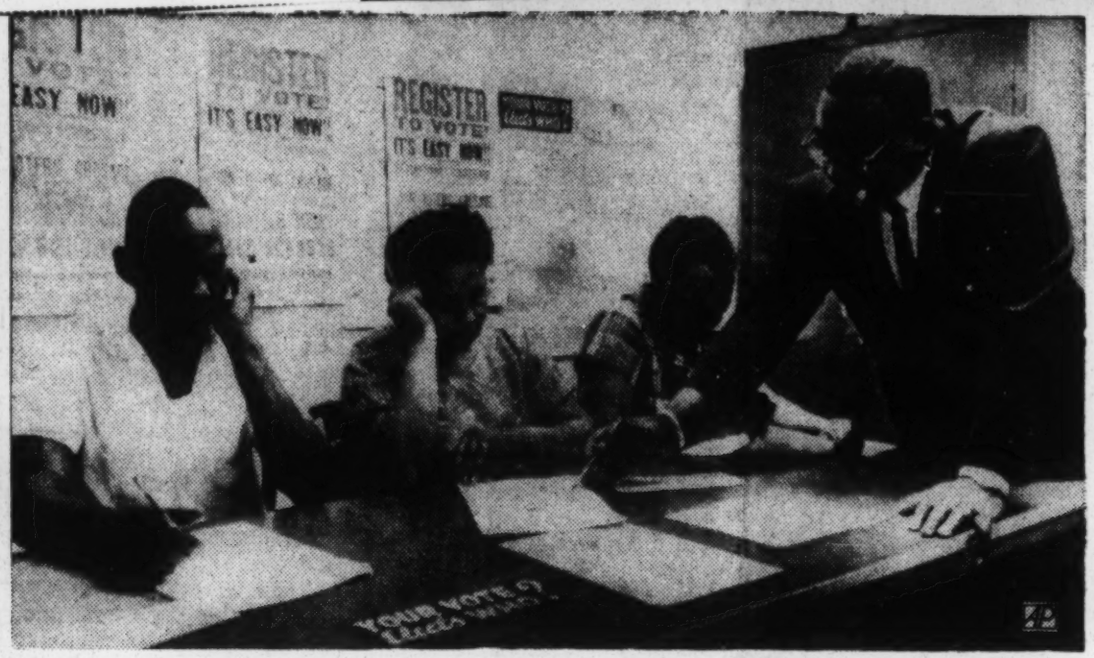
MARSHFIELD, WIS.
NEWS-HERALD
D. 11,704

AUG 1 1963



NEGROES LEARN REGISTRATION PROCEDURES—Rev. Fred C. Bennette Jr. instructs Atlanta Negroes how to fill out registration forms which will enable them to vote. Similar classes are held in other cities in an effort to increase Negro voting power which, potentially, is a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation. Seated from left are: Austin L. Hayes, Mrs. Dollie M. Shepherd and Mrs. Hattie Ward. (AP Wirephoto)

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The Deepening Crisis:

Voter Registration Is Weapon In Battle Against Segregation

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The drive moves through many channels.

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Elsewhere, Negro workers canvass a residential district on registration days, ringing doorbells. If the housewife isn't registered, they urge her to go to the courthouse immediately. If she has no transportation, they provide it. If she says she can't leave her children, they offer to baby-sit.

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Statistics on 11 Southern states, compiled by the Southern Regional Council, indicate that about one-fourth of the Negroes of voting age are registered. The figures show a total of 5,045,000, of whom 1,344,000 are registered. Wiley Branton, an SRC executive, said the figures are incomplete, some counties being as yet untabulated.

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NEXT: The economic

SYRACUSE
Herald-Journal
D. 132,375

AUG 1 1963

Southern Negroes Pin Major Hopes on Voter Registration Campaign

(Another in an Associated Press series on the racial situation in the United States.)

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Tomorrow—The Economic Effects

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Staten Island Advance
STATEN ISLAND, N. Y.
D. 52,799 S. 48,254

AUG 1 1963

Crisis in America--Changes in the Political Picture

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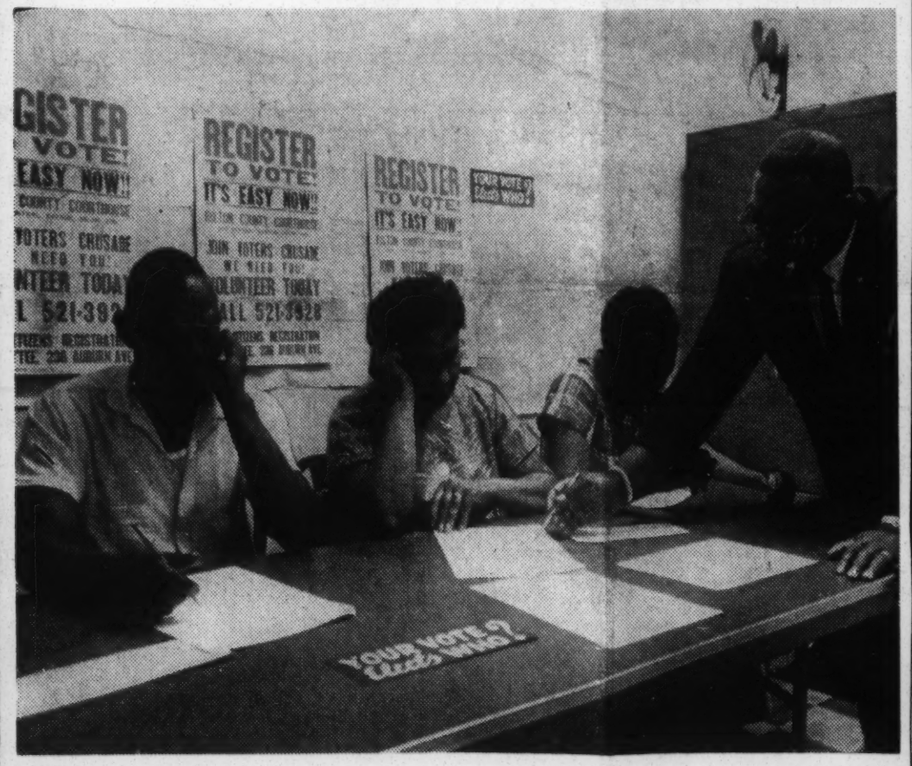
NO VOTE — Negro efforts to obtain greater voting power include demonstrations such as this—a mock wake for the 15th Amendment, which demonstrators say is dead in Mississippi. The "Wake" was held in March on the steps of the post office in Atlanta, Ga.



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SAN ANTONIO Evening NEWS
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS
D. 70,118

AUG 1 1963

Deepening Crisis

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BOB KENNEDY'S TEAM IN ACTION—Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, left, sits in his Washington office during an informal meeting with members of a special team he often calls to work out solutions to urgent problems. Informality is the keynote at such meetings. From left are Kennedy; Burke Marshall, assistant attorney general for civil rights; Nicholas deB. Katzehbach, Kennedy's deputy; John Nolan, Kennedy's administrative assistant; William A. Geoghegan, assistant deputy attorney general; and Joseph F. Dolan, assistant deputy attorney general. —AP Wirephoto.

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NEXT: THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS.

WEST WARWICK, R.I.
PAWTUXET VALLEY TIMES
D. 8,785

AUG 1 1963

SKIRMISH ON picket line in Boston, outside Boston School Committee headquarters.
AP Wirephoto

The Racial Crisis — *Driving For Vote*

'I Want To Be A Citizen'

Editor's Note: In a potentially powerful weapon in his fight against segregation, the Negro is enthusiastically taking part today in a massive vote registration campaign. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. Fourth in a specialized series of articles by The Associated Press on the racial crisis.

By RELMAN MORIN

Tuskegee, Ala. —(AP)— The Negro woman says she is 50 years old and wants to register to vote.

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A reporter questions her. She says, simply:

"I JUST WANT to become a citizen of our country. Being registered will make me a full citizen."

This scene — with its immense potentialities for the Negro movement — is being reenacted in hundreds of cities in the South today.

It is the result of the voter-registration drive.

Throughout the South, Negro organizations are working to register more of their people, thousands of men and women who never voted before. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. Here, politically, is a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation.

The drive moves through many channels.

THE WOMAN in Tuskegee may have decided to try to register after hearing a constantly repeated radio appeal, attending a meeting, or simply receiving a handbill.

Elsewhere, Negro workers canvass a residential district on registration days, ringing doorbells. If the housewife isn't registered, they urge her to go to the courthouse immediately. If she has no transportation, they provide it. If she says she can't leave her children, they offer to baby-sit.

Another device is the "voter clinic." This is a meeting in which Negro instructors show would-be applicants the technicalities of registering, how to correctly fill out the forms. In Tuskegee alone, during the month of June, there were 19 such "clinics."

And there is the famous Alabama mule. He walks through the streets of Huntsville, carrying a sandwich billboard. The sign reads, "I'm not registered because I'm a mule. What's your excuse?"

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"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single eligible voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of two million new Negro voters, North and South."

The movement is steady and seems to be gaining momentum. What are the results?

Exact figures for the South as a whole are not complete. However, the Department of Justice and the Southern Regional Council's "voter education project" pinpoint the changes in some specific areas.

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STATISTICS ON 11 Southern states, compiled by the Southern Regional Council, indicate that about one fourth of the Negroes of voting age are registered. The figures show a total of 5,045,000, of whom 1,344,000 are registered. Wiley Branton, an SRC executive, said the figures are incomplete, some counties being as yet untabulated.

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Next: The Economic Effects.

LA CROSSE, WIS.
TRIBUNE
D. 32 6 8 S. 32 528

AUG 1 1963

VOTER 'CLINICS' HELD IN SOUTH

Vote Registration Helps Negroes To Increase Political Leverage

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NEXT: THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS

FOND DU LAC, WIS.
COMMONWEALTH REPORTER
D. 18,855

AUG 1 1963

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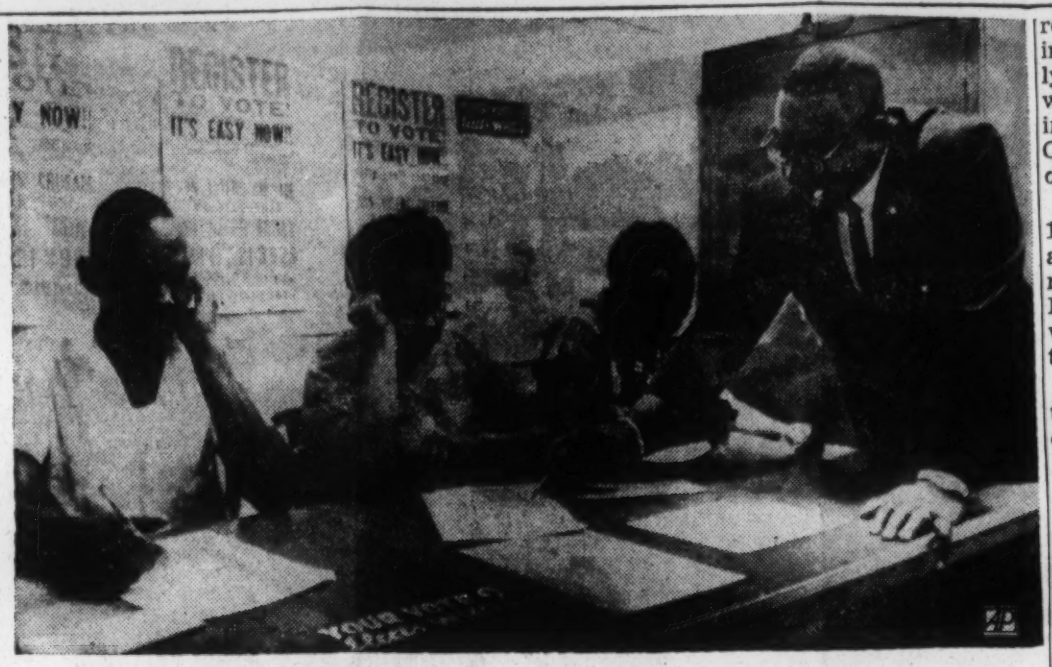

THE REV. FRED C. BENNETTE, JR., instructs Atlanta Negroes how to fill out registration forms which will enable them to vote. Similar classes are held in other cities in an effort to increase Negro voting power which, potentially, is a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation. Seated from left are: Austin L. Hayes, Mrs. Dollie M. Shepherd and Mrs. Hattie Ward. (AP Wirephoto)

ote To Get Stronger Voice In Governmental Affairs

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Seek 'Moderates'

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CRISIS

Negroes Press Drive To Register Voters

Continued from Page A-1

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Tomorrow: The economic effects.

The Evening Star
WASHINGTON, D. C.
. 258,167 S. 313,112
PAGE ONE
CERTIFIED
AUG 1 1963

SUMMER OF CRISIS

Negro Registration Grows

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By RELMAN MORIN
Associated Press Staff Writer

This is the fifth of a series of 13 articles surveying the racial crisis.

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See CRISIS, Page A-6

CORTLAND, N.Y.
STANDARD
D. 10,033

AUG 1 1963

DEEPENING CRISIS IV

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Next: THE ECONOMIC EFfects

LAS VEGAS, NEV.
REVIEW-JOURNAL
D. 31,223 S. 31,825

AUG 1 1963

Negro Vote Registrations Begin to Swell

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MACON, GA.
NEWS
D: 23,004
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED.
AUG 1 1963

Voter Registration: A Lever in the Hand of the Negro

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Continued on Page 2

Voter Registration Is Potentially Powerful Weapon for Negroes

Continued from Page 1

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Friday in The Macon News: The Economic Effects.

ELMIRA, N.Y.
STAR-GAZETTE AND
ADVERTISER
D. 43,791

AUG 1 1963

Southern Negroes See Voice at Polls Strong Weapon in Segregation Fight

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Learning How

The Rev. Fred C. Bennette Jr. shows Atlanta Negroes how to fill out registration forms which will enable them to vote. From left are Austin L. Hayes, Mrs. Dollie M. Sheperd and Mrs. Hattie Ward. (AP Wirephoto)

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RACINE, WIS.
JOURNAL-TIMES
D. 33,130

AUG 1 1963

The Deepening Crisis

Voter Registration Spurring Political Strength of Negro

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Persuasion in Action

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Negro efforts to obtain greater voting power includes demonstrations such as these—a mock wake for the 15th amendment which demonstrators say is dead in Mississippi. The open casket contains a copy of the amendment. The 'wake' was held last March on the steps of the Post Office in Atlanta. Demonstrators said they were members of the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights.

—AP Wirephoto

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Next: The economic effects.

THE MIAMI NEWS
MIAMI, FLA.
D. 154,397 S. 137,140

AUG 1 1963

Every Vote Means Greater Strength

By RELMAN MORIN
The Associated Press

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Special Report

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A Demonstration To Obtain Greater Voting Power

The DEEPENING CRISIS

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NEXT: The Economic Effects

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Especially in areas where Negroes outnumber the whites — sometimes by as much as five to one — many devices have been used to keep political power in the hands of the whites.

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NEXT: The Economic Ef

BURLINGTON, N.C.
TIMES-NEWS
D: 19,651

AUG 1 1963

The Deepeni

Negroes Work To Get Vote

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NEXT: THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS

GREENSBORO, N.C.
RECORD
D. 31,743

AUG 1 1963

Deepening Crisis: IV

Negro Organizations Work Toward Full Vo

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Next: The economic effects.

WAUSAU, WIS.
RECORD-HERALD
D: 18,804

AUG 1 1963

The Deepening Crisis

Growing Negro Political Effort

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Other Registry Devices

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AUGUSTA, GA.
HERALD
D. 20,779

AUG 1 1963

THE DEEPENING CRISIS IV

Negroes Counting Votes for Leverage

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Next: The Economic Effects.

Dallas Times Herald
D. 195,987 S. 206,275

AUG 1 1963

THE DEEPENING CRISIS

Southern Negroes Hurdle Barriers to Voting Rights

(Editor's Note—In a potentially powerful weapon in his fight against segregation, the Negro is enthusiastically taking part today in a massive vote registration campaign. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. Another in a specialized series of articles by the Associated Press on the racial crisis.)

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By RELMAN MORIN

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"I just want to become a citizen of our country. Being registered will make me a full citizen."

This scene—with its immense potentialities for the Negro movement—is being reenacted in hundreds of cities in the South today.

Throughout the South, Negro organizations are working to register more of their people, thousands of men and women who never voted before. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. Here, potentially, is a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation

NEGRO DEVICES

Negro workers canvass a residential district on registration days, ringing doorbells. If the housewife isn't registered, they urge her to go to the courthouse immediately. If she has no transportation, they provide it. If she says she can't leave her children, they offer to baby-sit.

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Another device is the "voter clinic." This is a meeting in which Negro instructors show would-be applicants the technicalities of registering.

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Speaking of the voter registration drives, Bishop George W. have been asked to copy such simple provisions as, 'There shall be no imprisonment for debt.' "

BARNETT'S REASONS

Mississippi's Gov. Ross Barnett, ascribed the small number of registered Negroes in his state to other causes. In a copyrighted interview with U. S. News and World Report," he said:

"The primary reasons for the fewer Negro voters include illiteracy, apathy, and the law requiring payment of a poll tax. So many Negroes are not qualified to vote."

As to literacy qualifications for registering, he said:

"They have to be able to read and understand and interpret a section of the constitution of the State of Mississippi. We don't believe in having ignorant people elect our officials."

There have been indications already—although it is difficult to say with certainty—that the Negro vote tipped the balance in certain elections. Some residents of Birmingham, Ala., for example, say Negro ballots ousted T. Eugene (Bull) Connor from the city government.

In any case, the thousands of new Negro votes can be expected today to go to the man with "moderate" views on segreation and against the candidate running on a program of strict "white supremacy." In a close election, this could spell the difference.

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NEXT: The economic effects.

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"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, elegible voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of two million new Negro voters, North and South."

GAINING MOMENTUM

The movement is steady and seems to be gaining momentum. What are the results?

Exact figures for the South as a whole are not complete. However, the Department of Justice and the Southern Regional Council's "voter education project" pinpoint the changes in some specific areas.

In Tennessee's Haywood and Fayette counties, a Justice Department official said, Negro registration has jumped from 150 to about 5,000 in five years.

Bullock County, Alabama, had four Negro voters on the rolls in 1961, he said. Now the figure is 1,341.

Statistics on 11 southern states, compiled by the Southern Regional Council, indicate that about one-fourth of the Negroes of voting age are registered. The figures show a total of 5,045,000 of whom 1,344,000 are registered. Wiley Branton, an SRC executive, said the figures are incomplete, some counties being as yet untabulated.

Comparable figures for the white voting population in these states show 17,539,000, of whom 10,566,000 are registered.

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Especially in area where Negroes outnumber the whites—sometimes by as much as five to one—many devices have been used to keep political power in the hands of the whites.

For example, on March 17, 1961, after a long legal battle, a federal court in Alabama ruled on a lawsuit involving Macon County. The judge wrote in his memorandum that:

". . . 18 affiants, more than half of whom had college or advanced degrees, were rejected for inconsequential, formal, technical mistakes."

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The Detroit News
D. 710,775 S. 913,648

AUG 1 1963

THE RACIAL CRISIS

Negro Strength Grows at South's Polls

(One of a series)

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In the offices of the Tuskegee Civic Association (TCA), a Negro organization, they give her a sample copy of the Alabama registration form.

She fills in the form. A TCA official finds some minor errors but otherwise, he says, the papers are in order.

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As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. Here, potentially, is a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation.

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In areas where Negroes outnumber the whites, sometimes by as much as five to one, many devices have been used to keep political power in the hands of the whites.

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"The primary reasons for the fewer Negro voters include illiteracy, apathy, and the law requiring payment of a poll tax. So many Negroes are not qualified to vote."

As Negro voting strength increases, what are the political implications for a candidate for public office in the South?

There have been indications already, although it is difficult to say with certainty, that the Negro vote tipped the balance in certain elections.

Some residents of Birmingham, Ala., for example, say Negro ballots ousted T. Eugene Bull Conner from the city government.

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In a close election, this could spell the difference.

NEXT: THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS.

New York Post
D. 372,679 S. 255,557
AUG 1 1963

The Race Crisis: The Vote Is a Growing Weapon

Editor's Note—A massive vote registration campaign is steadily increasing the political leverage of the Negro. Fourth in a series by the Associated Press on the racial crisis.

By RELMAN MORIN

Tuskegee, Ala., Aug. 1 (AP)—The Negro woman says she is 50 years old and wants to register to vote.

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Throughout the South, Negro organizations are working to register more of their people, thousands of men and women who never voted before. As the number grows the political leverage of the Negro increases. Here, potentially, is a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation.

The drive moves through many channels. The woman in Tuskegee may have decided to try to register after hearing a constantly-repeated radio appeal, attending a meeting, or simply receiving a handbill. Elsewhere, Negro workers canvass a residential district on registration days, ringing doorbells. If the housewife isn't registered, they urge her to go to the courthouse immediately. If she has no transportation, they provide it. If she says she can't leave her children, they offer to baby-sit.

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Continued on Page 15

Race Crisis: The Vote Is a Growing Weapon

Continued from Page 3

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Speaking of the voter registration drives, Bishop George W. Baber of the African Methodist Episcopal Church said:

"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single eligible voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of 2,000,000 new Negro voters, North and South."

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As Negro voting strength increases, what are the political implications for a candidate for public office in the South?

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GASTONIA, N.C.
GAZETTE
D. 24,080

AUG 1 1963

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The drive moves through many channels.

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NEXT: THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS

WISCONSIN RAPIDS, WIS.
TRIBUNE
D. 9,823

AUG 1 1963

Negroes in South Urge

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Judicial Findings

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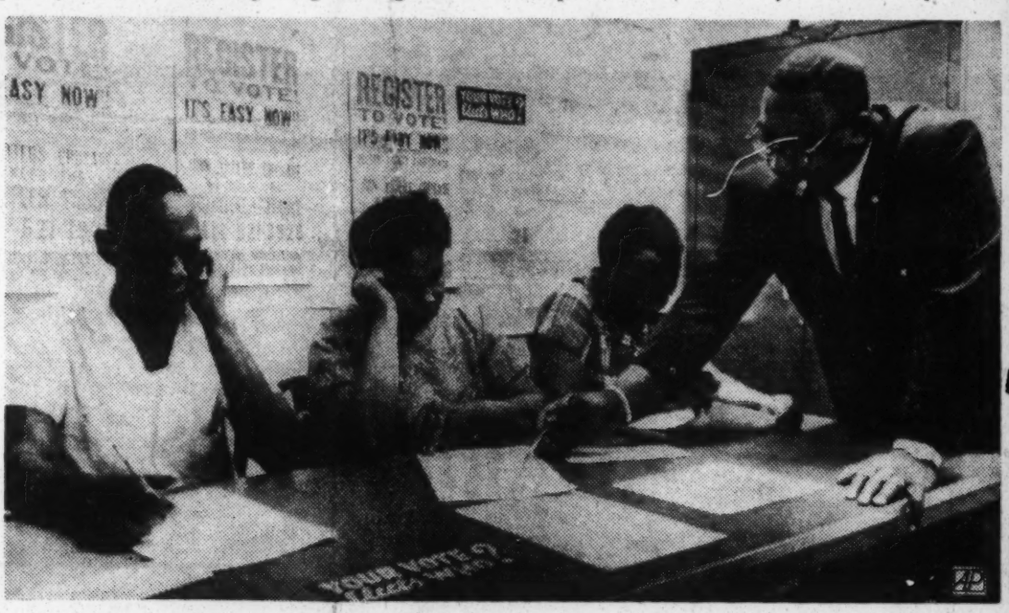

NEGROES LEARN REGISTRATION PROCEDURES—Rev. Fred C. Bennette Jr. instructs Atlanta Negroes how to fill out registration forms which will enable them to vote. Similar classes are held in other cities in an effort to increase Negro voting power which, potentially, is a powerful weapon in fight against segregation. Seated from left are: Austin L. Hayes, Mrs. Dollie M. Shepherd and Mrs. Hattie Ward.

Urged to Exercise Right to Vote

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GLOVERSVILLE, N.Y.
LEADER-HERALD
D. 14,453

AUG 1 1963

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NEXT: THE ECONOMIC EFfects

MADISON, WIS.
CAPITAL TIMES
D. 45,345

AUG 1 1963

Vote Key Negro Weapon

[The Negro is enuthusiastically taking part today in a massive vote resistration campaign. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. Fourth in a specialized series of articles by the Associated Press on the racial crisis.—EDITOR'S NOTE].

By RELMAN MORIN

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The drive moves through many channels.

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NEXT: The Economic Effects.

The Evening Press
BINGHAMTON, NEW YORK
D. 77,053 S. 75,106

AUG 1 1963

THE DEEPENING CRISIS (5)

Negro Vote Powerful Political Lever

EDITOR'S NOTE: *This is the fifth in a series of articles on the problems of the Negro.*

By RELMAN MORIN
Associated Press Writer

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—Associated Press WIREPHOTO.

NEGROES LEARN REGISTRATION PROCEDURES—The Rev. Fred C. Bennette, Jr., instructs Atlanta Negroes how to fill out registration forms which will enable them to vote. Similar classes are held in other cities in an effort to increase Negro voting power. Seated are: Mrs. Dollie M. Shepherd, left, and Mrs. Hattie Ward.

Speaking of the voter registration drives, Bishop George W. Baber of the African Methodist Episcopal Church said:

"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of 2,000,000 new Negro voters, North and South."

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NEXT: The economic effects.

LONG ISLAND CITY, N.Y.
STAR-JOURNAL
D. 95,884

AUG 1 1963

The Deepening Crisis

The Political Effects

In a potentially powerful weapon in his fight against segregation, the Negro is enthusiastically taking part today in a massive vote registration campaign. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases.

Fifth in a specialized series of articles by the Assocated Press on the racial crisis.

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The drive moves through many channels.

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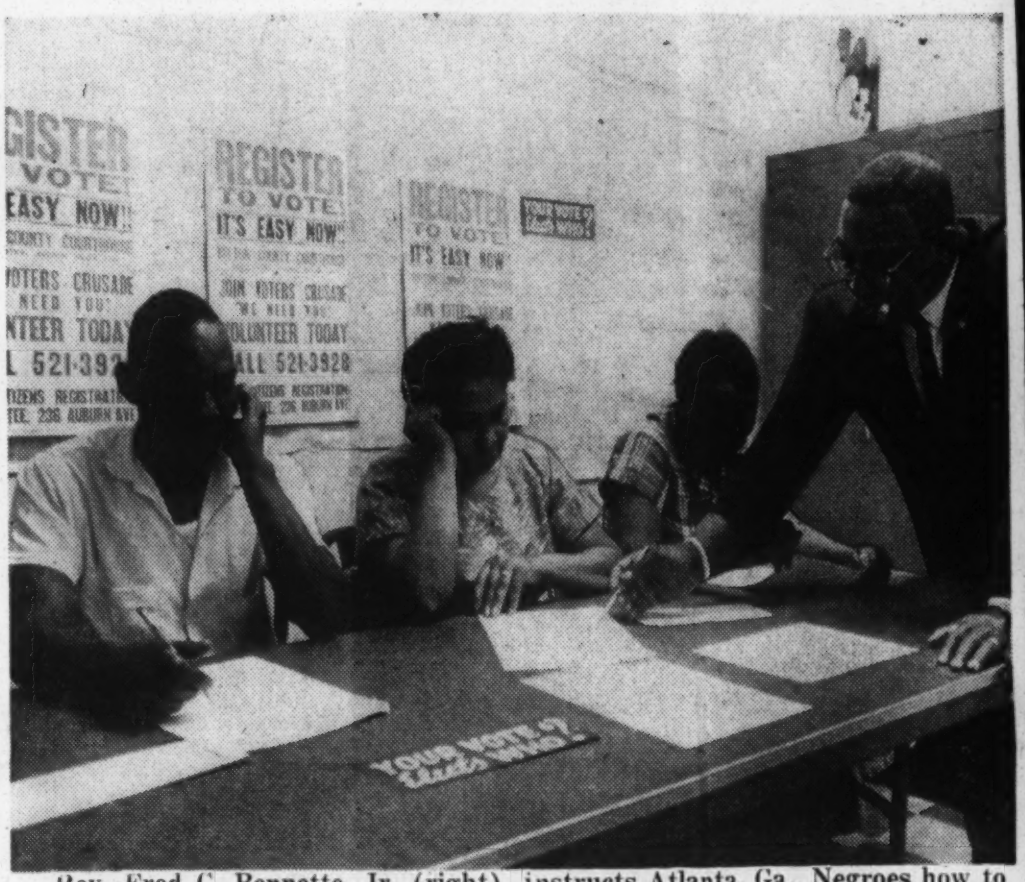

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TOMORROW: The economic effects.

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Negro efforts to obtain greater voting power include demonstrations such as this — a mock wake for the 15th Amendment which demonstrators say is dead in Mississippi. Open casket contains a copy of the Amendment. The "wake" was held in March 1963 on the steps of the postoffice in Atlanta, Ga., by demonstrators who said they were members of the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights.

DURHAM, N.C.
SUN
D. 25,276

AUG 1 1963

Racial Crisis: 4

Political Leverage Is Increasing As Negroes Add To Vote Rolls In South

(Fourth In A Series)
By RELMAN MORIN

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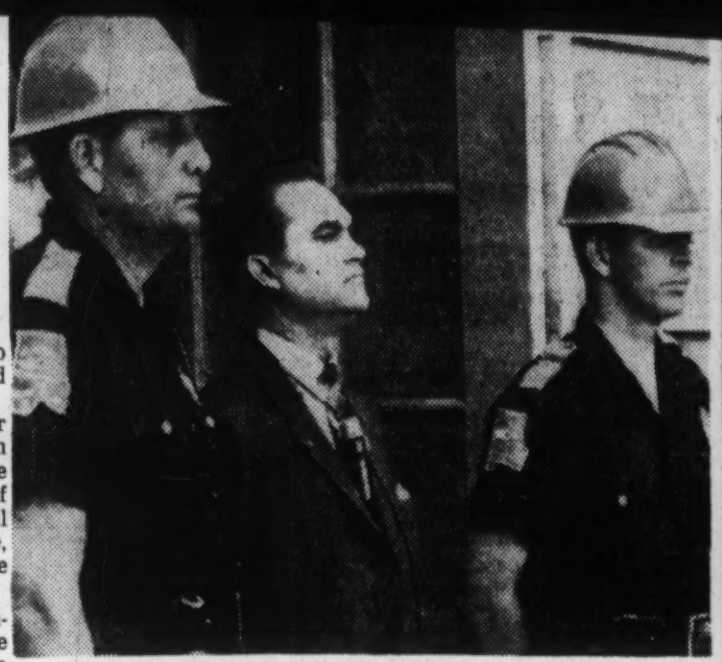
Next: The Economic Effects.



WALLACE DEFENDS THE OLD ORDER—Surrounded by state policemen, Gov. George Wallace of Alabama stands in the doorway of the University of Alabama in an effort to prevent Negro registration at the school. The stand Wallace took typifies the segment of the White South that seeks to maintain the old order.
—AP Wirephoto.

BELOIT, WIS.
NEWS
D. 21,385

AUG 1 1963

Deepening Crisis IV

Negroes Turn to Polls For Civil Rights Lever

(Fourth in a series of articles)

By Relman Morin

Tuskegee, Ala.—(AP)—The Negro woman says she is 50 years old and wants to register to vote.

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A reporter questions her. She says, simply:

"I just want to become a citizen of our country. Being registered will make me a full citizen."

Immense Potential

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Throughout the South, Negro organizations are working to register more of their people, thousands of men and women who never voted before. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. Here, potentially, is a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation.

The drive moves through many channels.

Mass Persuasion

The woman in Tuskegee may have decided to try to register after hearing a constantly repeated radio appeal, attending a meeting, or simply receiving a handbill.

Elsewhere, Negro workers canvass a residential district on registration days, ringing doorbells. If the housewife isn't registered, they urge her to go to the courthouse immediately. If she has no transportation, they provide it. If she says she can't leave her children, they offer to babysit.

Or they station themselves in municipal buildings. A Negro comes in for, say, a driver's license. They ask whether he is registered. If not, they try to persuade him to do so, there and then.

Hold 'Voter Clinics'

Another device is the "voter clinic." This is a meeting in which Negro instructors show would-be applicants the technicalities of registering, how to correctly fill out the forms. In Tuskegee alone, during the month of June, there were 19 technical mistakes."

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Avoids 'Ignorant Voters'

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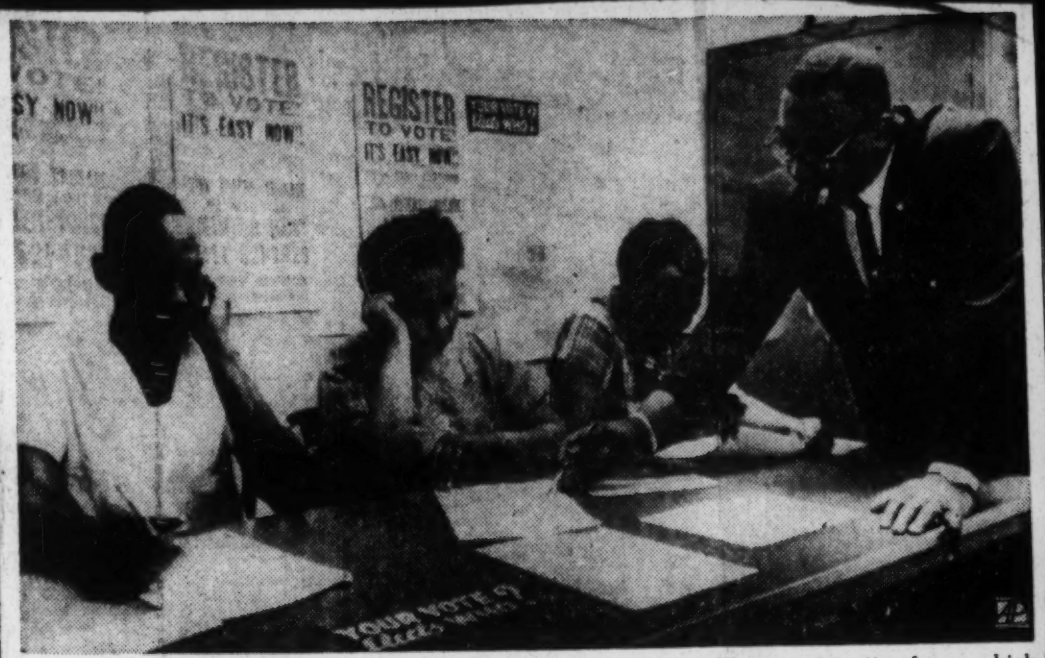

The Rev. Fred C. Bennette, Jr., instructs Atlanta Negroes how to fill out registration forms which will enable them to vote. Similar classes are held in other cities in an effort to increase Negro voting power which, potentially, is a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation. Seated from left are: Austin L. Hayes, Mrs. Dollie M. Shepherd and Mrs. Hattie Ward. (AP Wirephoto)

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"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of 2 million new Negro voters, North and South."

Gaining Momentum

The movement is steady and seems to be gaining momentum.

What are the results.

Exact figures for the South as a whole are not complete. However, the department of justice and the Southern Regional council's "voter education project" pinpoint the changes in some specific areas.

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Bullock county, Alabama, had four Negro voters on the rolls in 1961, he said. Now the figure is 1,341. In the city of Montgomery, the rate of registration of Negroes used to be about 200 a year. Now it is about 200 a month, he said.

One-Fourth Registered

Statistics on 11 Southern states, compiled by the Southern Regional council, indicate that about one-fourth of the Negroes of voting age are registered. The figures show a total of 5,045,000, of whom 1,344,000 are registered. Wiley Branton, an SRC executive, said the figures are incomplete, some counties being as yet untabulated.

Comparable figures for the white voting population in these states show 17,539,000, of whom 10,566,000 are registered.

Especially in areas where Negroes outnumber the whites — sometimes by as much as five to one—many devices have been used to keep political power in the hands of the whites.

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Registration boards met irregularly and at widely spaced intervals. They worked slowly, and then quit for the day, while Negroes were still waiting in line to file applications. Or they rejected applications on technical grounds.

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SHEBOYGAN, WIS.
PRESS
D. 27,684

AUG 1 1963

The Deepening Crisis . . . IV

Negroes Staging Massive Voter Registration Campaign In South

EDITOR'S NOTE — In a potentially powerful weapon in his fight against segregation, the Negro is enthusiastically taking part today in a massive vote registration campaign. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. Fourth in a specialized series of articles by The Associated Press on the racial crisis.

By RELMAN MORIN

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Through Many Channels

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The drive moves through many channels.

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NEXT: THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS

APPLETON, WIS.
POST-CRESCENT
D. 33,946 S. 33,291

AUG 1 1963

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The Fayetteville Observer
NONE FINER IN CAROLINA
D. 30,559 S. 27,461

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CHARLESTON, S.C.
POST
D, 35,948

AUG 1 1963

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POWERFUL WEAPON

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NEXT: THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS

GALLUP, N.M.
INDEPENDENT
D 3,864 S 3,742

AUG 1 1963

Massive Vote Drive Going Among Negroes

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The Record
HACKENSACK, N. J.
D. 114,495

AUG 1 1963

The Deepening Crisis

SEEK VOTING RIGHTS: Negro efforts to obtain greater voting power include demonstrations such as this—a mock wake for the 15th Amendment, which they claim is dead in Mississippi. Open casket contains a copy of the Amendment. The burial ceremonies were conducted last march on the steps of the Post Office in Atlanta, Ga. (A. P. Wirephoto.)

Politicos Eye Negro Registration

New Voters Could Tip Poll Scales, Cause Upsets

(Fourth In A Series)

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LEARN REGISTRATION RULES: The Rev. Fred C. Bennette Jr. instructs Atlanta Negroes in how to fill out registration forms which will enable them to vote. Similar classes are held in other cities in an effort to increase Negro voting power which, potentially is a powerful weapon in the fight against segregation now being used. (A. P. Wirephoto.)

Trenton Evening Times
TRENTON, N. J.
D. 68,260
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
AUG 1 1963

Deepening Crisis – 5

The Negro Vote: A Powerful Lever

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(Continued on Page Two)

AP Photo

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The Deepening Crisis

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OKLAHOMA CITY TIMES
D. 122,747

AUG 1 1963

Our Deepening Crisis—IV

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g Crisis—IV

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Negroes Tip Balance?

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Next: the economic effects.

WASHINGTON, N.C.
NEWS
D. 5,393

AUG 1 1963

Deepening Crisis

The Political Effects

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By RELMAN MORIN

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This scene—with its immense potentialities for the Negro movement—is being re-enacted in hundreds of cities in the South today.

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Throughout the South, Negro organizations are working to register more of their people, thousands of men and women who never voted before. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. Here, potentially, is a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation.

The drive moves through many channels.

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Elsewhere, Negro workers canvass a residential district on registration days, ringing doorbells. If the housewife isn't registered, they urge her to go to the courthouse immediately. If she has no transportation, they provide it. If she says she can't leave her children, they offer to baby-sit.

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Another device is the "voter clinic." This is a meeting in which Negro instructors show would-be applicants the technicalities of registering, how to correctly fill out the forms. In Tuskegee alone, during the month of June, there were 19 such "clinics."

And there is the famous Alabama mule. He walks through the streets of Huntsville, carrying a sandwich billboard. The sign reads, "I'm not registered because I'm a mule. What's your excuse?"

Speaking of the voter registration drives, Bishop George W. Baber of the African Methodist Episcopal Church said:

"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of two million new Negro voters, North and South."

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NEXT: THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS

MANITOWOC, WIS.
HERALD-TIMES
D. 15,666

AUG 1 1963

The Deepening Crisis—IV

Registered Negro Voter Is Potentially Powerful Weapon

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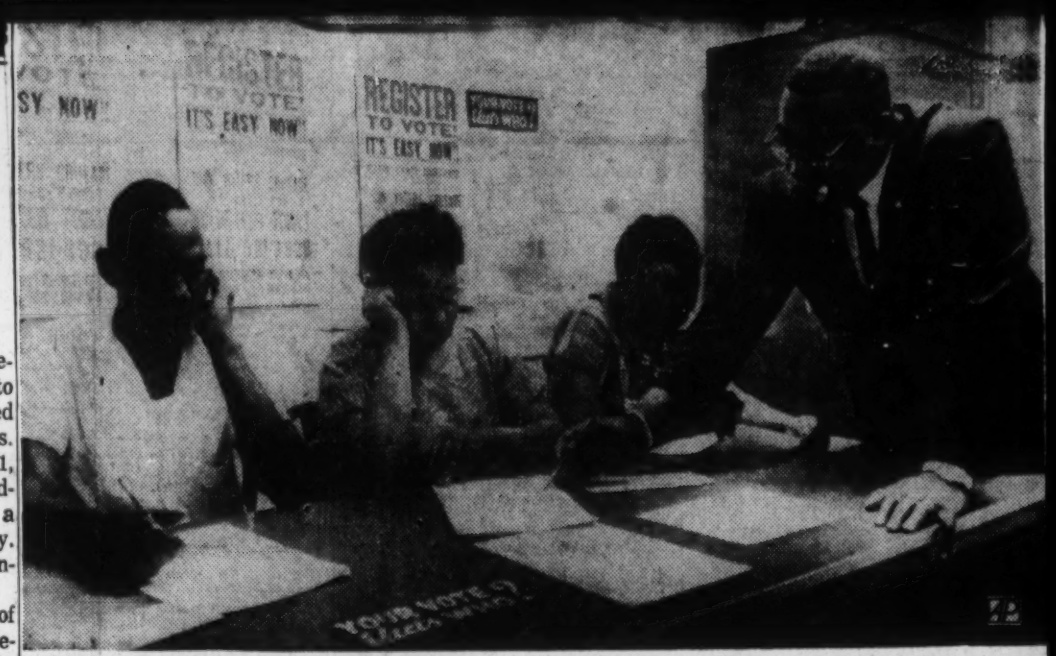
NEXT: THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS.



LEARN REGISTRATION PROCEDURES — Rev. Fred C. Bennette Jr., instructs Atlanta Negroes how to fill out registration forms which will enable them to vote. Similar classes are held in other cities in an effort to increase Negro voting power which, potentially, is a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation. Seated from left are: Austin L. Hayes, Mrs. Dollie M. Shepherd and Mrs. Hattie Ward. (AP Wirephoto)

PORTALES, N.M.
NEWS TRIBUNE
D. 4,173 S. 4,244

AUG 1 1963

Negroes Set Out To Prove Barnett Conclusion Wrong

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Comparable figures for the white voting population in these states show 17,539,000, of whom 10,566,000 are registered.

Especially in areas where Negroes outnumber the whites—sometimes by as much as five to one — many devices have been used to keep political power in the hands of the whites.

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RHINELANDER, WIS.
NEWS
D. 4,741

AUG 1 1963

The Deepening Crisis: 4

Political Effects of Integration

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NEXT: THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS

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NEXT: The Economic Effects.

FECTS

The Hartford Times
D. 126,360

AUG 1 1963

Dixie Negroes Moving Toward the Polls

By RELMAN MORIN
(Fourth of a Series)

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(Next: The Economic Effects)

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The movement is steady and seems to be gaining momentum. What are the results?

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STATISTICS on 11 Southern States, compiled by the

Newsday
GARDEN CITY, N. Y.
D. 344,789

AUG 1 1963

The Racial Time Bomb

Negro Voter-Registration Drive Grows

This is the fourth part of a series surveying the deepening integration crisis in the United States.

Tuskegee, Ala. (AP)—The Negro woman says she is 50 years old and wants to register to vote. She doesn't know the procedure, never having done it.

In the offices of the Tuskegee Civic Association (TCA), a Negro organization, they give her a sample copy of the Alabama registration form. Slowly, studying it line by line, she fills in the form. A TCA official finds some minor errors but otherwise, he says, the papers are in order. He tells her where, and on which days, she can file a real application. If it is accepted, she will be a registered voter.

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Speaking of the voter registration drives, Bishop George W. Baber of the African Methodist Episcopal Church said: "The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of 2,000,000 new Negro voters, North and South."

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Continued Tomorrow

Long Island Press
JAMAICA, N. Y.
D. 295,831 S. 369,281

AUG 1 1963

Press SPOTLIGHT ON The Deepening Crisis

Negroes' Big Weapon: Vote Registration Drive

With a potentially powerful weapon in his fight against segregation, the Negro is enthusiastically taking part today in a massive vote registration campaign. As the number grows the political leverage of the Negro increases. This is the fifth in a specialized series of articles on the racial crisis.

★ ★ ★

By RELMAN MORIN

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TOMORROW: The economic effects.

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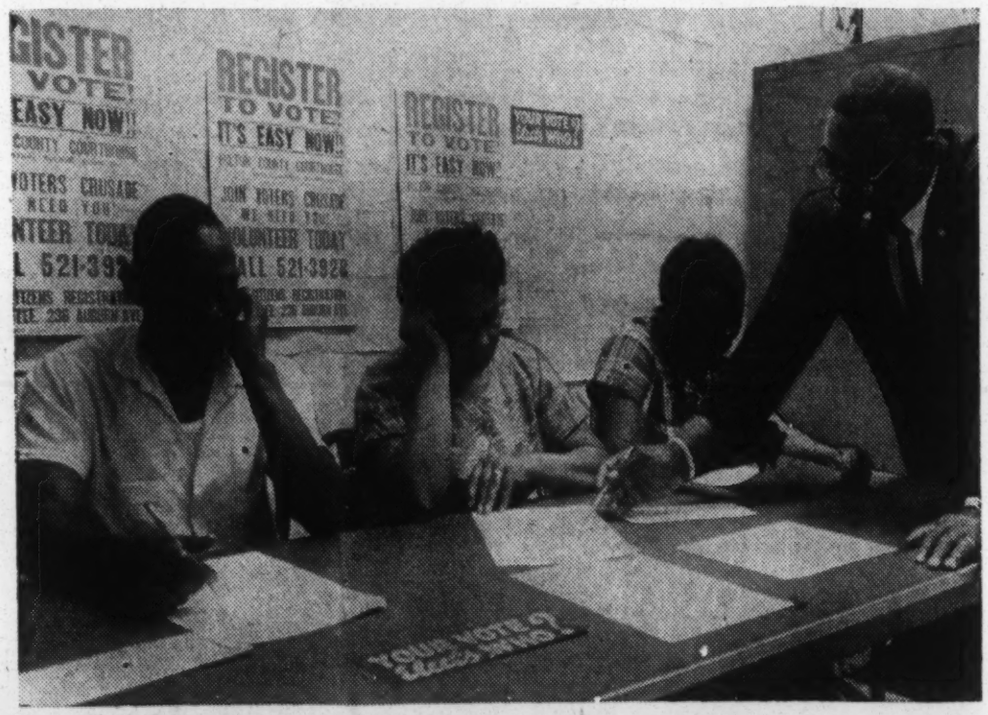

Rev. Fred C. Bennette, Jr. right, instructs Atlanta, Ga. Negroes how to fill out registration forms which enable them to vote. Similar classes are held in other cities in an effort to increase Negro voting power, which potentially, is a powerfull weapon in the fight against segregation. Seated from left are Austin L. Hayes, Mrs. Dollie M. Shepherd and Mrs. Hattie Ward.

Paterson Evening News
NORTHERN JERSEY'S INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER
D. 56,344 SAT. 53,769

AUG 1 1963

The Deepening Integration Crisis

Negroes in Massive Vote Registration Campaign

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Bishop's Views

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Next: The Economic Effects.

THE CINCINNATI ENQUIRER
KENTUCKY EDITION
D. 197,218 S. 284,372

AUG 2 1963

The Deepening Crisis

Negro Registration Drive Producing Election Lever

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(Fifth of a Series

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ROSWELL, N.M.
RECORD
D. 15,102 S. 15,824

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The woman in Tuskegee may have decided to try to register after hearing a constantly repeated radio appeal, attending a meeting, or simply receiving a handbill.

Elsewhere, Negro workers canvass a residential district on registration days, ringing doorbells. If the housewife isn't registered, they urge her to go to the courthouse immediately. If she has no transportation, they provide it. If she says she can't leave her children, they offer to baby-sit.

Another device is the "voter clinic." This is a meeting in which Negro instructors show would-be applicants the technicalities of registering, how to correctly fill out the forms. In Tuskegee alone, during the month of June, there were 19 such "clinics."

And there is the famous Alabama mule. He walks through the streets of Huntsville, carrying a sandwich billboard. The sign reads, "I'm not registered because I'm a mule. What's your excuse?"

Speaking of the voter registration drives, Bishop George W. Baber of the African Methodist Episcopal Church said:

"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of two million new Negro voters, North and South."

The movement is steady and seems to be gaining momentum. What are the results?

Exact figures for the South as a whole are not complete. However, the Department of Justice and the Southern Regional Council's "voter education project" pinpoint the changes in some specific areas.

In Tennessee's Haywood and Fayette Counties, a Justice Department official said, Negro registration has jumped from 150 to about 5,000 in five years.

Bullock County, Ala., had four Negro voters on the rolls in 1961, he said. Now the figure is 1,341. In the city of Montgomery, the rate of registration of Negroes used to be about 200 a year. Now it is about 200 per month, he said.

Statistics on 11 Southern states, compiled by the Southern Regional Council, indicate that about on fourth of the Negroes of voting age are registered. The figures show a total of 5,0 1,344,000 are re Branton, an SRC the figures are in counties being as

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Comparable figures for the white voting population in these states show 17,539,000, of whom 10,566,000 are registered.

Especially in areas where Negroes outnumber the whites—sometimes by as much as five to one — many devices have been used to keep political power in the hands of the whites.

Registration boards met irregularly and at widely spaced intervals. They worked slowly, and then quit for the day, while Negroes were still waiting in line to file applications. Or they rejected applications on technical grounds.

For example, on March 17, 1961, after a long legal battle, a federal court in Alabama ruled on a lawsuit involving Macon County. The judge wrote in his memorandum that:

"18 affiants, more than half of whom had college or advanced degrees, were rejected for such inconsequential, formal, technical mistakes."

He ordered the board to register 64 Negroes and to give priority attention to 400 applicants on the waiting list.

Similarly, in testimony before the House Judiciary Committee, Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy said:

"In one county, Negroes have been required to copy and interpret long, archaic sections of the state constitution, and then have been rejected for omissions of punctuation. Whites, meanwhile have been asked to copy such simple provisions as, 'There shall be no imprisonment for debt.' "

Mississippi's Gov. Ross Barnett, ascribed the small number of registered Negroes in his state to other causes. In a copyrighted interview with U.S. News and World Report," he said:

"The primary reasons for the fewer Negro voters include illiteracy, apathy, and the law requiring payment of a poll tax. So many Negroes are not qualified to vote."

As Negro voting strength increases, what are the political implications for a candidate for public office in the South?

NEXT: The Economic Effects.

DAYTON DAILY NEWS
DAYTON, OHIO
D. 150,419 S. 189,580

AUG 2 1963

NOBODY, ON EITHER SIDE, IS TALKING

Albany: A Powder Keg That C

Albany, Ga., is a microcosm of the racial conflict now sweeping the country. There, in the winter of 1961, an irresistible force of massive Negro discontent met an immovable object of massive white resistance. The following article describes in depth the confrontation and the uneasy stalemate that has followed it.

BY JIM FAIN
Editor of The Daily News

Albany, Ga., is anything but a sleepy southern city. Since World War II, its population has shot upward from around 30,000 to something like 75,000. It is prosperous, rapidly industrializing.

Traditionally, Albany is a progressive island in a backward sea. All around it, the flat farmlands of Southwest Georgia stretch into a black belt as embalmed in the past as the Mississippi Delta.

FAIN in the SOUTH

Race relations in Albany (or "All-benny," as some natives call it) used to be good. There is a Negro college and a Negro elite.

From a religious point of view, the southwest Georgia city is a showcase of tolerant integration. Jews and Catholics were among its founders. There is no separate Jewish community. The idea of excluding a Jew from a country club would strike Albany's upper crust as preposterous.

SOME OF the Jews are shabby genteel—old families who lost their money but not their status to grasping Gentiles who came later. In the early days of the Junior League, Albany girls dropped plans to seek a charter when they learned Jews then were excluded.

Instead, they created a Hospital League of their own, with Jewish girls among the charter members.

Explosive Brew of Tension

Negroes were well treated by pre-World War II standards. They prospered and lived as well in Albany as anywhere in the Deep South.

YET TODAY this bustling small city is a tightly bottled, explosive brew of racial tension, frustration, suspicion, bitterness and fear.

Recently, after a brick through the windshield fractured the skull of a popular white businessman who was taking his maid home at night, the stores sold out of shotgun shells. You could not buy ammunition for a time. There is frank talk of private arming in both Negro and white communities.

At a small dinner party, late in July, the guests started home early.

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"Everybody's just sitting there (in Albany) hoping it won't explode before the courts can change it."—**A reporter for the Atlanta Journal.**

"The much-debated Albany Movement . . . ended in the first real failure Negroes have had since Montgomery."—**Louis Lomax in "The Negro Revolt."**

"If there ever has been a person who's tried desperately for a solution, I suppose I'm that person. But every time you think you've found a solution, they turn around and hit you with something else."—**Asa D. Kelley Jr., mayor of Albany.**

"We will desegregate this city, even if there must be bloodshed. Not that we will actively take arms, but we will defend ourselves."—**Slater King, president of the Albany Movement.**

gized. "We would have to drive her home. Instead, we let the maid stay on. Her husband comes and gets her. But she won't stay past 11 o'clock."

"We're letting our oldest sit tonight," another wife explained. "It's a first for him—but you know how it is."

You don't know how it is when you first get to Albany. It seems unreal. But you quickly find out.

For a sociological explanation of this embattled state of affairs, listen to Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, a research and educational institution in the field of Southern race relations:

YOU HAVE in Albany on the one hand, says Dunbar, "Negro determination and willingness to act; and, on the other, the willful or inert resistance of white persons and their institutions.

"The methods used are . . . peaceful though firm Negro protest and firm, relatively quiet police suppression."

How did a giant confrontation of the Negro revolt and white resistance happen to take place in this progressive little city? Why did Albany suddenly flare into a familiar dateline in Algiers and Bombay, an editorial in Pravda? Why were 1,000 Negroes arrested for singing and praying on its streets?

THE ANSWERS vary according to the person you ask.

Before we hear them, let's look at some of the principal characters.

First, meet Slater King, tall 37-year-old Negro with a thin

Turn to ALBANY, Page 20, Col. 1

Albany: A Bottle Of Explosive Brew

Continued from Page 1

mustache. He is a real estate man, the son of a postal employe who long led Albany's conservative chapter of the NAACP.

Between White and Black—A Gray

King is militant and bitter, though he mellows a bit as you talk. He recalls being kicked and called "Little Nig" by whites when he worked at his first job, as a child, for the Big Star grocery.

Next, here is James D. Gray, blond, tanned, curly-haired newspaper publisher of middle age. He is a staunch segregationist. His paper editorializes consistently along racist lines.

INTERESTINGLY, the personable Gray is a New Englander, born in Massachusetts, educated at Dartmouth. He came South after World War II, bought the Albany Herald and quickly began to "out-Southern" the Southerners. He was one of the first newspaper editors in Georgia to back the segregationist Talmadges, father and son.

Then, meet Asa D. Kelley Jr., the mayor, a thin, slightly stooped young man with horn-rimmed glasses. He looks something like a professor and carries plenty of emotional scars from this racial battle. He has often been in the middle.

During World War II, Kelley fought ashore as a Marine in some rugged Pacific landings. When I first knew him, he was a teen-aged leader in my father's church in Albany. Later he was converted to the Catholic faith. My father, who took his Protestanism very seriously, always regarded this not just as a mistake but as something of a reflection on his ministry.

NOW, gentlemen, why Albany?

Slater King, a founder and now president of the Albany Movement, pins much of the blame on Gray.

"We thought of him," says King, "as one of our biggest enemies, a man who epitomized the evils of segregation. It was just a vitriolic attitude this man had toward Negroes."

The Heart of the Black Belt

When a group of Negro ministers back in early 1961 petitioned for redress of grievances, says King, Gray published an editorial condemning them, giving their names and addresses. They were deluged with abuse as a consequence.

Anr what does Gray say? He insists that outside agitators caused the whole thing.

"IT WAS all rigged from the beginning," he assures you. "They sent Anderson (Dr. W. G. Anderson, an osteopath who originally led the Movement) here two years ahead of time to set it up. It was all planned."

Now Kelley:

"I think perhaps Albany was selected because it is in the heart of a black belt, has three military installations and a Negro college. It also had a reputation for liberality.

"THEN DON'T forget that Congressman Dawson, the Illinois Negro leader, was born here.

Actually, there probably was a fair-sized chunk of chance in the beginnings of the Albany trouble.

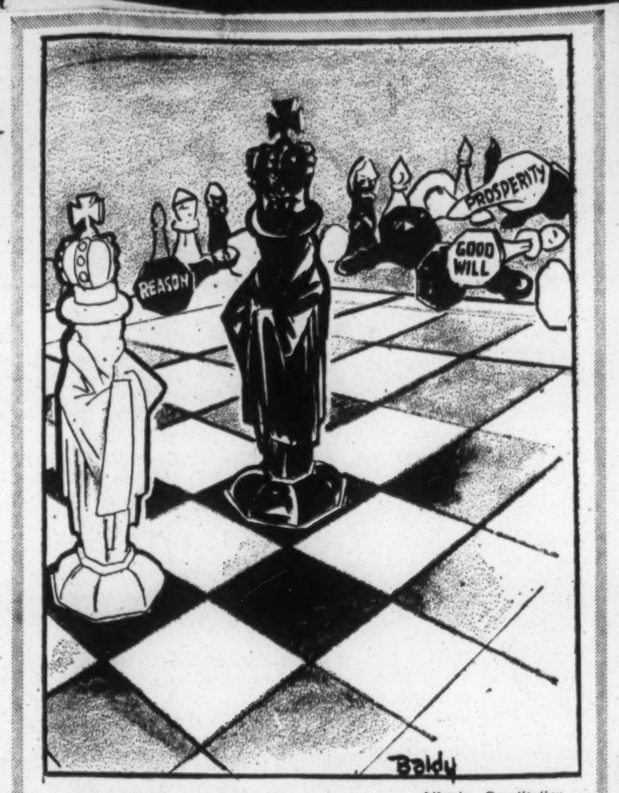
Some of the students at Albany State College began to get restless after the lunch-counter demonstrations elsewhere and the successful bus boycott in Montgomery.

Some Restless Leaders

About that time Charles Sherrod and Cordell Reagan, experienced leaders from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating committee (Snick), came to Albany to look things over.

Among the adult Negroes there were stirrings. The NAACP always had been extremely conservative. Some restless leaders (notably Dr. Anderson, Slater King and Marion Page) organized the Albany Movement.

THEN, in late November, a group of Snick Freedom Riders



Albany Stalemate

000, so that it could be privately operated for whites only.

Gray expects to lose money. "Oh, God, will I lose money," he exclaimed. But he is protecting the lily white nature of the community.

You see "white" and "colored" signs all over. The taxi companies carry their color brands. Even a chiropractic clinic I noticed has a sign pointing to a colored entrance in the rear.

MEANWHILE, the conventional outlets of Negro protest are tightly bottled by local laws, police and courts.

Demonstrations, public parades, even the distribution of handbills are forbidden by ordinance.

These laws are enforced by the Albany police department, now one of the best known in the South. It is a highly efficient force of 71 men, presided over by Chief Laurie Pritchett, a blond, six-foot-plus, 218-pound former varsity tackle at Auburn.

Pritchett: Albany Saviour?

Pritchett is a celebrity in the South's segregation war. One verse of "We Shall Overcome" is dedicated exclusively to him. "Don't Let Chief Pritchett Turn You 'Round," it chants. The New York Times profiled the small city police chief at considerable length.

Pritchett is a hero to the white community—moderates as well as segregationists—and a respected if hated villain to the Negroes in the Movement.

EARLY IN 1961, when informers first tipped him that trouble might be brewing, the chunky chief visited most of the other cities where demonstrations had occurred. Then he instituted a sophisticated training program.

"We instructed the men in what to expect," he says. "We gave lectures and showed films. We went over our plans to meet nonviolence with nonviolence, to curb demonstrations without having body contact.

"Then I spoke to every civic club I could get invited to. The keynote was law and order. We did not want whites to mix into the thing.

"THEY cooperated not only from Dougherty county (Albany) but from the surrounding ones."

As far as Mayor Kelley, publisher Gray or the white man in the street are concerned, Pritchett saved Albany. He jailed demonstrators the minute they showed up. He stayed off

one side of a yellow frame, rundown duplex in the Negro residential quarter of Albany. You pass hideous slum shacks on the way, with dirty children bright-eyed in the yards and adults basking sleepy-eyed on the porches.

It is a scene from the Negro quarter of almost any Southern city, hot and somnolent in the July sun.

INSIDE, two Negro teen-agers slump on chairs. When you ask for someone in charge, one thumbs you to a door at the right. It is GHQ. There is a two burner oil stove with a coffee pot, a table and five chairs. Around the table sit Snick leaders, discussing tactics.

They must increase the pressure on the whites, they think. But they do not court arrest. Charles Sherrod, their leader, is in jail. So are a number of their group. Bail money is hard to find. The one lawyer in Albany who helps them, C. B. King, is buried under an avalanche of work.

What to do?

THAT DAY, they decided, a racially mixed group would just stroll through the downtown business area at noon. At first they thought of four people, then decided the police might be able to interpret this as a mass march. They toyed with the idea of two and decided, since they meant to mix it boy and girl, that this might be too direct.

Finally, they got down to three—two white youths and a local Negro girl.

It happened that I went to police headquarters for an interview with Chief Pritchett at 1 p.m. and was chatting with the desk sergeant when he took a telephone call that went, on his end of it, like this:

"WELL, there's no law against that."

Pause

"Yeah, it sure is getting worse."

Pause

"Well, just tell them if the nigger girl wants to walk with those nigger boys, it's all right.

So, I thought, the trio must have gotten away with their stroll.

'The Snick Kids Went Home'

Later that afternoon I learned I was mistaken, that the two white youths, Peter deLissovoy, a curly-haired Harvard student of 20, and Phil Davis, an open-faced, thoughtful youngster of 23 from Berkeley, Calif., had been arrested. They were not charged, merely held for investigation.

Chief Pritchett said later "it was pretty much for their own protection. We released them after a few hours."

"THEN," said Pritchett, "the Snick people tied up our phone lines. They called police headquarters from a number of phone booths, then left the receivers off the hook. All our lines were out. We had to go around and find the phone booths. We know when the Snick kids went home in the early morning. After that, the trouble stopped."

How does Snick operate?

Go back to the little group in GHQ, sipping coffee and plotting strategy.

JOYCE BARRETT, a 24-year-old former social worker from Philadelphia, is pretty much the leader. She is an attractive brunette of medium height. Her hair is done up in plastic curlers, under a silk scarf. She wears a simple print dress.

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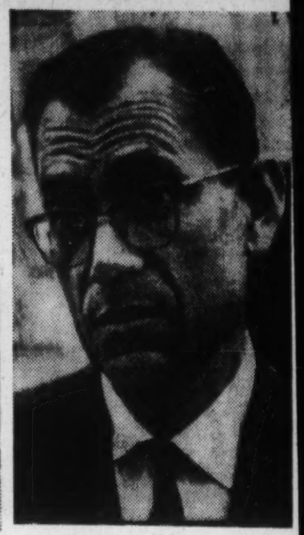
C. B. KING
He Pleads Cases



ASA KELLEY
'Can't Get Agreement'

area is a victory—we have our own integrated community."

HOW DOES the future look to Slater King?

"We will desegregate this city," he says, "even if there must be bloodshed. Not that we will actively take arms, but we will defend ourselves."

Integration to King means public facilities, jobs and education. It means Negro policemen and other city employes. It means equal opportunity in private industry.

"THIS DAMN racist Chamber of Commerce," he says, "keeps us out of jobs."

It means a Negro Federal Savings and Loan Association. It means credit unions in the churches, so that Negroes can avoid loan sharks.

"We hope to see a kind of inborn socialism among our people," he says, "similar to that among Jews. We have to set up night schools and things like that. Right now this city doesn't even have a truant officer. They want our children to stay out of school."

Small Explosions Only

King says he will get help to send bright Negro children to college, even if he has to bring tremendous pressure to bear upon wealthier Negroes.

"We plan to continue our demonstrations, our voter registration, our boycotts of downtown businesses," he says.

FROM THIS he expects no major violence. "We're going to have a lot of small explosions," he says, "but I hope general violence can be avoided. I don't think any of us gains by it."

How does Chief Pritchett see the future?

"You can't say it won't reach a boiling point and explode," he says. "But if the outsiders would stay out, we could find a working solution.

"WE'RE AWARE of the fact that a lot of weapons are being bought on both sides.

"Still we have a lot of confidence that the whites won't start anything and the Negroes can't afford to provoke it. They would lose the sympathy they are trying to gain."

Mayor Kelley is somewhere close to the chief's point of view.

"WE'RE SITTING here tonight on the biggest powder keg you've ever seen," he said. "But we've been very, very fortunate that the white people have left the policing to us.

"Albany is a great town. Nothing can stop it—if we can just avoid becoming another Cambridge, Md. So far, we have."

'There Has Not Been a Victory'

How does Martin Luther King feel?

"I suspect that sooner or later we (he means himself) will

set it up. It was all planned."

Now Kelley:

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THEN, in late November, a group of Snick Freedom Riders came to town on a train. Many Albany Negroes decided to meet them. The Riders were arrested after entering the white dining room.

With the arrests, the Movement launched a series a mass meetings and singing marches into downtown.

ALBANY POLICE, well alerted and trained for the demonstrations, promptly jailed some 100 demonstrators.

The fat was in the fire.

In early December of 1961, Dr. Anderson invited Martin Luther King, the hero of Montgomery, the head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (Slick), to come in and address a mass meeting.

King Came and Went to Jail

Dr. King arrived late. He had not been well briefed. He did not expect to go to jail.

But when Dr. Anderson invited him to lead a demonstration downtown, he agreed.

HUNDREDS were quickly arrested, including Drs. King and and Anderson. The total in jail then stood at 747.

Suddenly the eyes of the world focused on Albany.

Martin Luther King announced he would spend Christmas in jail. Offers of help flowed in from civil rights leaders around the nation.

BUT A split developed in the local Negro leadership. Some of the chiefs in the Movement felt that Dr. King and especially his lieutenant, the Rev. Wyatt T. Walker, were hogging the show.

Reviewing the whole affair recently, a year and a half after it happened, Dr. King told me:

"We had the Albany situation pretty well licked. Then a little dissension developed among the Negro leadership. The white community sensed this and became completely recalcitrant."

No one seems to want to say precisely what happened.

Out of Jail Before Christmas

I asked Mayor Kelley and he replied:

"All I'm at liberty to say is that it was a battle of wits at the time—as well as a battle of everything else."

AS A result, Martin Luther King came out of jail before Christmas.

There was an agreement of sorts—not too promising a one from the Negroes' point of view. It pledged reasonable bonds for those in jail and an opening of communication between the Negro leadership and the Albany city commission.

The Negroes are convinced the latter promise was broken and was made in bad faith. Their feeling contributed to a breakdown of confidence on both sides.

DR. KING says now:

"In 30 days, they backed up altogether. They didn't keep a single promise. It turned out that the Negroes on the negotiating committee had just been fooled."

Mayor Kelley feels the same way in reverse. He says he once reached agreement with the Negroes on desegregating the local bus line, only to have the leaders return with new demands.

"You can't get agreement," he says. "Everytime you think you've found a solution, they turn around and hit you with something else."

The Lily White Swimming Pool

Today, a year and a half after the big outbreaks, there is no substantial desegregation in Albany.

Bus and train stations are ostensibly integrated but Negroes claim they are turned away except when witnesses are present. The local transit company has shut down completely. The public library was the subject of a ruckus so the city desegregated it but took out all the tables from the reading room. It has vertical integration—in Harry Golden's phrase. Anybody, black or white, can check out a book but nobody can sit and read.

PARKS are segregated. The public swimming pool recently was sold to publisher Gray, over bitter Negro protests, for $72,-

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As far as Mayor Kelley, publisher Gray or the white man in the street are concerned, Pritchett saved Albany. He jailed demonstrators the minute they showed up. He staved off violence, even when things were ugly with hundreds of people milling about.

To the Negro leadership, it is a different story.

They claim that violence is a definite weapon of the Albany police, but that it is carefully and skillfully hidden. They say they are beaten or otherwise physically abused often when arrested—always behind locked doors.

A Story of Horror

An earnest-sounding Baptist minister, round-faced, thick-set Samuel B. Wells, told me a horror story less than a week after he was released from jail in mid-July.

He marched with a small group from the Shiloh Baptist church, where many of the mass meetings are held, he said. He wanted to protest the sale of the swimming pool to Gray. With his associates, he stood in front of city hall, singing and praying.

"A POLICE captain came up and asked me 'what do you want this time?' " the 46-year-old pastor said. "He told me to leave.

"I collapsed in the nonviolent way they teach us. Two officers came to pick me up. One took me by each wrist. Then they walked up and caught me in the 'grind.' "

Even though I had heard rumors of the story in Atlanta, it took me a second to understand this pronunciation. Mr. Wells meant "groin." He claimed that the policemen lifted him by the wrists and the testicles, causing excruciating pain.

HE TOLD the officers they were hurting him and told others while he was in jail that he had been hurt, he said. He himself did not know that it was a lasting injury, he says.

"I really couldn't tell how much I was hurt until I walked for a block," says the Rev. Mr. Wells. Then he went for treatment. He now wears a truss and says he is partially incapacitated.

What does Chief Pritchett answer to this?

"SAMUEL WELLS has been arrested seven or eight times," he says, "and has never been mistreated. I talked with him the night of his last arrest and he made no complaint. I saw him again the next day. He asked for no medical help.

"After his release, I talked to the doctor who treated him and there were no bruises or marks."

Bet Your Money, Take Your Choice

The FBI is investigating. It has investigated many charges of police brutality in Albany and has made no charges against the police.

Negroes say the FBI likes to get along with local police and does not try too hard. They also claim that Albany police are masters of committing brutality without leaving evidence. A favorite technique, they say, is to put white toughs in cells with rights demonstrators, white or Negro, and turn the other way while the toughs beat the demonstrators.

PRITCHETT SAYS there has been no violence, that he welcomes investigation of the charges, that the FBI has looked into them diligently and found no foundation for them.

You bet your money and you take your choice.

This much is true: The charges are widely believed in the Negro community. They contribute to a feeling of intense Negro militancy. They fan flames that could cause an explosion.

ANOTHER volatile element is Snick, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating committee.

Snick is mainly composed of white youngsters from the north, many of them college kids who come down for the summer. They live in Negro homes in Albany, a violation of Southern custom that completely baffles the white traditionists.

Just the existence of Snick in Albany is an irritant to many whites.

Snick works closely with Slick, Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. It is marginally financed and fairly mercurial. In Albany, it has 24 field workers.

The Plan: Stroll Downtown

Come with me on a mid-morning visit to its headquarters,

Go back to the little group in Grey, sipping coffee and plotting strategy.

JOYCE BARRETT, a 24-year-old former social worker from Philadelphia, is pretty much the leader. She is an attractive brunette of medium height. Her hair is done up in plastic curlers, under a silk scarf. She wears a simple print dress.

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THE ELECTRICITY was cut off once at headquarters for lack of payment. It is now restored.

"We find we have an interesting effect on the white community," says Miss Barrett, "when we assume that we have the rights we are fighting for. We're beginning to see the value of making the white community nervous."

Snick is engaged on two jobs in Albany, according to Miss Barrett. They are voter registration for Negroes and community mobilization through the Albany Movement. Canvassing through the Negro community, and a small drumfire of demonstration, serve the latter purpose, she believes.

SINCE THE local newspaper plays down racial news, Snick workers move about the Negro area, serving as modern-day minstrels for communication.

Seated or standing around the table with Miss Barrett are John Perdew, 21, of Denver, Colo.; David Pell, 20, of Jersey City, the only Negro in the group; Peter Rothstein, 17, of New York; Barbara Schwartzbaum, 21, of New York, who has just arrived; Peter deLissavoy and Phil Davis, both to be arrested within three hours.

Later that week, someone will fire four or five rifle shots into a bedroom of this duplex, where John Perdew and a Negro, James Daniel, are sleeping. Neither will be hit.

EACH OF the Snick kids can tell you an atrocity story.

Each story will be denied by the police.

'Even If There Must Be Bloodshed'

Perdew says he was slugged in the stomach by a policeman when booked.

Peter deLissavoy tells of a beating administered to two Bostonians, Robert Cover and Ralph Allen, by trusties who were placed in the cell with them. One of the trusties, he said, had a reputation as a Karate expert.

A NEGRO woman joins the group. She is Mrs. Joe Christian, the mother of a 15-year-old girl, Jo Ann Christian. Jo Ann, says Mrs. Christian, was beaten by Chief Pritchett himself.

All the stories are related in matter-of-fact tones, as if these are facts of life to be endured.

What of the future? Is it hopeless?

NOT TO Joyce.

"We are working for an open city," she says. It is going to take time. The white community refuses to negotiate. When it did negotiate, it made promises it would not keep.

"Still I think the fact that we can live here in the Negro

to have a lot of small explosions," he says, "but I hope general violence can be avoided. I don't think any of us gains by it."

How does Chief Pritchett see the future?

"You can't say it won't reach a boiling point and explode," he says. "But if the outsiders would stay out, we could find a working solution.

"WE'RE AWARE of the fact that a lot of weapons are being bought on both sides.

"Still we have a lot of confidence that the whites won't start anything and the Negroes can't afford to provoke it. They would lose the sympathy they are trying to gain."

Mayor Kelley is somewhere close to the chief's point of view.

"WE'RE SITTING here tonight on the biggest powder keg you've ever seen," he said. "But we've been very, very fortunate that the white people have left the policing to us.

"Albany is a great town. Nothing can stop it—if we can just avoid becoming another Cambridge, Md. So far, we have."

'There Has Not Been a Victory'

How does Martin Luther King feel?

"I suspect that sooner or later we (he means himself) will have to go back to Albany," he says. "I don't see them giving an inch without confronting a massive, nonviolent army."

BUT DR. KING does not regard the work to date as a failure.

"If one looks at victory in terms of concrete, tangible gains, then there has not been a victory. But if one looks at Albany in terms of psychic thrust, then there has been a victory. The Negro has a new sense of dignity and purpose. The Negro there now walks straight."

Recently, the federal courts ordered Albany to desegregate its schools this fall.

Ernest Wetherbee, president of the school board, told me there is no thought of defying or circumventing the order.

"I HAVEN'T talked to the board yet," he said. "I don't know exactly what we will do. But we will obey the law."

You hear a lot about obeying the law among the white community in Albany. It is almost as if the white community hopes for legal means of getting off the hook.

Though there is a passionate hope that Goldwater may win the Republican nomination and the presidency, perhaps lessening the thrust of federal intervention in racial matters, there is a fair degree of white resignation about desegregation—if orderly means can be found.

The Name of the Game Is . . .

Before I went to Albany, I asked a seasoned Atlanta Journal reporter for his estimate of the situation.

"Everybody's just sitting there hoping it won't explode before the courts can change it," he said. "It's one of the most explosive situations in the South."

SHORTLY BEFORE leaving, I talked candidly with a prominent Albany segregationist.

"Is the name of the game, then, to hold the lid on tight until the courts order desegregation?" I asked.

"Yes, that's it," he said. "But don't quote me."

Meanwhile, Albany is a city where the whites fear to go into Negro areas at night, the Negroes fear to go into white areas at night, many people keep loaded guns by their beds and nobody on either side is talking to anybody on the other side about the problem uppermost in everybody's minds.

SUNDAY: An interview with "De Lawd."

WELLSVILLE, N.Y.
REPORTER
D: 4,559

AUG 2 1963

The Deepening Crisis (4)

Negro Vote Seen as To Tip Close Electio

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By RELMAN MORIN

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A reporter questions her. She says, simply:

"I just want to become a citizen of our country. Being registered will make me a full citizen."

This scene—with its immense potentialities for the Negro movement—is being re-enacted in hundreds of cities in the South today.

It is the result of the voter-registration drive.

Throughout the South, Negro organizations are working to register more of their people, thousands of men and women who never voted before. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. Here, potentially, is a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation.

The drive moves through many channels.

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Elsewhere, Negro workers canvass a residential district on registration days, ringing doorbells. If the housewife isn't registered, they urge her to go to the courthouse immediately. If she has no transportation, they provide it. If she says she can't leave her children, they offer to baby-sit.

Another device is the "voter clinic." This is a meeting in which Negro instructors show would-be applicants the technicalities of registering, how to correctly fill out the forms. In Tuskegee alone, during the month of June, there were 19 such "clinics."

And there is the famous Alabama mule. He walks through the streets of Huntsville, carrying a sandwich billboard. The sign reads, "I'm not registered because I'm a mule. What's your excuse?"

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it is about 200 per month, he said.

Statistics on 11 Southern states, compiled by the Southern Regional Council, indicate that about one-fourth of the Negroes of voting age are registered. The figures show a total of 5,045,000, of whom 1,344,000 are registered. Wiley Branton, an SRC executive, said the figures are incomplete, some counties being as yet untabulated.

Comparable figures for the white voting population in these states show 17,539,000, of whom 10,566,000 are registered.

Especially in areas where Negroes outnumber the whites—sometimes by as much as five to one — many devices have been used to keep political power in the hands of the whites.

Registration boards met irregularly and at widely spaced intervals. They worked slowly, and then quit for the day, while Negroes were still waiting in line to file applications. Or they rejected applications on technical grounds.

For example, on March 17, 1961, after a long legal battle, a federal court in Alabama ruled on a lawsuit involving Macon County. The judge wrote in his memorandum that:

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"The primary reasons for the fewer Negro voters include illiteracy, apathy, and the law requiring payment of a poll tax. So many Negroes are not qualified to vote."

As Negro voting strength increases, what are the political implications for a candidate for public office in the South?

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NEXT: THE ECONOMIC EFfects

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New York World-Telegram and The Sun
D. 463,241 SAT. 175,139

AUG 2 1963

Slow Integration In South Scored

Nine years after the Supreme Court declared segregation in the public school unconstitutional, 99.6 percent of Negro pupils in 11 states of the South are still attending all-Negro schools, according to a study prepared by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council.

Their report states that the slow pace of desegragation is due to "fear of integration itself" and to "subterfuge" in complying with the Supreme Court ruling.

At least 379 laws have been passed by state legislatures since 1954 in attempts to avoid compliance with the ruling, says Dr. J. Kenneth Morlan, professor of sociology at Randolf-Macon Women's College, who prepared the report.

MT. CLEMENS, MICH.
MONITOR LEADER
D. 14,305

AUG 2 1963

Negroes Press For Their Voting Rights In The South

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By RELMAN MORIN

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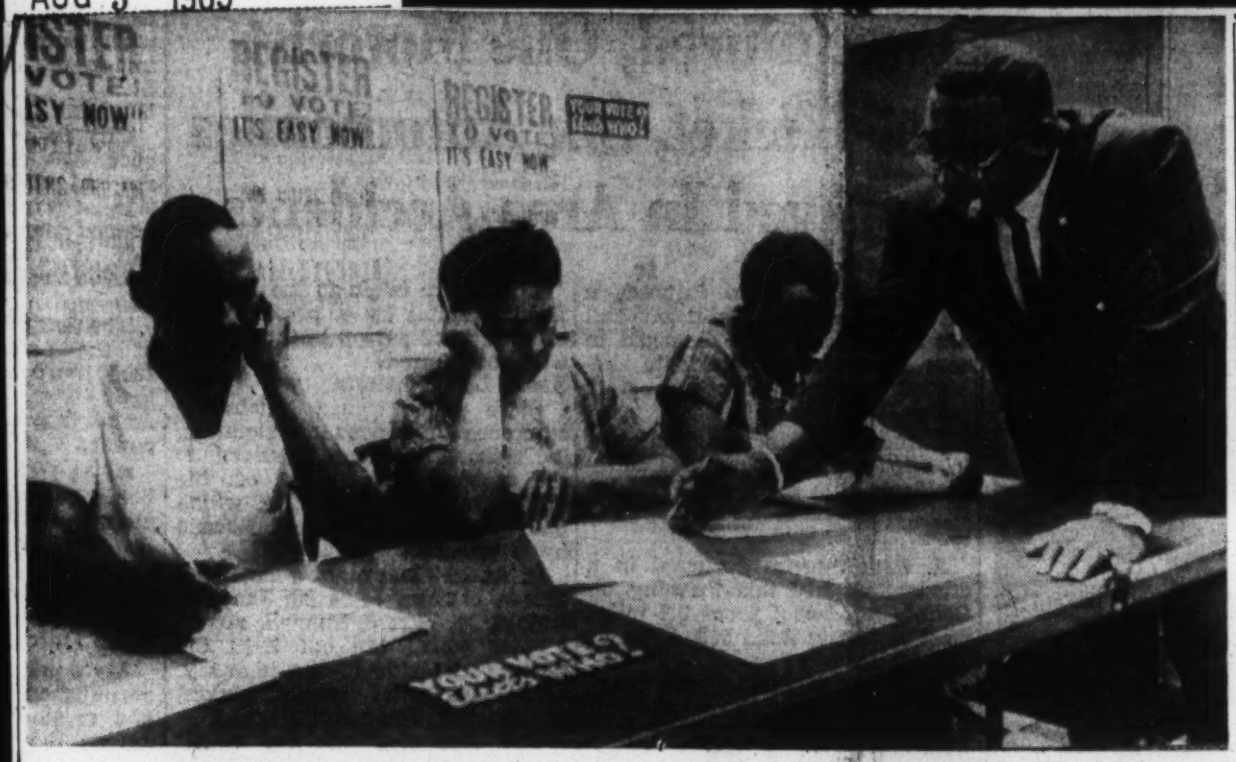
NEXT: The economic effects.

MARQUETTE, MICH.
MINING JOURNAL
D. 15,531

AUG 3 1963



The Rev. Fred C. Bennette Jr. instructs Atlanta Negroes how to fill out registration forms which will enable them to vote. Similar classes are held in other cities in an effort to increase Negro voting power, which, potentially, is a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation.—(AP Wirephoto.)

The Deepening Crisis (4):

Voter Registration Gives Negro Potentially Powerful Weapon

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Gaining Momentum

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Today's Special Story

Immense Potenialities

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Through Many Channels

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In any case, the thousands of new Negro votes can be expected today to go to the man with "moderate" views on segregation and against the candidate running on a program of strict "white supremacy." In a close election, this could spell the difference.

Negro efforts to obtain greater voting power include demonstrations such as these — a mock wake for the 15th Amendment, which demonstrators say is dead in Mississippi. Open casket contains a copy of the amendment. The "wake" was held on the steps of the post office in Atlanta. Demonstrators said they were members of the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights.—(AP Wirephoto.)

WHITTIER, CALIF.
NEWS
D. 16,347

AUG 3 1963

RALPH McGILL

EDITOR, ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Racial Gulf Bridged

PERHAPS THE OLDEST and most consistently reliable source of information about the South's sociological and interracial problems is the Southern Regional Council. The Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have been active since 1919. In that year a group of the South's Christian leaders decided an organization was needed to encourage and make possible the exchange of ideas and the foundation of mutual trust between the two races.

Because of the great gulf between the two races, one of the many pieces of folly thereby produced was that people living in the same city almost never knew what the other wanted, needed, felt or believed. There was no bridge of communication between them. (In many areas of the South there is none now. The hasty effort to create interracial committees in cities suddenly confronted with problems is illustration of how long there has been no communication.) For more than 20 years the Southern Regional Council has provided the one central source of factual, statistical information in the tortuous advance of conscience and law in the South.

* * *

BY 1940 IT WAS apparent that the growing acuteness of the race issue required that the Commission broaden its field of operations. Prime mover was the distinguished Howard Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. His monumental book "Southern Regions," was a secular bible to young Southerners of the 1930s, when the old cotton South obviously was dying, and they strove to know and understand the complexities and contradictions of their region. Inspiration flowed from Odum. Chapel Hill became a sort of Delphic oracle. In those years Professor Arthur Raper produced "Preface to Peasantry," "The Tragedy of Lynching," and many other articles. Professor Rupert Vance contributed "Human Factors in Cotton Culture," and "Human Geography of the South." There was then, as now, an excitement in being a participating Southerner.

Odum felt that all Southern states should be able to communicate. In 1944 the Southern Regional Council was chartered. The Commissions on Interracial Cooperation merged with it. The new board consists of some 80 Southerners. They are drawn from the major religious faiths, from both races, and 13 states are represented.

From its beginning the Southern Regional Council has been dedicated to research and to the principle that fair, open and well informed discussion and dialogue are invaluable to advancement and understanding. Southern problems are like others in that they may not be resolved unless they are known and understood and debated frankly and realistically.

Since 1944 the Council has provided consultative services to private and official agencies. It has carried on research and published its findings. (Its percentage of error has been practically nil.) It has become, and is, a clearing house for other agencies working with Southern problems.

* * *

SINCE IT DID PROVIDE honest discussion and factual information, it was attacked by all the forces of dishonesty and reaction. It was, of course, denounced as Communist inspired. It also was declared to be — as it was not — a successor to the controversial Southern Conference for Human Welfare. There was never any connection, however remote. This accusation persisted for years from Klans, White Citzens Councils, and from extremist right wing groups. It finally died away. Not it is revived as these same groups, facing the inevitability of change, again resort to trying to prove that all those who support equality before the law for all citizens are Communists or the stooges of the Communists.

But as one looks back at the long road the South has come, the Southern Regional Council, which grew out of need, emerges as one of the beacon lights that has lighted the way and made factual discussion easier. It has been, and is, exciting to be a Southerner. But luckiest of all is the young Southerner. His political and spiritual leaders, national, state and local, are on trial before him. Never before has he had so good a chance to see them for what they are — or are not . . . and to make up his mind.

The New York Times
D. 680,265 S. 1,306,418

AUG 4 1963

FOUNDATION AIDS FIGHT BY NEGROES

Taconic Fund Has Donated Million for Civil Rights

By THOMAS P. RONAN

The Taconic Foundation and its president, Stephen R. Currier, are playing a quiet but powerful role in the national fight for Negro civil rights.

The foundation, established by Mr. Currier and his wife in 1958, has contributed more than $1,000,000 in the last four years to organizations striving to obtain equal rights for Negroes.

Mr. Currier was largely responsible for the recent decision of seven predominantly Negro civil rights organizations to establish common fund-raising units to meet the additional financial burden of the great increase in civil rights activities.

Son of Painter

The 32-year-old Mr. Currier, soft-spoken, taciturn and publicity-shy, is the son of the late Richard Currier, a painter who lived for many years in Europe, and of Mrs. Elizabeth Galt Griscom Currier.

His wife is the former Audrey Bruce, daughter of David K. E. Bruce, United States Ambasador to Britain, and Mr. Bruce's former wife, Mrs. Ailsa Mellon Bruce. Mrs. Currier's mother is the daughter of the late Andrew Mellon, one-time Secretary of the Treasury.

The Curriers established the foundation because they believed that they, as possessors of wealth and the advantages that went with it, had a deep obligation to the less privileged.

Determined to put their money to the best possible use, they made a thorough study of the field of philanthropy and the work done by other foundations.

They concluded that certain areas, such as higher education, medicine, science and the arts, were already well served financially and decided to concentrate primarily on race relations, child welfare and mental health.

Studies made under the auspices of the foundation or with its financial help then convinced the Curriers that the most serious problem was that of the "deprived" Negro. Of the money they have put into the foundation from year to year, more and more has gone to help solve this problem.

Complete figures on the foundation's grants are not available, but those that are show that in 1960, $162,000 was devoted to race relations, in 1961, $260,200, and in 1962, $318,500. Already this year the foundation has committed $400,000 to this work.

The total outlay of the fund in 1960 was $347,703; in 1961, $585,477, and in 1962, $695,569.

In addition to race relations, grants have been made for youth and welfare work, for a study of youth unemployment, for mental health and urban problems, and to community and neighborhood organizations.

The Taconic Foundation also has established and supports the Potomac Institute in Washington. Its purpose is "to eliminate discrimination and advance equal opportunity for all Americans."

Of the $400,000 already committed this year for race relations work, $125,000 is going to the Southern Regional Council for its program to increase Negro voter registration in the South. The Taconic Foundation has already granted $125,000 more this project.

Approximately $100,000 is for the Potomac Institute, $80,000 for the Urban League, $25,000 for the Legal Defense and Educational Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the remaining $70,000 for what was described as "miscellaneous projects."

Mr. Currier's work with Negro civil rights organizations convinced him that greater coordination was needed in their fund-raising activities. Largely through his efforts, seven of them formed for this purpose the Council for Civil Rights Leadership and the Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense.

He arranged a breakfast at the Hotel Carlyle on June 19 at which leaders of the seven organizations explained their needs to 96 corporation and foundation leaders. This meeting produced nearly $800,000 for the council.

Mr. Currier is president of the foundation and also of Currier & Co., which manages the family's business interests. Both have offices at 666 Fifth Avenue.

The Evening Star
WASHINGTON, D. C.
.. 258,167 S. 313,112

AUG 4 1963

A PORTRAIT OF JAMES DABBS

Where Old South and NA

By REESE CLEGHORN
Star Special Writer

MAYESVILLE, S. C.—Here in the homeland of James McBride Dabbs, writer and philosopher, plantation squire and paradox, the Old South was battered and blown but it did not all go with the wind.

You pass swamp waters blackened by acids from the gaunt cypress trees, leave a United States highway to travel by shanties and expanses of now-bare cotton fields, turn into a winding dirt road overhung by crowded pine branches and lush bushes, and come abruptly into a clearing in the wilderness.

The road arches symmetrically to and from a great white house, its distant columns obscured by veils of Spanish moss hanging from the oaks.

Close by, Negroes unload sacks of feed at an unpainted outbuilding. In the distance there is the ring of iron upon iron, as one of the plantation tenants does his own blacksmithing.

Up the front steps into a broad hall, and then into a high-ceilinged room where an intruding gas heater has replaced the open hearth, and where walls are lined with Tocqueville, Nietzsche, Lomax and Whyte, you come upon what may be the South's rarest plantation sight.

The Golden Plague

There over the mantel, under an old shotgun and a muzzle-loaded rifle, hand-hewn a hundred years ago by a master of this house, hangs a golden plaque.

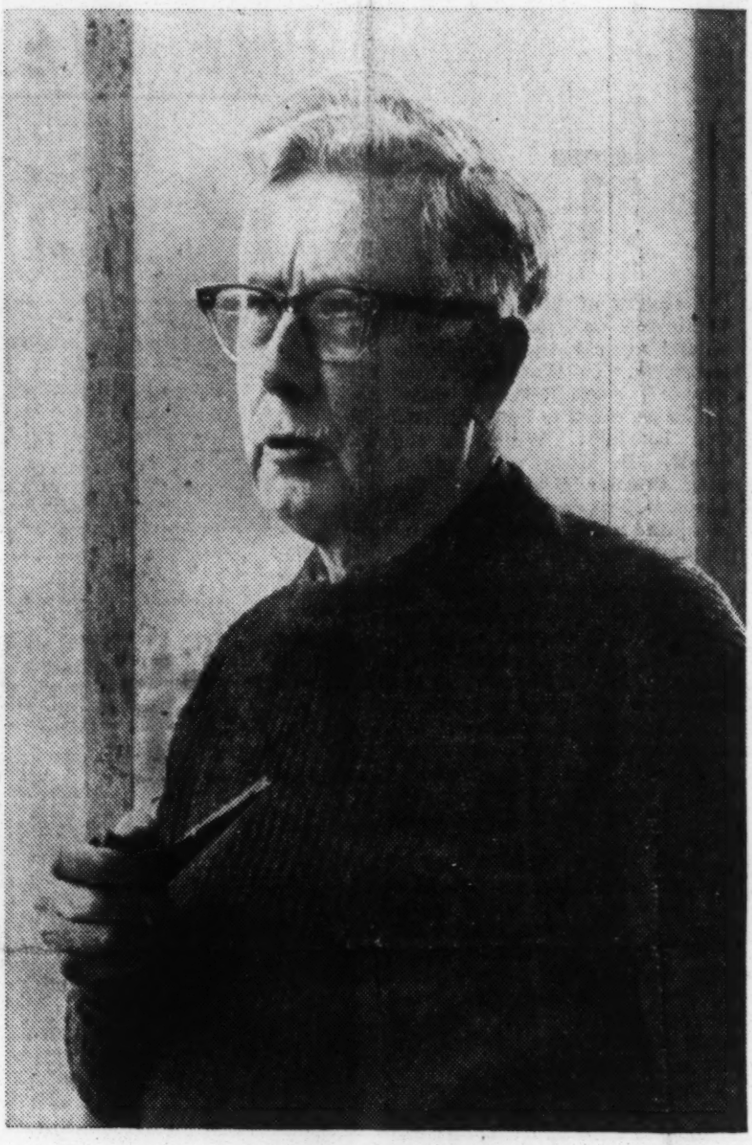
It praises James McBride Dabbs for "wise and dedicated efforts to unify the American people in their quest for the democratic ideal." It is dated April 9, 1961, and it is signed by the Detroit Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

A Southern planter with NAACP laurels is somewhat rarer than a day in June, but Dabbs is rare for other reasons, too.

"He is the only man I know who can intellectualize magnolias," a friend said of him, pointing toward this big, shaggy man's special genius.

Mr. Dabbs leads one of the Nation's most important civil rights organizations, the Southern Regional Council, but it is in the realm of the mind rather than in organization work that he has found a special place. He is a sort of poet-philosopher of his region, many believe a profound one.

He writes of the South today with fervent intimacy, and yet he lives more in the past and the future than in the present. ("I admit that out here I'm not much in this world, except in the mind," he said.)



JAMES McB. DABBS

When his book "The Southern Heritage" appeared in 1958, Editor Hodding Carter of Mississippi called it "the most meaningful comment on the race situation yet made by a Southerner." It is a classic in the growing field of literature created by the South's coming to grips with itself.

His Birthplace

Though he goes to Atlanta about four times a year for Southern Regional Council business and makes occasional speeches elsewhere, he is rooted to his birthplace.

Twenty years ago he quit as chairman of the English Department at Coker College in Hartwell, S. C., and went back to the land of the McBrides and the Dabbses, where his family has lived for more than 200 years. His stately home, built by the McBrides, is within a mile of the smaller house where he lived as a child.

It is also near a Presbyterian church founded by Scotch-Irish settlers in 1745 and still attended mainly by ther descendants. Mr. Dabbs, who believes Christianity is the "central fire" in the South, is a ruling elder in his church.

With pipe in hand, he sat in his study and told of how he left university life to come home to the land.

Until 10 years ago, he worked the farm himself; he recalls spending half his time on a tractor in the fields, turning the rich soil that once made this a cotton empire. Today the thousands of acres that his family owned have been reduced to 125.

Now 67, Mr. Dabbs leaves the farm to three Negro sharecroppers. ("That word always scares my liberal friends.") Though his name appears on other mail boxes

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nearby, the only occupants of the 12-room plantation house are Mr. Dabbs, his Charleston-born wife, and their 18-year-old son, Richard.

He's a Writer, Too

His own time is largely devoted to writing. More than a hundred of his articles have been published in periodicals, and he expects his third book to appear in 1965.

"I am trying to corner the Southerner," he said of his subject, "I want to set forth the nature of the South, the nature of the Southerner. People say you can't do it — there are many Souths. But just a few days ago Karl Barth, the great Swiss theologian, said that in traveling across the United States he had sensed a different atmosphere in the South."

As far as Mr. Dabbs is concerned, it is "Vive la difference," a fact that might surprise many in his region and even some of his neighbors. These are the ones who regard Mr. Dabbs as a "traitor to the South" because long ago he joined in the fight for Negro rights.

(You stop not far from where he lives, and one man calls him a hypocrite while another asserts: Nobody in South Carolina pays any attention to Dabbs.")

"Defending segregation as our way of life, we sell the South short," he said with feeling. "Have we live here 300 years to accomplish only this? I don't believe it.

"I'm defending the South, but I'm defending it against the future rather than the past. Ross Barnett defended it against a remembered terror of 75 years ago.

"I would never leave the South, because it has something the rest of the country doesn't have."

Southern Characteristics

To Mr. Dabbs, granting exceptions, the Southerner has these characteristics:

He loves the land, and draws from it some serenity that enables him to be most self-contained.

He is more devoted to leisure, and with it neighborliness and courtesy. At heart he is more a creature of manners than of money.

He is essentially religious, without the harshness of the Puritan.

More than the Midwesterner or the Westerner, he possesses a sense of having a place in the world as a particular individual, without the necessity of competing for it.

And he senses having a place just as a man, deserving some dignity of treatment and some privacy of living.

"You would not expect, in ordinary times, for a Ross Barnett to be a Southerner," he said. "The narrow, hard people ought to come out of New England, where Yankee Puritans held sway. Barnett is an exception rather than a true Southerner, a creature of the imbalance that exists within our culture right now."

What is the imbalance?

It was born of conflict between the Southerner's natural desire for a peaceful, pastoral, personal life and the necessity to defend ugly institutions he knew were fundamentally wrong, Mr. Dabbs believes. First it was slavery, then segregation, that imposed the pressures bringing about distortion in the Southern character.

Gaining New Values

"I think we will have to hammer out from scratch new values for an industrial, urban society," he said. "I don't believe the country has done it yet. I would hope that somehow we can transfer to this new order some of the values of the earlier, agrarian order, to leave us a life with some dignity."

A belief in the special character of the South, he thinks, is in keeping with the aspirations of the Southern Regional Council, an organization of whites and Negroes with a 43-year history of seeking to improve race relations.

The council staff is in Atlanta, and Mr. Dabbs, who has been president since 1957, drops in only occasionally. The council's endeavors have been in the realm of research, education and maintaining interracial communications rather than in legal and direct action

Some of Mr. Dabbs friends were a bit anxious when he was called upon in 1961 to address the national convention of another civil rights organization, the NAACP, in Philadelphia. After all, enemy of segregation or not, here was a Southern traditionalist who didn't quite fit any of the usual patterns of civil rights advocates — an elderly man, a lover of the past, a planter.

"But he gave them a sort of cornpone talk that went over wonderfully," an associate recalled.

As usual, the human and folksy cornpone was interspersed with literary allusions, metaphorical flourishes, biting irony and the thunder of strong conviction, but in no shape but his own.

It was pure Dabbs, and by his own definition of the species, pure Southerner.

The happy reception of his words seemed to confirm his view that the white South and the Negro have a special affinity for each other, and that time will draw them together as brothers under the skin.

BERKELEY, CALIF.
GAZETTE
D. 14,319

AUG 5 1963

This Changing World—

'Southerner Sees Leaders on Trial'

Ralph McGill

Perhaps the oldest and most consistently reliable source of information about the South's sociological and interracial problems is the Southern Regional Council. The Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have been active since 1919. In that year a group of the South's Christian leaders decided an organization was needed to encourage and make possible the exchange of ideas and the foundation of mutual trust between the two races.

Because of the great gulf between the two races, one of the many pieces of folly thereby produced was that people living in the same city almost never knew what the other wanted, needed, felt or believed. There was no bridge of communication between them. (In many areas of the South there is none now. The hasty effort to create interracial committees in cities suddenly confronted with problems is illustration of how long there has been no communication.) For more than 20 years the Southern Regional Council has provided the one central source of factual, statistical information in the tortuous advance of conscience and law in the South.

BROADEN FIELD

By 1940 it was apparent that the growing acuteness of the race issue required that the Commission broaden its field of operations. Prime mover was the distinguished Howard Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. His monumental book, "Southern Regions," was a secular Bible to young Southerners of the 1930s, when the old cotton South obviously was dying, and they strove to know and understand the complexities and contradictions of their region. Inspiration flowed from Odum. Chapel Hill became a sort of Delphic oracle. In those years Prof. Arthur Raper produced "Preface to Peasantry." "The Tragedy of Lynching" and many other articles. Prof. Rupert Vance contributed "Human Factors in Cotton Culture," and "Human Geography of the South." There was then, as now, an excitement in being a participating Southerner.

Odum felt that all Southern states should be able to communicate. In 1944 the Southern Regional Council was chartered. The Commissions on Interracial Cooperation merged with it. The new board consists of some 80 Southerners. They are drawn from the major religious faiths, from both races, and 13 states are represented.

From its beginning the Southern Regional Council has been dedicated to research and to the principle that fair, open and well informed discussion and dialogue are invaluable to advancement and understanding. Southern problems are like others in that they may not be resolved unless they are known and undertsood and debated frankly and realistically.

NO ERRORS

Since 1944 the Council has provided consultative serfvices to private and official agencies. It has carired on research and published its findings. (Its percentage of error has been practically nil.) It has become, and is, a clearing house for other agencies working with Southern problems.

Since it did provide honest discussion and factual information, it was attacked by all the forces of dishonesty and reaction. It was, of course, denounced as Communist inspired. It also was declared to be—as it was not a successor to the controversial Southern Conference for Human Welfare. There was never any connection, however remote. This accusation persisted for years from Klans, White Citizens Councils, and from extremist right wing groups. It finally died away. Now it is revived as these same groups, facing the inevitability of change, again resort to trying to prove that all those who support qeuality before the law for all citizens are Communists or the stooges of Communists.

But as one looks back at the long road the South has come, the Southern Regional Council, which grew out of need, emerges as one of the beacon lights that has lighted the way and made factual discussion easier. It has been, and is, exciting to be a Southerner. But luckiest of all is the young Southerner. His political and spiritual leaders, national, state and local, are on trial before him. Never before has he had so good a chance to see tem for what they are—or are not . . . and to make up his mind.

(Dist. 1963 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)
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The Kansas City Times
KANSAS CITY, MO.
D. 332,906

AUG 5 1963

Southern Moderates Face New Diatribes

By Ralph McGill

PERHAPS the oldest and most consistently reliable source of information about the South's sociological and interracial problems is the Southern Regional council.

The council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, have been active since 1919. In that year a group of the South's Christian leaders decided an organization was needed to encourage and make possible the exchange of ideas and the foundation of mutual trust between the two races.

Because of the great gulf between the two races, one of the many pieces of folly thereby produced was that people living in the same city almost never knew what the other group wanted, needed, felt or believed. There was no bridge of communication between them. (In many areas of the South there is none now. The hasty effort to create interracial committees in cities suddenly confronted with problems is illustration of how long there has been no communication.)

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THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
For 95 Years the South's Standard Newspaper
D. 202,635
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
AUG 5 1963

RALPH McGILL

Bridging the Dividing Gulf

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ABILENE, TEXAS
REPORTER-NEWS
D. 36,156 S. 36,156

AUG 5 1963

Regional Council

Bridging the Dividing Gulf

(EDITOR'S NOTE: This is a syndicated column, not an editorial. The views are those of the writer, not The Reporter - News. Our opinions are expressed in our own editorials on the upper left side of this page.)

By RALPH McGILL

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LEWISTON, IDAHO
TRIBUNE
D. 17,258 S. 17,588

AUG 5 1963

Southern Regional Council Again Attacked By Racists

By RALPH MCGILL

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GREENSBORO, N.C.
RECORD
D. 31,743

AUG 5 1963

McGill Says:

Council Offers Reliable Word On Old South

BY RALPH McGILL

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THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
D. 129,288 S. 208,237

AUG 5 1963

South's Regional Council: A Beacon in Darkness

By RALPH McGILL

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PADUCAH, KY.
SUN-DEMOCRAT
D. 29,167 S. 30,047

AUG 5 1963

McGILL

Ralph McGill Says:

Council Helps To Bridge The Gulf

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MACON, GA
TELEGRAPH
D. 47,067
AUG 5 1963
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED

THE GEORGIA PIPELINE

A Summer Of Racial Developments

By GENE BRITTON
1315 C&S Nat'l. Bank Bldg.
Telegraph-News Bureau.

ATLANTA — Southern Regional Council, Inc., with its headquarters in Atlanta, has issued a "synopsis" of background information on the civil rights crisis throughout the South. Dealing generally with events of the past month, the report does an excellent job of bringing the wide-ranging developments in the struggle into focus.

These are some excerpts from the Georgia section of the report:

ALBANY — July 7: Groups of Negroes and whites attempted to swim at former city pool, now privately owned and operated for whites only. Results: 12 arrests. July 8: Thirteen arrested in protest gethering at city hall. July 10: Six arrests. July 12: One white arrested for shooting at Negroes. July 13: Ten Negroes arrested for picketing home of board of education chairman. Also, early in July a Justice Department negotiator attempted to bring city commission and Negro and white business leadership together in a bi-racial committee. No offical results, but more than 40 businessmen have met unofficially with Negro leaders in recent weeks.

AMERICUS — July 12-14: Thirty-five arrested while picketing segregated movie house. July 19: At least 11 arrested after attempting to enter theater.

ATLANTA — June 25: Some 45 restaurants began desegregating, and since June 27, pickets protesting intergration have appeared sporadically at about six locations. June 27: University of Florida band cancelled reservation for 140 persons at a hotel which had declined to desegregate although there were no Negro members of the band. June 30: Attempts by Negroes to worship at First Baptist Church, morning and evening services, failed.

June 7: Attempt to enter First Baptist Church failed again. July 14: Negroes arrived early for evening service at First Baptist Church and seated themselves. Their seating area roped off by ushers when they did not leave. July 16: Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett spoke under auspices of White Citizens' Council with pro-segregation and anti-segregation pickets outside. No incidents.

AUGUSTA — June 29: May Park desegregated as Negro and white children played baseball together without incident. July 14: Augusta newspapers editorially advocated desegregation of tax-supported facilities and equal city and county employment opportunities.

BRUNSWICK — An advisory bi-racial committee set up by the city last winter is still active.

CARROLLTON — June 27: An Episcopal priest publically urged members of his congregation to support his opposition to White Citizens' Council.

COLUMBUS — June 25: Negro ministers announced plans whereby movie theaters have agreed to desgregate in Fall, 1963. July 17: While pickets marched before Muscogee County School Board, the board announced library and school desegregation on a "timetable" beginning probably next year. July 17-19: During attempts by Negroes to use to city parks, white and Negro youths engaged in a rock battle. Five arrests. Parks and pools closed. Three separate groups of Negro leaders expressed opposition to protest demonstration.

CORDELE — July 16: City announced hiring of its first Negro policeman.

MACON — July 1: Ten establishments—including Mercer University, Wesleyan College, a grocery, a bookstore and a shopping center—signed contracts with federal government to operate the businesses where their post office stations are located on a non-discriminatory basis. [Last week's decision by the Bibb school board to refuse to approve classroom desegregation did not come within the time limits of the SRC synopsis].

SAVANNAH — Activities through July 12 included nightly demonstrations, marches, daytime picketing, smaller demonstrations and mass meetings. Violence toll: at least six wounded, arrests estimated at 240. July 1: Announcement of a school desegregation plan to begin with the 12th grade in the fall. July 10: Thirty arrested for lying down in streets protesting arrests. At least eight arrested in Savannah Beach wade-ins. July 10-11: Midnight demonstrations involving about 1,000 persons featured rock fights, tear gas, vandalism.

Some 100 state troopers sent to help keep order. July 13: Thirty-one ministers, including Roman Catholic, Episopal and Methodist bishops, call for a "just resolution" and offer their aid in bringing it about. July 16: Negro fireman shot by white youths. Six arrested. All factions of Negro leadership have called for end to violence and mass demonstrations, urged voter registration, peaceful picketing, economic pressure. Attmosphere described as "quiet, tense, expectant."

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.
JOURNAL
D. 68,986

AUG 5 1963

Agency for Racial Communication

By Ralph McGill

ATLANTA

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Newsday
GARDEN CITY, N. Y.
D. 344,789

AUG 5 1963

Ralph McGill: Southern Regional Council

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SOUTH BEND, IND.
TRIBUNE
D. 113,237 S: 117,212
AUG 6 1963

RALPH McGILL:

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FORT WAYNE, IND.
JOURNAL-GAZETTE
D. 65,509 S. 96,663
AUG 7 1963

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HENDERSON, KY.
GLEANER AND JOURNAL
D. 8,006 S. 8,643
AUG 8 1963

Southern Regional Council Reliable Source Of Information

Ralph McGill Takes A Look At The News

BRIDGING THE DIVIDING GULF

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From its beginning the Southern Regional Council has been dedicated to research and to the principle that fair, open and well informed discussion and dialogue are invaluable to advancement and understanding. Southern problems are like others in that they may not be resolved unless they are known and understood and debated frankly and realistically.

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Since it did provide honest discussion and factual information, it was attacked by all the forces of dishonesty and reaction. It was, of course, denounced as Communist inspired, It also was declared to be—as it was not—a successor to the controversial Southern Conference for Human Welfare. There was never any connection, however remote. This accusation persisted for years from Klans, White Citizens Councils, and from extremist right wing groups. It finally died away. Now it is revived as these same groups, facing the inevitability of change, again resort to trying to prove that all those who support equality before the law for all citizens are Communists or the stooges of Communists.

But as one looks back at the long road the South has come, the Southern Regional Council, which grew out of need, emerges as one of the beacon lights that has lighted the way and made factual discussion easier. It has been, and is, exciting to be a Southerner. But luckiest of all is the young Southerner. His political and spiritual leaders, national, state and local, are on trial before him. Never before has he had so good a chance to see them for what they are —or are not. . . and to make up his mind.

THE MIAMI NEWS
MIAMI, FLA.
D. 154,397 S. 137,140

AUG 5 1963

Bridging The Dividing Gulf

By RALPH McGILL

Perhaps the oldest and most consistently reliable source of information about the South's sociological and interracial problems is the Southern Regional Council. The Council, and its predecessor, The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have been active since 1919. In that year a group of the South's Christian leaders decided an organization was needed to encourage and make possible the exchange of ideas and the foundation of mutual trust between the two races.

McGILL

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The Home News
NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.
D. 44,936 S. 44,277

AUG 8 1963

Ethiopians Study U.S. Race Problem

ATLANTA (AP)—Three high officials of the Ethiopian government got a first-hand account of how Atlanta is handling its racial problems.

The delegates — Assrati Kassa, president of the Ethiopian Senate; Araza Abebe, a senator; and Tadele Yigezu, a member of the Chamber of Deputies—are on a month-long tour of the United States.

They met yesterday with Mayor Ivan Allen and officials of the Southern Regional Council, an interracial organization.

VALDOSTA, GA.
TIMES
D. 14,015

AUG 8 1963

Ethiopians Told How Atlanta Handles Problems

ATLANTA (AP) — Three high officials of the Ethiopian government got a first-hand account of how Atlanta is handling its racial problems during a visit here.

The delegates were Assrati Kassa, president of the Ethiopian Senate; Araza Abebe, a senator, and Tadele Yigezu, a member of the chamber of deputies. They are on a month-long tour of the United States and met Tuesday with Mayor Ivan Allen and officials of the Southern Regional Council, an interracial organization.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
For 95 Years the South's Standard Newspaper
D. 202,635

AUG 8 1963

3 Top Ethiopian Officials Tour City, Study Race Problem

Three top-level officials of the Ethopian government on tour in the United States have stopped off in Atlanta to learn how the city is handling its racial problems.

The one-day stop in Atlanta included a conference with Mayor Ivan Allen, a discussion with officials of the interracial Southern Regional Council and a tour of the city.

The delegates were headed by the president of the Ethiopian senate, Assrati Kassa, and included Araza Abebe, a member of the senate, and Tadele Yigezu, a member of the chamber of deputies.

The Atlanta visit is part of a month-long tour of the United States that includes stops in eight major U.S. cities and several industrial and agricultural sites.

During a Tuesday morning discussion with officials of the Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council, an interracial research organization, Kassa said he was interested to learn of "the endeavors being made toward desegregation here."

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL
D. 373,657 S. 561,118
AUG 8 1963

Ethiopian Delegation Visits Atlanta Mayor

Atlanta, Ga.—AP—Three officials of the Ethiopian government Wednesday got a first-hand account of how Atlanta is handling its racial problems.

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EVENING JOURNAL
WILMINGTON, DELAWARE
D. 78,384
AUG 8 1963

Ethiopians Discuss Atlanta Race Picture

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ALBANY, GA.
HERALD
D. 27,154 S. 26,791
AUG 8 1963

GEORGIA BRIEFS

Sanders Grants Reprieve To Convicted Murderer

ATLANTA (AP)—A 60-day reprieve has been granted to J. W. Pugh who had been scheduled to die in the electric chair Aug. 22.

Gov. Carl Sanders granted the stay Wednesday after the Pardon and Parole Board said attorneys for the convicted DeKalb County murderer had filed an application for commutation to a life sentence.

ATLANTA (AP)—A Negro educator has been named to serve as intergroup relations specialist for the Atlanta regional office of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

The appointment went to Alexander D. Gaither, a native of Knoxville, Tenn., who recently has been serving as a field representative for Hillsborough County, Fla., schools.

MARIETTA, Ga. (AP) — The Lockheed-Georgia Co. plans to roll out the first jet-powered aircraft designed strictly as a cargo plane on Aug. 22.

In announcing the unveiling, a Lockheed spokesman said Wednesday that the C151 Star Lifter was "conceived, designed and assembled in Georgia."

The plane, which has a wing span of 160 feet, will carry a commercial payload of 96,000 pounds.

ATLANTA (AP) — Merchants who sell pistols have been urged to apply for the license necessary under a new law which applies to all firearms of less than 15 inches in length.

The law, which was passed by the legislature earlier this year, went into effect July 1, but the applications for the licenses were not ready by that time.

The law requires all persons selling pistols on other than a casual basis to put up a $1,000 bond and pay an annual $25 fee.

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ROBINS AIR FORCE BASE, Ga. (AP) — Fulton and DeKalb County school systems are going to get more than $6 million in Air Force surplus electronic equipment.

The property, according to W. E. Evans, purchasing agent for the DeKalb Board of Education, will be used by students in analyzing circuits, studying wiring and getting a great deal of practical experience.

GRAND ISLAND, NEBR.
INDEPENDENT
D. 19,365

AUG 1 0 1963

The McGill View

Bridging the Dividing Gulf

By RALPH McGILL

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COLUMBUS, GA.
ENQUIRER
D. 28,742

AUG 1 0 1963

Gov. Wallace Says 'Able' Tied to Reds

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (UPI) — Gov. George Wallace said Friday he was informed a Mobile organization was led by representatives of the Southern Regional Council Inc. of Atlanta and had Communist-front ties.

Wallace said he was "disturbed by the activities of the so-called 'Able' organization in Mobile," and said the purpose of the group "in my judgment is the full integration of the schools of Mobile and Mobile County."

" 'Able is an organization led by representatives of the Southern Regional Council Inc. of Atlanta, Ga.," Wallace said. "I am informed that this organization has left wing and Communist-front organization ties."

Leslie Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta said "it (Able) is in no shape or form under our leadership. They are leading themselves. The only connection with Southern Regional Council was at the request of Able, we sent consultants over to talk with them and advise them about organizing."

Birmingham Post-Herald
Alabama's 'Good Morning' Newspaper
D. 95,758

AUG 1 0 1963

Wallace Attacks Group In Mobile

MONTGOMERY, Aug. 9 (UPI)—Gov. George Wallae said today he was informed a Mobile organization was led by representatives of the Southern Regional Council Inc. of Atlanta and had Communist-front ties.

The statement brought a strong reaction from the SRC in Atlanta.

Wallace said he was "disturbed by the activities of the so-called 'Able' organization in Mobile," and said the purpose of the group "in my judgment is the full integration of the schools of Mobile and Mobile County."

" 'Able is an organization led by representatives of the Southern Regional Council Inc. of Atlanta, Ga.," Wallace said. "I am informed that this organization has left wing and Communist-front organization ties."

Leslis Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta said "it (Able) is in no shape or form under our leadership. They are leading themselves. The only connection with Southern Regional Council was at the request of Able, we sent consultants over to talk with them and advise them about organizing.

"Able is a local group made up of local people from Mobile. Able is the same kind of organzation that Hope was in Atlanta, the women's emergency committee was in Little Rock or any number of similar groups in other places. It was formed for exactly the same purpose and that is to help assure peaceful, orderly school desegregation in Mobile."

Says Wallace 'Misinformed'

Regarding Wallace's charges concerning the SRC, Dunbar said, "Gov. Wallace is entirely misinformed about the Southern Regional Council, which has never had any connections with Communist fronts or with citizens councils or with Ku Klux Klans.

"Gov. Wallace is advising the people of Mobile to do something which he himself recklessly is not doing—that is to investigate the facts."

Wallace and State Sen. John Tyson and Rep. Mylan Engel of Mobile sponsored a statement on the organization.

"Many sincere and dedicated Mobile citizens have been misled by the true purpose of this organization," Wallace said. "I want to urge them to investigate this organization fully before they participate in its activities."

Wallace said "this organization has publicly stated its doubt of my sincerity in the matter of public schools and further, by implication, has intimated that I do not oppose violence. My record in preserving the peace and in maintaining law and order is well known."

Able stands for a group known as "Alabamians Behind Local Education," a Mobile group which has issued a public appeal to Mobilians to "unite in an all-out effort to insure peaceful public schools in the face of a Federal court order to begin desegregating Mobile public schools this Fall."

The president of the group is Mrs. Hollis J. Wiseman, wife of a physician.

The group said earlier "whatever our feelings on this issue, Mobilians must stand together again to preserve the school system for which we have worked and paid taxes."

Offers Speakers

The group has offered speakers to various local groups to discuss the desegregation problem and how it was handled in other cities.

The group claims about 500 members, all white.

The group said in a statement at Mobile "Able takes no stand on racial issues.

"Our prime concern is that our children continue to receive the finest education our state and local school systems can provide in the face of . . . desegregation," the group said.

"We are not willing for their schooling to be interrupted for any reason, nor do we wish to expose them to the violence that has corrupted the campuses of the South."

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News
W. 59,266

AUG 1 0 1963

Taconic Plays Major Role In Aiding Negro

Stephen R. Currier, quiet, 32-year-old president of the Taconic Foundation at 666 Fifth Ave., is playing a major role in the present national civil rights fight.

It was at his urging and arranging that the leaders of the seven Negro civil rights organizations, the NAACP, CORE, Urban League, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the National Council of Negro Women, met at the Hotel Carlyle last June 19 and explained their financial needs to 96 foundations and corporation executives.

New Groups

Out of this meeting the major organizations launched a $1,500,000 emergency campaign and formed the new temporary Council for United Civil Rights Leadership, of which the Urban League's Whitney Young is chairman, with headquarters at 19 E. 44th St. Also formed was the Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense, a tax-exempt corporation.

This meeting arranged by Currier and the Taconic Foundation, produced nearly $800,000 for the civil rights fight, a good part of it from Taconic.

In the past four years the Taconic Foundation has contributed more than $1,000,000 to organizations fighting to secure full civil rights and equal opportunity for Negroes.

Currier's family founded the foundation to help the underprivileged, and his efforts in the past few years led him to believe that an overall coordinating fund-raising was needed.

Although the Taconic has sought to avoid publicity, it was learned that through its grants it spends $162,000 to help in race relations in 1960, 260,200 in 1961, and in 1962, $318,500. Thus far in 1963 it has already committed itself to spending $400,000.

Vote Drive

Of this year's contributions, $125,000 has gone to the Southern Regional Council for its work in behalf of voter registration, and another $125,000 is planned for later this year. Another $100,000 has been given to the Patomac Institute in Washington to help eliminate discrimination.

Some $80,000 has been given to the National Urban League, $25,000 to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and the remaining $70,000 to miscellaneous projects.

TULSA WORLD
D. 96,467 S. 153,360
AUG 1 1 1963

Racial Crisis Still

Race relations hit a peak at Little Rock, Ark., Central High School, above, in 1957 when troops escorted Negro children.

By RELMAN MORIN
New York

The Negro drive for full equality has reached the dimensions of a national convulsion.

It wracks the whole United States, not just the Southern states. It is breaching the invisible racial barriers of the North no less than the visible walls in the South, shattering the complacency of one region, defeating the slow-down strategy of the other.

"Something's got a-hold of me," the Negro is chanting. "We shall overcome," is his anthem.

His movement is in the streets, the courts, the halls of Congress.

It touches schools and employment practices, a seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library—in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

Starting as non-violent, his campaign has engendered violence. The blood of both races has been spilled. No one can say whether more will flow, or where, or how much.

"We will advise our people not to use violence," said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), at a news conference in Jackson, Miss. "The Negro can't win in a pitched battle with the whites. He's in the minority."

But can the Negro leaders control their followers, everywhere and at all times? Who, for example, speaks for Harlem, the giant Negro community in New York City?

"How can anyone ask me to be non-violent?" said a Negro war veteran. "That's like putting me back in the line in Korea and loading my rifle with blanks."

Violence begets violence and the possibility of a white counter-reaction has been noted by many observers. "If that happens," said Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville, Miss., Delta-Democrat, "All hell will break loose."

During the demonstrations in Birmingham last spring, a white taxi driver said to me, "If they kill any white people, I won't ask any questions. I'll just start killin'."

The hour seems late. Is it one minute to 12 now? If so, what raced the hands of the clock?

The story is soon told.

In the North, Negro demands focus mainly on jobs and housing. Negroes at right stage a "sit-in" in New York mayor's office.

After World War II, the first important federal government action in race relations came when President Truman ordered the end of segregation in the armed forces. He also asked Congress for strong civil rights legislation. It was not granted.

During President Eisenhower's second administration, Congress enacted civil rights bills in 1957 and 1960. Using these laws, the administration filed 10 suits on behalf of Negroes' voting rights in the South.

The historic year, however, in the long and anguished struggle over civil rights, was 1954. The U.S. Supreme Court struck down, as unconstitutional, the doctrine of "separate-but-equal" in public schools. Segregation had been a legal fact for 58 years, based on a decision of the Supreme Court in 1896. Now, the court ordered the schools to be desegregated "with all deliberate speed."

Negroes and their white sympathizers exulted.

But the segregationist, eying that phrase, "with all deliberate speed," saw an escape hatch. He determined to resist as long as possible. And he did.

Mob violence exploded in southern and border states.

A climactic point of this stage was Little Rock, Ark. The year was 1957. Exactly 80 years after the end of the reconstruction in the South, federal troops marched into a southern city again. They used bayonets to disperse crowds around Central High School, and they escorted Negro children into classrooms.

Elsewhere in the South, however, the barriers remained.

Oxford, Miss., and Tuscaloosa, Ala., were still to come.

At Oxford, two men died and scores were injured when a Negro, James H. Meredith, enrolled in the University of Mississippi. Again, federal troops marched, bivouacing on the campus.

At Tuscaloosa, Gov. George C. Wallace stood in the doorway of a University of Alabama building when Justice Department officials attempted to enroll two Negroes, Vivian Malone and James Hood. A few hours later, he stepped aside when federalized units of the National Guard marched onto the campus. There was no violence.

A prospective voter, below, is shown how to operate a voting machine with a drawing at a "clinic" set up in the South by Negroes.

Long before these incidents, however, the "bright-new-day" jubilance of 1954 had begun to evaporate.

Negro disappointment, as the years passed with little desegregation, turned to bitterness. "Gradualism," the policy of slowly ending segregation, and "tokenism," permitting only a handful of Negro children in schools, offices or factories, became fighting words.

Today, nearly 10 years after the Supreme Court decision, figures compiled by the Southern Education Reporting Service indicate that about 257,000 Negro children are attending public elementary and high schools with white students in 17 southern and border states and the District of Columbia.

Negro leaders say this is about eight per cent of the school-age total.

Apart from the schools, new sectors opened in the fight for civil rights.

In 1955 and 1956, the Southern Christian

Growing

Leadership (SCLC) conference, headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., boycotted segregated bus lines in Montgomery, Ala. They won.

The boycott, or "selective buying," as the Negro leaders prefer to say, began coming into play as a potent weapon in other parts of the South. Negro economists estimate that the purchasing power of the Negro, nationally, is around $15 billion a year.

"Selective buying" has put southern businessmen in a vise. If they integrate some facilities after a Negro boycott, they may be hit by a white boycott.

Along with the boycott came the "sit-in," the tactic of simply sitting quietly in a restaurant, seeking service. Or the "kneel-in," crowds of Negroes praying on the steps of a public building or in a main street, stopping traffic.

These maneuvers were pioneered by the Committee On Racial Equality (CORE) which was founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago. It obtained a foothold in the South with the "sit-in" of 1960.

Parallel with action on these fronts, the Negroes began concentrating their efforts in another supremely important field—voter registration. Another Negro organization, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee ("SNICK") has been active in this work.

The Justice Department has assisted. Since 1961, it has filed 29 suits against officials for refusing to register qualified Negroes. About 50 per cent of these suits have been won.

The Southern Regional Council estimates there are 5,045,000 Negroes of voting age in 11 southern and border states. About one fourth, some 1,344,000, are registered.

Many tactics have been used to discourage Negroes from registering—gerrymandering, intimidation, widely-spaced meetings of registration boards, throwing out Negro applications on technicalities.

So concerted voter-registration drives began. Students went through Negro communities, ringing doorbells. Officials stationed themselves in public buildings in the South, buttonholing every Negro who came in, whatever his business, and urging him to register, there and then. Voter "clinics" were set up to instruct Negroes in filling out the application forms, and in meeting the technicalities.

It is a long, slow process, but the figures for Negro registration are rising, spectacularly in some cases. In Bullock County, Ala., there were four registered Negroes in 1961. Now there are 1,341. This, of course, is a special case.

Of the registration drives, Bishop George W. Barber, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, said:

"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible Negro voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of two million new Negro voters, North and South."

In all probability, another factor has played a part in the Negro **drive for equality, a** subtle, unmeasurable factor—**the new African** nations.

The American Negro **has seen African heads** of state being received **in the White House** and getting the red **carpet treatment from** Soviet Premier Khrush**chev and other power**ful leaders. He has **seen African diplomats** speaking from the rostrum **of the United** Nations.

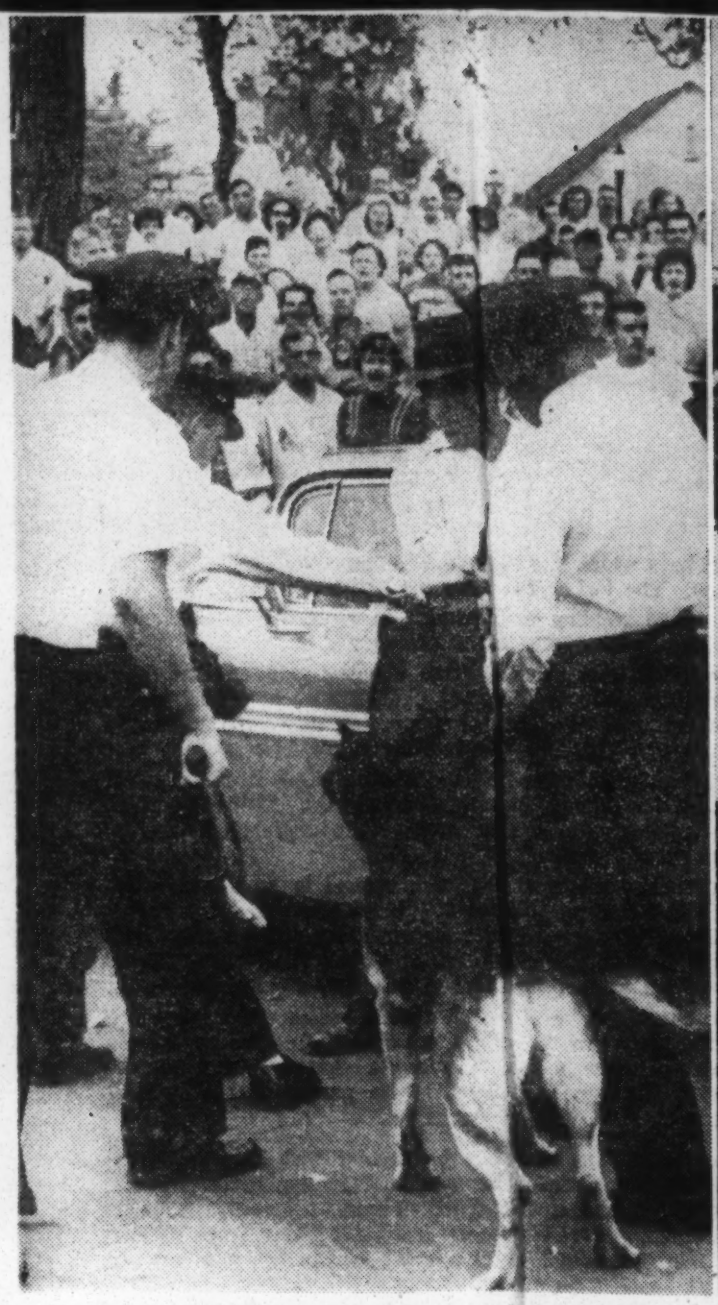
This has been a source of pride and encouragement.

But it also is a two-edged sword. "An African in a robe and **turban can go into a** restaurant or a hotel **where I can't go,"** said a Negro public **relations man in Wash**ington. "How silly can **segregation be? How** do you think this makes **me feel?"**

Then came another **catalyst—Birmingham.**

Last spring, Negroes there demonstrated in the streets for desegregation **of some facilities** in downtown stores and **the formation of a** permanent biracial **committee to handle racial** problems. So many **were arrested that the** jails overflowed.

Police dogs and fire **hoses were used to** disperse the crowds. **It was not the first** time the dogs had been **used in Birmingham.** The first time was **against white men, riot**ing around **"Freedom Riders" at a bus sta**tion. Nor, of course, **was Birmingham the only city to use dogs.**



Police dogs have been used against both whites and Negroes in America's racial conflict. In Baltimore, above left, policemen and their dogs converge on a white heckler protesting integration of a swimming pool. In Birmingham, above, right, the dogs were used to disperse crowds of Negro demonstrators.

Nevertheless, photographs of dogs leaping toward Negroes went around the globe.

For some reason, Birmingham appears to have dramatized the Negro struggle more than any other incident.

"Birmingham engineered the revolution that began in the spring of 1963," Martin Ochs, editor of the Chattanooga Times, said in a recent speech at the University of Wisconsin.

Fear of violence and economic trouble has fostered a "mood of reconciliation" toward racial integration in the South, Ochs said.

Almost overnight after Birmingham, too, Negro demonstrations erupted in the North. Violence flared in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and other northern cities. The Los Angeles Times published a cartoon depicting two Negro figures, one in a menacing posture. It was captioned, "integration not intimidation.

In the North, Negro demands focus mainly on jobs and housing. Negro unemployment is high, more than double white unemployment. Labor unions have been accused of discriminating against Negroes. Negro leaders are demanding that a certain quota of Negroes shall be employed on given projects, and even in restaurants.

In New York City, to dramatize these and other demands, Negroes entered the offices of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and stayed for days in a "sit-in." They staged another in the city hall.

Another recent development has been a unifying move among seven Negro organizations, some of which had been sniping at each other. They were the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, "SNICK," the National Urban League, the National Council of Negro Women, and the Legal Defense and Education Fund of the NAACP, a separately incorporated organization.

The coalition takes the name Council for United Civil Rights Leadership.

"Our primary concern is to eliminate violence," a spokesman said. "We want to provide a cadre of experienced Negro leaders who will prevent things from getting out of hand and keep irresponsible elements from turning to violence."

Distinctly separate from these groups are the "Black Muslims." They demand, not integration, but total segregation on their own terms. They want the federal government to set aside territory in which they propose to set up a Negro state.

Their leader, Muhammad Elijah, lives in Phoenix, Ariz. In answer to the question of whether the "Muslims" hate white people, he said:

"The Bible teaches us to love good and to hate evil. I can't love him (the white) because his is the very essence of evil."

In the vast, complicated and potentially dangerous picture of the racial struggle today, what are the positive sides? The principal ones would seem to be these:

1. To a greater degree than ever before, the problem is out in the open. More people, especially in the North but in the South, too, are aware of the intricacies and the injustices. More are thinking about it, seeking solutions.

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5. While the Negroes are crying for rights, a Negro lawyer, Mrs. Cora T. Walker, is making speeches sharply reminding them of their responsibilities. She tells them:

"We are as much to blame for our present condition as the white majority."

On the political side, she says, "There are approximately one million black people in New York City. These Negroes have no restrictions on their voting rights. Yet there are only two elected Negroes in the entire city legislative government."

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Mrs. Walker suggests that Negroes should do more to help each other. "Isn't it our responsibility," she asks, "to take the initiative to secure the needs of our [illegible] privileged?"

She says she has never had an adverse reaction from Negro audiences. "On the contrary, there have been more than 500 requests for reprints of these speeches."

A similar position was taken recently by another minority group, the "Nisei," or American-born Japanese. In San Francisco, Howard Imazeki, editor of the newspaper, Hobukei Mainichi, said in an editorial:

"We have yet to hear any Negro voices blaming themselves for their social maladjustment.

"What we are trying to say most sincerely here is that the Negro leaders should do a little soul-searching of their own."

Nearly 72 years ago, on Aug. 19, 1891, the New York Mail & Express published a pathetic little item. It said some Negro clergymen had met to discuss means of obtaining "better opportunities" for their people.

Today, the Negro drive is for fully equal opportunity, for everything America offers every citizen.

AP Newsfeatures

TOPEKA, KANS.
CAPITAL-JOURNAL
SUN. 70,316

AUG 11 1963

Racial Problem Now Out In Open

Birmingham Episode Cements Negro Equality Fight

EDITOR'S NOTE—Caught in the turmoil of a summer of bitter racial discord, Americans find it difficult at times to assess the dimensions of the crisis, to know what has been gained or lost and where we are heading now. Here, in the last of a special series of Associated Press articles on the integration struggle, is a report by a correspondent who has covered it closely. It sums up the situation to date and looks at changes coming.

By RELMAN MORIN

NEW YORK — (AP) — The Negro drive for full equality has reached the dimensions of a national convulsion.

It wracks the whole United States, not just the Southern states. It is breaching the invisible racial barriers of the North no less than the visible walls in the South, shattering the complacency of one region, defeating the slow-down strategy of the other.

"Something's got hold of me," the Negro is chanting. "We shall overcome," is his anthem.

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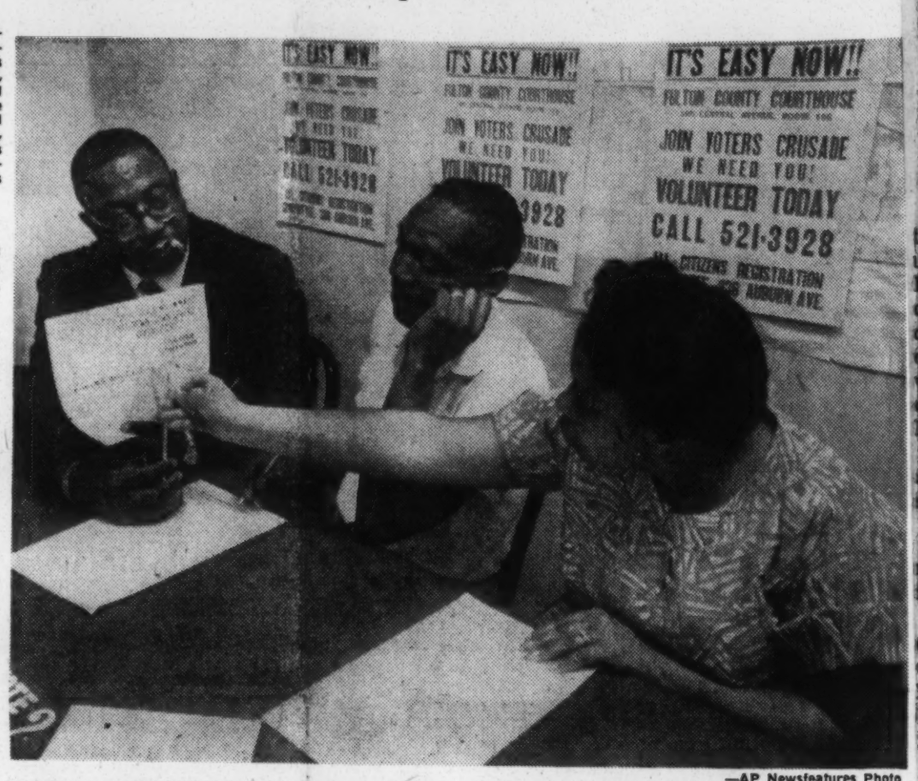
IT TOUCHES schools and employment practices, a seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library — in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

Starting as non-violent, his campaign has engendered violence. The blood of both races has been spilled. No one can say whether more will flow, or where, or how much.

"We will advise our people not to use violence," said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), at a news conference in Jackson, Miss. "The Negro can't win in a pitched battle with the whites. He's in the minority."

But can the Negro leaders control their followers, everywhere and at all times? Who, for example, speaks for Harlem, the giant Negro community in New York City?



—AP Newsfeatures Photo

VOTING INSTRUCTION—A prospective voter is shown how to operate a voting machine by an instructor with a drawing of an average voting machine. This "clinic," one of a number set up in the South, is operated by members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta, Ga. It is just one of a number of ways Negroes are trying to encourage members of their race to vote.

Violence begets violence and the possibility of a white counter-reaction has been noted by many observers. "If that happens," said Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville, Miss., Delta-Democrat, "all hell will break loose."

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During President Eisenhower's second administration, Congress enacted civil rights bills in 1957 and 1960. Using these laws, the administration filed 10 suits on behalf of Negroes' voting rights in the South.

The historic year, however, in the long and anguished struggle over civil rights, was 1954. The U.S. Supreme Court struck down, as unconstitutional, the doctrine of "separate - but - equal" in public schools. Segregation had been a legal fact for 58 years, based on a decision of the Supreme Court in 1896. Now, the court ordered the schools to be desegregated "with all deliberate speed."

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But the segregationists, eying that phrase, "with all deliberate speed," saw an escape hatch. He determined to resist as long as possible. And he did.

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A CLIMACTIC point in this stage was Little Rock, Ark. The year was 1957. Exactly 80 years after the end of the Reconstruction in the South, federal troops marched into a Southern city again. They used bayonets to disperse crowds around Central High School. And they escorted Negro children into classrooms.

Long before these incidents, however, the "bright-new-day" jubilance of 1954 had begun to evaporate.

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The boycott, or "selective buying," as the Negro leaders prefer to say, began coming into play as a potent weapon in other parts of the South. Negro economists estimate that the purchasing power of the Negro, nationally, is around $15 billion a year.

Along with the boycott came the "sit-in," the tactic of simply sitting quietly in a restaurant, seeking service. Or the "kneel-in," crowds of Negroes praying on the steps of a public building or in a main street, stopping traffic.

These maneuvers were pioneered by the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE) which was founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago. It obtained a foothold in the South with the "sit-in" of 1960.

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PARALLEL with action on these fronts, the Negroes began concentrating their efforts in another supremely important field — voter registration. Another Negro organization, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee ("SNICK") has been active in this work.

—AP Newsfeatures Photo

WHAT'S IN THE FUTURE?—What lies in the future for this young Negro family walking along a Harlem street in New York? Will the Negro drive for full equality, now wracking the entire United States, be successful within their lifetime? Will the future hold a discrimination-free life of opportunity for their children?

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It is a long, slow process, but the figures for Negro registration are rising, spectacularly in some cases. In Bullock County, Ala., there were four registered Negroes in 1961. Now there are 1,341. This, of course, is a special case.

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THEN CAME another catalyst —Birmingham.

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Nevertheless, photographs of dogs leaping toward Negroes went around the globe.

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In the North, Negro demands focus mainly on jobs and housing. Negro unemployment is high, more than double white unemployment. Labor unions have been accused of discriminating against Negroes. Negro leaders are demanding that a certain quota of Negroes shall be employed on given projects, and even in restaurants.

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3. President Kennedy, in conferences with scores of Southern businessmen, clergymen and others, has sought means to desegregate many establishments. He set up a presidential Committee on Equal Job Opportunity, replacing two other such committees of the Eisenhower Administration. It is headed by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson.

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SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS
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AUG 1 1 1963

THE DEEPENING CRISIS: SUMMING UP

Suddenly, The Time Is Late

By RELMAN MORIN

CAUGHT IN THE TURMOIL of a summer of bitter racial discord, Americans find it difficult at times to assess the dimensions of the crisis, to know what has been gained or lost and where we are heading now. Here, in the last of a special series of Associated Press articles on the integration struggle, is a report by a correspondent who has covered it closely. It sums up the situations to date and looks at changes coming.

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"Something's got a-hold of me," the Negro is chanting. "We shall overcome," is his anthem.

His movement is in the streets, the courts, the halls of Congress.

It touches schools and employment practices, a seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library—in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

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"We will advise our people not to use violence," said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at a news conference in Jackson, Miss. "The Negro can't win in a pitched battle with the whites. He's in the minority."

But can the Negro leaders control their followers, everywhere and at all times? Who, for example, speaks for Harlem, the giant Negro community in New York City?

"How can anyone ask me to be nonviolent?" said a Negro war veteran. "That's like putting me back in the line in Korea and loading my rifle with blanks."

Violence begets violence and the possibility of a white counter-reaction has been noted by many observers. "If that happens," said Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville, Miss., Delta-Democrat, "all hell will break loose."

During the demonstrations in Birmingham last spring, a white taxi driver said to me, "If they kill any white people, I won't ask any questions. I'll just start killin'."

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CLIMACTIC POINT—In 1957, just 80 years after the end of the "reconstruction" in the South, race relations reached a climactic point at Little Rock, Ark. The eruption of violence brought in troops the 101st Airborne Div. from Fort Campbell, Ky., who guarded the city's Central High School with fixed bayonets and physically escorted Negro children to its classrooms to enforce segregation.

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within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of two million new Negro voters, North and South."

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In all probability, another factor has played a part in the Negro drive for equality, a subtle, unmeasurable factor—the new African nations.

The American Negro has seen African heads of state being received in the White House and getting the red carpet treatment from Soviet Premier Khrushchev and other powerful leaders. He has seen African diplomats speaking from the rostrum of the United Nations.

This has been a source of pride and encouragement.

But it also is a two-edged sword. "An African in a robe and turban can go into a restaurant or a hotel where I can't go," said a Negro public relations man in Washington. "How silly can segregation be? How do you think this makes me feel?"

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Elsewhere in the South, however, the barriers remained.

Oxford, Miss., and Tuscaloosa, Ala., were still to come.

At Oxford, two men died and scores were injured when a Negro, James H. Meredith, enrolled in the University of Mississippi. Again, federal troops marched, bivouacing on the campus.

At Tuscaloosa, Gov. George C. Wallace stood in the doorway of a University of Alabama building when Justice Department officials attempted to enroll two Negroes, Vivian Malome and James Hood. A few hours later, he stepped aside when federalized units of the National Guard marched onto the campus. There was no violence.

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"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible Negro voter

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Nevertheless, photographs of dogs leaping toward Negroes went around the globe.

For some reason, Birmingham appears to have dramatized the Negro struggle more than any other incident.

"Birmingham engineered the revolution that began in the spring of 1963," Martin Ochs, editor of the Chattanooga Times, said in a recent speech at the University of Wisconsin.

Fear of violence and economic trouble has fostered a "mood of reconciliation" toward racial integration in the South, Ochs said.

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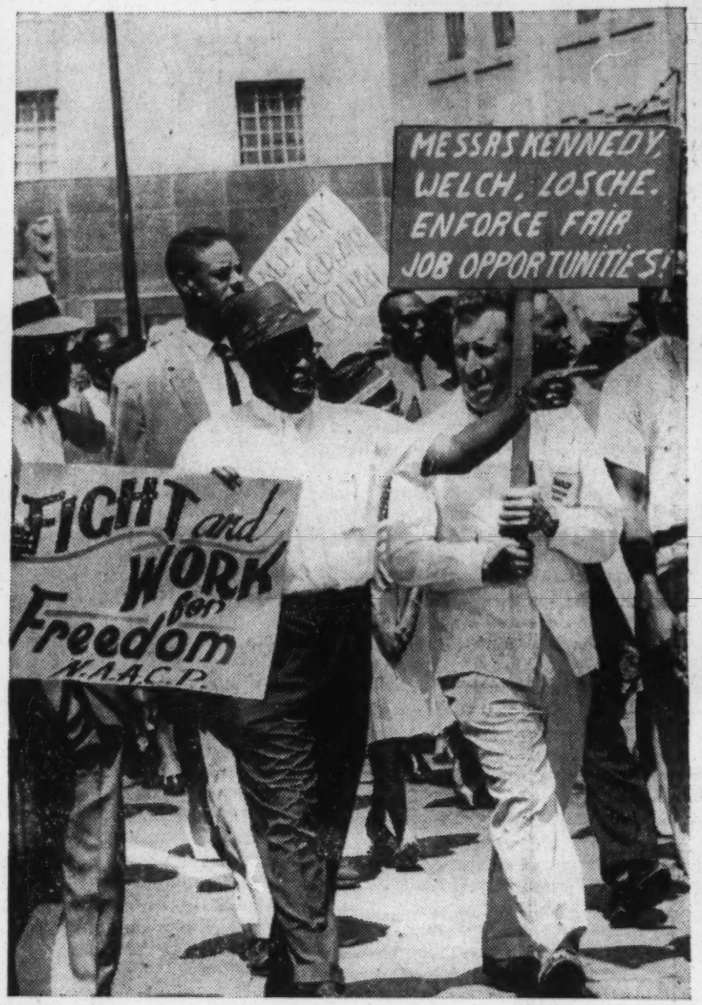
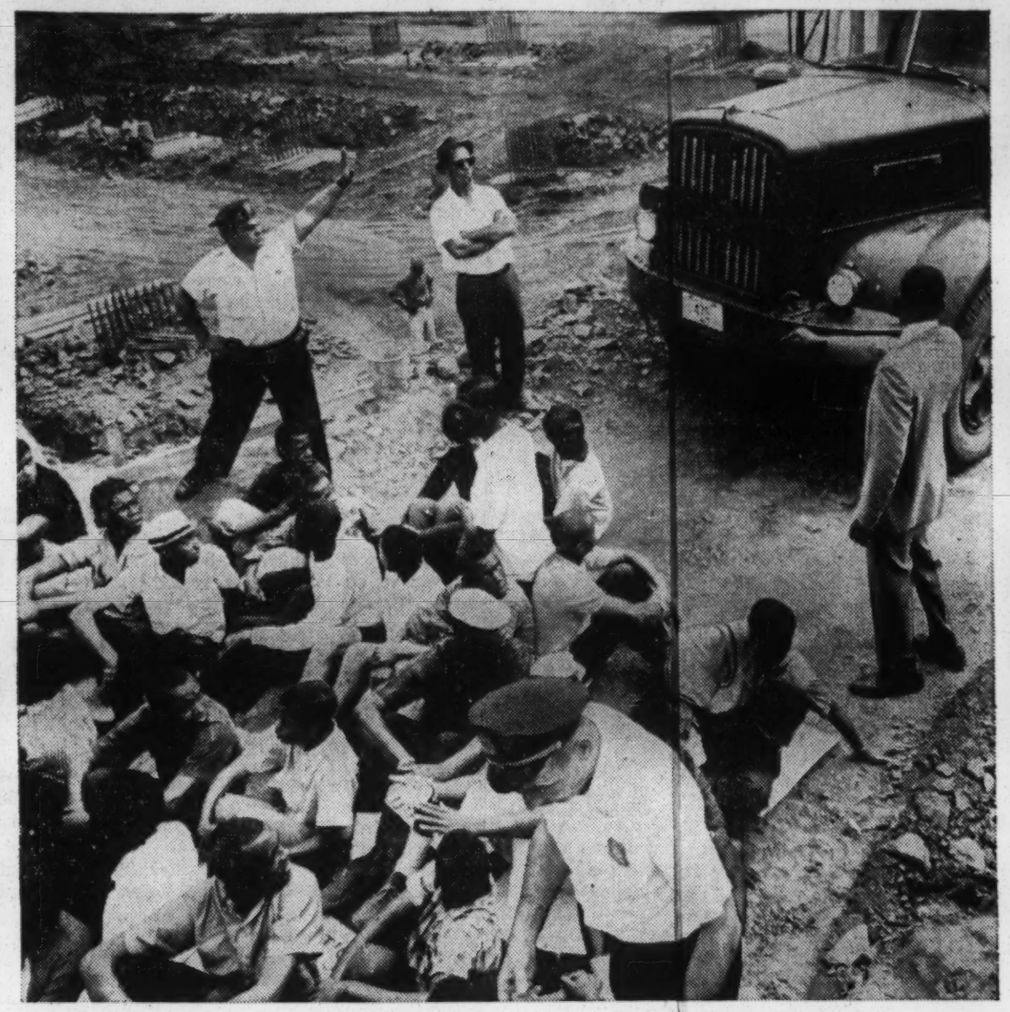
The New York Times
D. 681,612 S. 1,304,447

AUG 1 1 1963

AS THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT GROWS IN THE NORTH—CLASHES IN THREE CITIES



INDIANAPOLIS: A racially mixed crowd stages the city's first civil rights protest. Sign refers to President, Governor and Mayor.



ELIZABETH, N. J.: A dump truck is stopped at a construction site by a sit-down strike as part of a campaign by Negroes to gain admission to apprenticeships in the unions involved on the project.

Associated Press, United Press International

CHICAGO: Police and demonstrators scuffle during one of a series of incidents after Negro family moved into a white neighborhood.

Balance Sheet

On Civil Rights

Where does the race crisis stand? The consensus last week, at midpoint in this summer of Negro discontent, was that these main conclusions could be drawn:

First, that the integrationists have made considerable headway—in the South against public segregation, in the North against white apathy toward discrimination.

Second, that the path toward equality still stretches a vast distance. Most difficult to deal with, it is recognized, is the severe economic handicap the Negro suffers from discrimination in education and jobs.

Third, that the psychological climate may be deeply affected by what Congress does about the President's call for major legislation against segregation, even though the legislation would leave

strators and the murder of the Negro leader Medgar Evers.

What the integration movement in the South has accomplished overall is impossible to measure precisely. The Justice Department, on the basis of reports by businessmen and other groups whose cooperation was sought by the Administration, says that there has been "improvement" in 319 cities in the 11 states of the old Confederacy plus four border states. The Southern Regional Council, an integrationist group, says a summary of newspaper reports up to July 24 showed "some desegregation" in 79 cities in the former Confederate states.

In the North the targets are forms of discrimination that are commonplace despite many laws against them. One is the confinement of Negroes to black ghettoes by residential discrimination. In Chicago last week a formerly all-white district on the South Side came to the verge of violence as whites milled in the streets in sul-

has been scant evidence of compliance.

However, developments last week in New York and Washington gave the integrationists hope of at least some progress. In New York, Governor Rockefeller made a deal with the leaders of protest picketing at the Downstate Medical Center project in Brooklyn. Among other things, the Governor promised stricter enforcement of the state's anti-discrimination laws and a procedure by which the state and Negro leaders would cooperate in recruiting Negro applicants for union membership.

'More Promises'

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Second, that the path toward equality still stretches a vast distance. Most difficult to deal with, it is recognized, is the severe economic handicap the Negro suffers from discrimination in education and jobs.

Third, that the psychological climate may be deeply affected by what Congress does about the President's call for major legislation against segregation, even though the legislation would leave many areas of discrimination untouched.

Fourth, that the whole race question is enmeshed in politics — Federal, state and local — and specifically that the race issue is likely to be a large factor in the race for the Presidency in '64.

Last week the struggle went on, in South and North, in the streets and in Congress. All sides seemed to be looking toward what may prove to be one of the dramatic climaxes in the struggle in '63, the huge rally in Washington Aug. 28 to impress Congress with the power and determination in the integration movement.

In the Streets

The struggle in the streets represents a reaction against the slow pace and "token" results of litigation in the Federal courts. It is a culmination of the shift toward direct action that began with the freedom rides and sit-ins of three years ago. It has marked—especially since the drama of Birmingham last spring, with its nationwide impact — a broadening of the protest movement to encompass North as well as South. According to a Justice Department count that began May 22, during the Birmingham crisis, the total of demonstrations has been 841 in 196 cities in 35 states and the District of Columbia.

The protests have set contrasting patterns South and North. In the South, the main immediate target has been segregation in places of public accommodation—restaurants, hotels and the like.

The results have been mixed. Symbolically the greatest victory, as integrationists see it, was in Birmingham. The small gains there —such as the setting up of a timetable for integration of downtown lunch counters—were hailed as significant because of that city's record as one of the most segregated anywhere and because of their electrifying effect on Negroes elsewhere. Integrationists have been heartened also by sweeping gains in many cities in the upper South and border areas — in some cases without direct Negro pressure.

Aftermath in Jackson

But there have also been failures and bitterness — as in Jackson, Miss., where a few Negro policemen have been hired, (to patrol Negro districts) after strife that led to the arrest of 1,000 demonstrators and the murder of the Negro leader Medgar Evers.

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In the North the targets are forms of discrimination that are commonplace despite many laws against them. One is the confinement of Negroes to black ghettoes by residential discrimination. In Chicago last week a formerly all-white district on the South Side came to the verge of violence as whites milled in the streets in sullen protest against four Negro families that moved into the neighborhood.

Englewood's Problem

A second form of discrimination is de facto school segregation that results from residential discrimination. One of the focal points of conflict over this issue is Englewood, N. J. Negro protests there led to a state order last month for correction of the racial "imbalance" of the Lincoln School, which is 98.8 per cent Negro. The week before last the school board approved a plan for voluntary transfer of pupils out of Lincoln. Last week a Committee to Save Our Neighborhood Schools protested the plan as a "complete capitulation" to the Negroes.

A third form of discrimination—and an explosive one—is job discrimination. Many statistics attest to it. The rate of unemployment among Negroes is twice that among whites. The average Negro worker earns only about 55 per cent as much as his white counterpart. The many Negroes who are unskilled are being hit particularly hard by the elimination of unskilled jobs through automation.

Negroes were in the streets in several Northern cities last week protesting against job discrimination. They staged a sit-in at City Hall in Newark, N. J.; paraded in Indianapolis; picketed General Motors and the United Automobile Workers in Detroit; picketed a courthouse building site in Elizabeth, N. J.; picketed a medical-school building site and others in New York.

Focus on Construction

The brunt of the Negro protest was mainly against the construction industry. Hiring in that industry is controlled largely by unions because only union members are hired. Some of the unions are accused of barring or limiting Negro membership; some are said to have made it impossible for Negroes even to learn the trades by discriminating in admitting youths to apprenticeship. (In fact some unions go so far as to bar systematically all who are not sons or nephews of present members.)

The problem has proved to be a hard one for integrationists to crack. For one thing, membership in most unions is under local control. Recently the international officers of the AFL-CIO building trades unions called upon locals to lower the racial bars but there has been scant evidence of compliance.

However, developments last week in New York and Washington gave the integrationists hope of at least some progress. In New York, Governor Rockefeller made a deal with the leaders of protest picketing at the Downstate Medical Center project in Brooklyn. Among other things, the Governor promised stricter enforcement of the state's anti-discrimination laws and a procedure by which the state and Negro leaders would cooperate in recruiting Negro applicants for union membership.

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In Washington the Labor Department and a labor-management committee in the construction industry agreed on a plan to combat discrimination in apprenticeship. The plan calls for local apprenticeship committees to judge all applicants solely on the basis of job qualifications. The Labor Department is to be briefed monthly on execution of the program.

Labor department officials were elated over what they felt was a major breakthrough against discrimination. There was cautioning, however, that the plan hinged on local compliance, which has been sought before without much success.

Moreover, it was pointed out that the plan touches only one aspect of the problem in one sector of an economy that is shot through with racial discrimination. Much more must be done, it is recognized, if the Negro's discontent is to be alleviated.

And in Congress

The President's civil rights program has been moving slowly in Congress. It went to Capitol Hill nearly eight weeks ago. In the House, the Judiciary Committee has now completed hearings. In the Senate, the Commerce Committee has ended hearings on part of the program; the Judiciary Committee, which is Southern-dominated and has never reported a civil rights bill, is holding hearings that are expected to go on and on in order to provide ammunition for an eventual Southern filibuster.

As the schedule now shapes up, the House committee expects to report a bill to the floor after Labor Day for action as soon as tax legislation is out of the way. The Senate leadership figures to take up either the House bill or another one from the Senate Commerce Committee; that would prevent Senate Judiciary from bottling up the legislation.

But then the Administration's program would encounter the real obstacle—the promised Southern filibuster. To break a filibuster the Administration forces will need strong Republican support. That is in doubt because of controversy over the program's key provision —Title II, the outlawing of segregation in places of public accommodation.

The uncertainty about the degree of Republican support has arisen chiefly because of opposition to Title II by Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen. His objection is that it would infringe the rights of the owners of the properties involved.

At the same time, Republicans generally have emphasized that they are not against action on civil rights. This was in evidence last week in a vote in the House on a bill on Federal aid for vocational education. The Republicans pressed an amendment to deny aid to schools that practice segregation. Democrats accused them of politicking at the possible expense of a program that would benefit many Negroes. The argument was that the amendment would put the bill in jeopardy because of Southern opposition. The amendment was rejected by 217-181.

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Eyes on Aug. 28

One of the unknowns in the situation is the effect of the rally in Washington Aug. 28. Negro leaders spoke of it at first as a "march on Washington" and said there would be sit-ins in the Capitol. After warnings that those tactics would only create Congressional resentment and hurt the program's chances, they decided against mass demonstrations near the Capitol. Instead the rally will take place mainly at the Lincoln Memorial.

In Congress last week the general attitude toward the rally was that if it turned out to be orderly it would not change any votes but that if it proved otherwise the rally would help the opposition. The feeling was that in any case the huge outpouring—the Negro leaders say they expect 150,000—will have an important effect on the psychological climate surrounding civil rights.

As for the politics, most observers feel that Negroes, who were strong for Mr. Kennedy in '60 but dissatisfied with his performance until recently, will be strong for him again in '64. The question is whether there will be a counteraction because of a feeling among white voters that the Administration has fanned the Negro unrest.

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AUG 1 1 1963

GAINS ON CIVIL RIGHTS WHET APPETITE FOR MORE

A Number of Cities Have Modified or Ended Racial Restrictions But the Prospect of Continued Agitation Has Increased

By CLAUDE SITTON

The mid-point of a summer of racial crisis has passed in the South with neither the widespread violence so freely predicted nor the immediate desegregation so militantly demanded. But the concern expressed following the Birmingham, Ala., controversy and the rising pressure for racial change to which that controversy contributed still remain.

Demonstrations against racial barriers have continued throughout the 11 Old South states from Virginia to Texas, although at a slightly reduced level from the immediate post-Birmingham period. Similar protests in the North and the absence of a conflict with the dramatic elements of earlier crises have given the impression of a lull that is more apparent than real.

A recent compilation by the Southern Regional Council, for example, shows that between June 24 and July 24 demonstrations took place in at least 37 communities in the region. It also pointed up the impressive progress achieved by the Negro during that time.

The most symbolic of these victories came in Birmingham following more than a month of mass marches and other protests under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights.

Birmingham

Negroes have voiced satisfaction over the good faith shown by Birmingham's white leaders in implementing an agreement that ended the crisis and in going beyond it to improve the city's race relations. Lunch counters and other facilities in many downtown department and variety stores have been desegregated, Negroes have been promoted to other than menial positions and still others have been hired. City officials have reopened public parks on a desegregated basis.

Even more impressive is the number of communities throughout the South in which racial restrictions have been modified or eliminated. The Southern Regional Council's informal check indicates that in the 30 days covered at least 50 cities and towns made some change in custom. Others took steps such as formation of biracial committees that may lead to future progress.

Both the pressure for change and the compromises it has brought have been most extensive, perhaps, in North Carolina. Segregation in governmental installations and privately owned public facilities, including hotels, motels and restaurants, has been wiped out almost entirely in some cities. Unfortunately, Negro campaigns in others have brought sporadic outbursts of rioting. But a majority of the communities have accepted change, often at the urging of moderate business and industrial leaders concerned over the economic effects of racial strife.

Their motivation is apparent in a statement attributed by the council to Mayor Wilbur Clark of Fayetteville following desegregation of the only municipally owned swimming pool: "If we don't make progress here we will greatly harm our prospects for attracting new industries and businesses and, secondly, we will have renewed demonstrations . . . which aggravate possibilities of ill will, economic loss and public danger." The fact that Mayor Clark was not alone was demonstrated a few days later when 200 mayors from all sections of the state voted unanimously to support Gov. Terry Sanford in efforts to "'remove the indignities long suffered by Negroes.'"

Resistant Areas

However, much of the progress has taken place outside the Deep South or in the larger cities of the latter areas. And there is considerable doubt that these advances can be duplicated in the near future in the more resistant sections. One expert in the field noted that the 1960 sit-in demonstrations, which began Feb. 1, had brought lunch-counter desegregation in more than 100 cities by the summer but then entered a period in which little progress was made.

Nevertheless, the determination of Negroes to press their drive for desegregation even in the face of repeated defeats remains strong. This is indicated in a report by Joseph A. Loftus of The New York Times from Jackson, Miss.:

"Actually, the Negroes do not know quite where to turn, but the force of their moral conviction will drive them only on even though the course be blindly taken. The white supremacists and their disciplined police are equally determined. A collision seems inevitable."

Jackson offers a typical example of the small but frustrating denials of the rights of citizenship encountered by Negroes daily in some Deep South communities.

A pregnant Negro mother, writing to her husband, an Air Force major on duty in Berlin, told of taking her small son to the Jackson zoo. She became tired and sat down on a bench. A policeman ordered her to move on. The Rev. L. T. Smith of the Jackson Movement for Freedom, who recounted the story, concluded by asking: "Do you know any reason why a Negro boy should not be allowed to look at the giraffes?"

Bitterness over small incidents and concern for the problems of voting rights, equal employment and discrimination in public accommodations underlie the support now becoming evident among Negroes for what may be the largest demonstration of all. This is the scheduled Aug. 28 "March for Freedom and Jobs" on Washington.

Senate Testimony

Observers doubt that the objective of the march—Congressional enactment of President Kennedy's civil rights proposals—would end mass protests in the South or the North. Many do believe that their rejection would encourage continuing resistance to change in the Deep South and, quite possibly, retrogression in areas where progress has been made. This has been underscored in a statement before a Senate committee by Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. of Atlanta in which he urged passage of a public accommodations bill.

Mayor Allen said that any law should give local governments an opportunity to solve the problem first. However, he contended that failure to approve legislation to force the issue would "create another round of disputes over segregation." He then said:

"Surely, the Congress realizes that after having failed to take any definite action on this subject in the last 10 years, to fail to pass this bill would amount to an endorsement of private business setting up an entirely new status of discrimination throughout the nation. Cities like Atlanta might slip backwards. Hotels and restaurants that have already taken this issue upon themselves and opened their doors might find it convenient to go back to the old status. Failure by Congress to take definite action at this time is by inference an endorsement of the right of private business to practice racial discrimination and, in my opinion, would start the same old round of squabbles and demonstrations that we have had in the past."

Filibuster

The Congressional battle over the rights legislation has other significant aspects. The measures are now likely to go to the Senate floor early in September. There, they undoubtedly will encounter a Southern filibuster. In the present atmosphere, this might lead to greatly stepped-up Negro demonstrations.

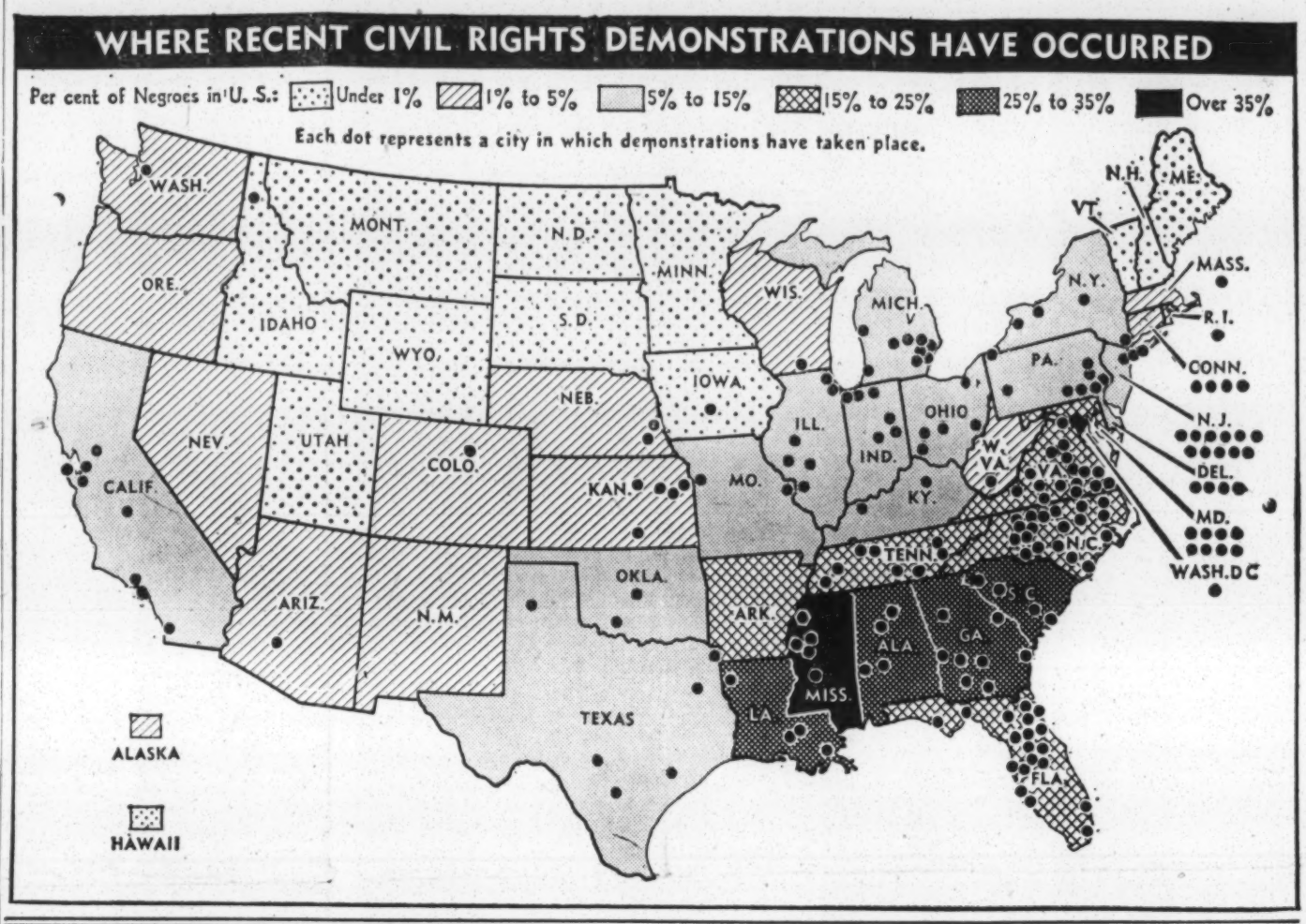
The debate probably will be going on at the time when 113 public school districts in the Southern and border states begin desegregation for the first time. This is the largest number to lower racial barriers since 1956, according to the Southern Education Reporting Service.

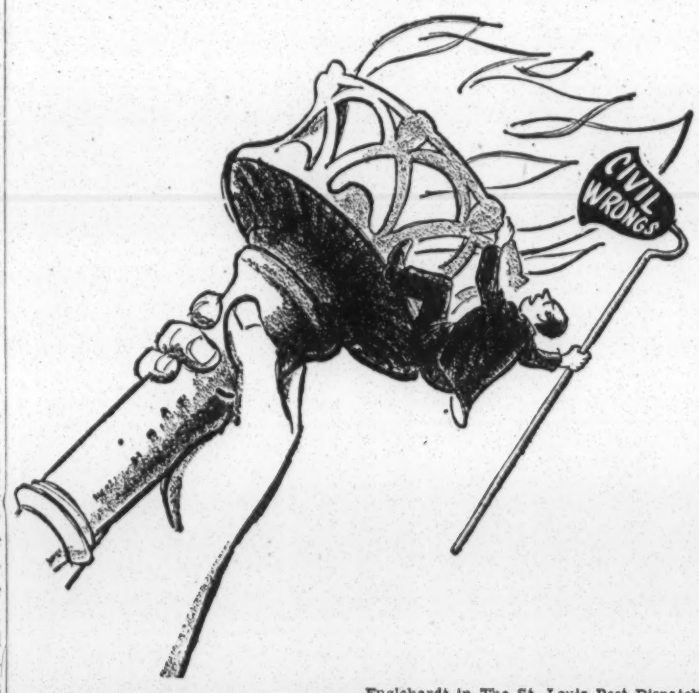
Further, the systems include such potential trouble spots as Birmingham and Mobile, Ala.; Jacksonville and Tallahassee, Fla.; Chatham County (Savannah) and possibly Albany, Ga.; Baton Rouge, La., and Danville, Va.

Few Predictions

Added to these harbingers of crisis is the growing militancy among civil rights factions. This has brought violence in some communities such as Savannah, where the authorities went to great lengths to protect the Negro's right to demonstrate. White liberals have been discouraged by the reluctance of some Negro leaders to denounce such lawlessness and the attempts by a handful of the latter to justify it.

Few observers will risk a prediction as to the course the struggle may take during the remaining summer months and early fall. One respected student of the field, who declined use of his name, offered this assessment: "I don't think summer's over by a long shot. The flames in Congress will fan the flames out in the country and then in Congress again. September can be a very, very tough month."





Englehardt in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"You're inflaming the country!"

THE MIAMI NEWS
MIAMI, FLA.
D. 154,397 S. 137,140

AUG 1 1 1963

White Faces In The South

Caught in the turmoil of a summer of bitter racial discord, Americans find it difficult to know what has been gained or lost and where we are heading. Here in the last of a series, the Associated Press sums up the integration struggle and looks at changes coming.

Faces Of The American Negro

All-Out Negro Drive Erupts Into Convulsion

The DEEPENING CRISIS

By RELMAN MORIN

THE NEGRO drive for full equality has reached the dimensions of a national convulsion.

It wracks the whole United States, not just the Southern states. It is breaching the invisible racial barriers of the North no less than the visible walls in the South, shattering the complacency of one region, defeating the slowdown strategy of the other.

"Something's got a-hold of me," the Negro is chanting. "We shall overcome" is his anthem.

His movement is in the streets, the courts, the halls of Congress.

It touches schools and employment practices, a seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library — in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

Starting as nonviolent, his campaign has engendered violence. The blood of both races has been spilled. No one can say whether more will flow, or where, or how much.

"We will advise our people not to use violence," said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), at a news conference in Jackson, Miss. "The Negro can't win in a pitched battle with the whites. He's in the minority."

But can the Negro leaders control their followers, everywhere and at all times? Who, for example, speaks for Harlem, the giant Negro community in New York City?

"How can anyone ask me to be nonviolent?" said a Negro war veteran. "That's like putting me back in the line in Korea and loading my rifle with blanks."

Violence begets violence and the possibility of a white counter-reaction has been noted by many observers. "If that happ[illegible]

U. S. Supreme Court struck down as unconstitutional the doctrine of "separate-but-equal" in public schools.

Segregation had been a legal fact for 58 years, based on a decision of the Supreme Court in 1896. Now, the court ordered the schools to be desegregated "with all deliberate speed."

Negroes and their white sympathizers exulted.

But the segregationist, eyeing that phrase, "with all deliberate speed," saw an escape hatch. He determined to resist as long as possible. And he did.

Mob violence exploded in Southern and border states.

A climactic point of this stage was Little Rock, Ark. The year was 1957. Exactly 80 years after the end of the Reconstruction in the South, federal troops marched into a Southern city again. They used bayonets to disperse crowds around Central High School. And they escorted Negro children into classrooms.

Elsewhere in the South, however, the barriers remained.

Oxford, Miss., and Tuscaloosa, Ala., were still to come.

At Oxford, two men died and scores were injured [illegible]

Negroes from registering — gerrymandering, intimidation, widely spaced meetings of registration boards, throwing out Negro applications on technicalities.

So concerted voter-registration drives began.

It is a long, slow process, but the figures for Negro registration are rising, spectacularly in some cases. In Bullock, County, Ala., there were four registered Negroes in 1961. Now there are 1,341. This, of course, is a special case.

In all probability, another factor has played a part in the Negro drive for equality, a subtle, unmeasurable factor — the new African nations.

The American Negro has seen African heads of state being received in the White House and getting the red carpet treatment from Soviet Premier Khrushchev and other powerful leaders. He has seen African diplomats speaking from the rostrum of the United Nations.

This has been a source of pride and encouragement.

But it also is a two-edged sword. "An African in a robe and turban can go into a restaurant or a hotel where I can't go," said a Negro public relations man in Washington. "How silly can segregation be? How do you think this makes me feel?"

• To a greater degree than ever before, the problem is out in the open. More people are aware of the intricacies and the injustices. More are thinking about it, seeking solutions.

• Some degree of communication between the races is being restored in the South. Communications, Southerners say, generally tended to break down after the Supreme Court decision on the schools in 1954. Now, fitfully and with difficulty, Negroes and whites in some parts of the South are sitting down together again.

• President Kennedy, in conferences with scores of Southern businessmen, clergymen and others, has sought means to desegregate many establishments. He set up a presidential committee on equal job opportunity, replacing two other such committees of the Eisenhower Administration. It is headed by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson.

• Congress is hearing testimony on the President's package of civil rights legislation. On June 11, he asked Congress to "make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law."

• While the Negroes are crying for rights a Negro lawyer, Mrs. Cora T. Walker, is making speeches sharply reminding them of their responsibilities. She tells them:

"We are as much to blame for our present condition as the white majority."

Help Urged For 'Our Own'

On the political side, she says, "There are approximately one million black people in New York City. These Negroes have no restrictions on their voting rights. Yet there are only two elected Negroes in the entire city legislative government."

Of the economic situation, Mrs. Walker says,

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Violence begets violence and the possibility of a white counter-reaction has been noted by many observers. "If that happens," said Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville, Miss., Delta-Democrat, "all hell will break loose."

What Raced The Clock?

During the demonstrations in Birmingham last spring, a white taxi driver said to me, "If they kill any white people, I won't ask any questions. I'll just start killin'."

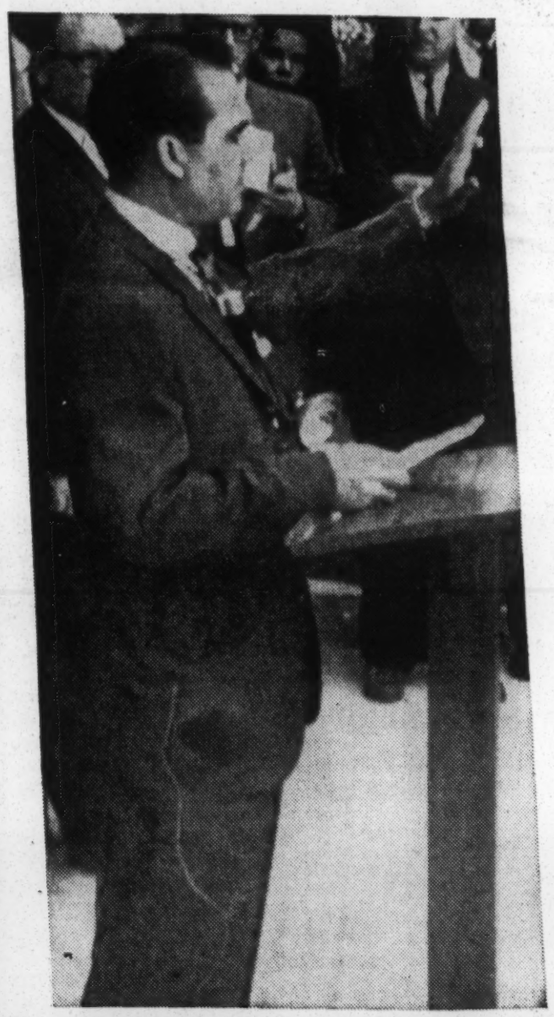
The hour seems late. Is it one minute to 12 now? If so, what raced the hands of the clock?

The story is soon told.

After World War II, the first important federal government action in race relations came when President Truman ordered the end of segregation in the armed forces. He also asked Congress for strong civil rights legislation. It was not granted.

During President Eisenhower's second administration, Congress enacted civil rights bills in 1957 and 1960. Using these laws, the administration filed 10 suits on behalf of Negroes' voting rights in the South.

The historic year, however, in the long and anguished struggle over civil rights, was 1954. The



Defiance – Alabama's Wallace

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At Oxford, two men died and scores were injured when a Negro, James H. Meredith, enrolled in the University of Mississippi. Again, federal troops marched, bivouacking on the campus.

Jubilance Evaporates

At Tuscaloosa, Gov. George C. Wallace stood in the doorway of a University of Alabama building when Justice Department officials attempted to enroll two Negroes, Vivian Malone and James Hood. A few hours later, he stepped aside when federalized units of the National Guard marched onto the campus. There was no violence.

Long before these incidents, however, the "bright-new-day" jubilance of 1954 had begun to evaporate.

Negro disappointment, as the years passed with little desegregation, turned to bitterness. "Gradualism," the token policy of slowly ending segregation, and "tokenism," permitting only a handful of Negro children in schools, offices or factories, became fighting words.

Today figures indicate that about 257,000 Negro children are attending public elementary and high schools with white students in 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia.

Negro leaders say this is about 8 per cent of the school-age total.

Apart from the schools, new sectors opened in the fight for civil rights.

In 1955 and 1956, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., boycotted segregated bus lines in Montgomery, Ala. They won.

The boycott, or "selective buying," began coming into play as a potent weapon in other parts of the South. Negro economists estimate the purchasing power of the Negro, nationally, is around $15 billion a year.

"Selective buying" has put Southern businessmen in a vise. If they integrate some facilities after a Negro boycott, they may be hit by a white boycott.

Along with the boycott came the sit-in, or the kneel-in. Maneuvers were pioneered by the Committee on Racial Equality, which was founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago. It obtained a foothold in the South with the sit-in of 1960.

Registration Slow Process

Parallel with action on these fronts, the Negroes began concentrating their efforts in another supremely important field — voter registration. Another Negro organization, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee ("SNICK") has been active in this work.

The Justice Department has assisted. Since 1961, it has filed 29 suits against officials for refusing to register qualified Negroes. About 50 per cent of these suits have been won.

The Southern Regional Council estimates there are 5,045,000 Negroes of voting age in 11 Southern and border states. About one-fourth, 1,344,000, are registered.

Many tactics have been used to discourage

The American Negro has seen African heads of state being received in the White House and getting the red carpet treatment from Soviet Premier Khrushchev and other powerful leaders. He has seen African diplomats speaking from the rostrum of the United Nations.

This has been a source of pride and encouragement.

But it also is a two-edged sword. "An African in a robe and turban can go into a restaurant or a hotel where I can't go," said a Negro public relations man in Washington. "How silly can segregation be? How do you think this makes me feel?"

Then came another catalyst — Birmingham.

Last spring, Negroes there demonstrated in the streets for desegregation. So many were arrested that the jails overflowed.

Police dogs and fire hoses were used to disperse the crowds. It was not the first time the dogs had been used in Birmingham. The first time was against white men, rioting around "freedom riders" at a bus station. Nor, of course, was Birmingham the only city to use dogs.

Nevertheless, photographs of dogs leaping toward Negroes went around the globe.

Violence In North

For some resson, Birmingham appears to have dramatized the Negro struggle more than any other incident.

Almost overnight Negro demonstrations erupted in the North. Violence flared in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and other Northern cities.

In the North, Negro demands focus mainly on jobs and housing. Negro unemployment is high, more than double white employment. Labor unions have been accused of discriminating against Negroes. Negro leaders are demanding that a certain quota of Negroes shall be employed on given projects and even in restaurants.

In New York City, to dramatize these and other demands, Negroes entered the offices of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and stayed for days in a sit-in. They staged another in City Hall.

Another recent development has been a unifying move among seven Negro organizations, some of which had been sniping at each other. They were the NAACP, CORE, SCLS, "SNICK," the National Urban League, the National Council of Negro Women and the Legal Defense and Education Fund of the NAACP, a separately incorporated organization.

The coalition takes the name Council for United Civil Rights Leadership.

"Our primary concern is to eliminate violence," a spokesman said. "We want to provide a cadre of experienced Negro leaders who will prevent things from getting out of hand and keep irresponsible elements from turning to violence."

Distinctly separate from these groups are the Black Muslims. They demand not integration, but total segregation on their own terms. They want the federal government to set aside territory in which they propose to set up a Negro state.

Their leader, Muhammad Elijah, lives in Phoenix, Ariz. In answer to the question of whether the "Muslims" hate white people, he said:

"The Bible teaches us to love good and to hate evil. I can't love him (the white) because he is the very essence of evil."

Positive Moves

In the vast, complicated and potentially dangerous picture of the racial struggle today, what are the positive sides? The principal ones would seem to be these:

Negro lawyer, Mrs. Cora T. Walker, is making speeches sharply reminding them of their responsibilities. She tells them:

"We are as much to blame for our present condition as the white majority."

Help Urged For 'Our Own'

On the political side, she says, "There are approximately one million black people in New York City. These Negroes have no restrictions on their voting rights. Yet there are only two elected Negroes in the entire city legislative government."

Of the economic situation, Mrs. Walker says, "In Harlem alone, Negroes spend $150 million a year on automobiles, $80 million on liquor, $75 million on wigs and hair pieces, $100 million on playing the numbers. More than 90 per cent of the businesses in our ghettos are owned, controlled and managed by whites outside of the community. We give minimum support to our own who are in businesses or professions."

Of some social facts, she says, "We now are the major statistic in juvenile delinquency, dope addiction, crime, and school drop-outs. Is this why 75 per cent of the out-of-wedlock children are born of our race?"

Mrs. Walker suggests that Negroes should do more to help each other. "Isn't it our responsibility," she asks, "to take the initiative to secure the needs of our underprivileged?"

She says she has never had an adverse reaction from Negro audiences. "On the contrary, there have been more than 500 requests for reprints of these speeches."

Nearly 72 years ago, on Aug. 19, 1891, the New York Mail & Express published a pathetic little item. It said some Negro clergymen had met to discuss means of obtaining "better opportunities" for their people.

Today, the Negro drive is for fully equal opportunity, for everything America offers every citizen.

Progress – Mississippi's Meredith

The Mobile Press Register
MOBILE, ALA.
SUN. 89,891 PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
AUG 1 1 1963

Legion Asks ABLE Probe

The executive committee of Lamar Y. McLeod Post No. 3 of the American Legion at Mobile entered the controversy over the local organization known as "ABLE" Saturday with an announcement by Post Comdr. Peter V. Crolich Jr. that information purportedly relating to ABLE will be presented at a general Legion membership meeting.

Crolich said the Legion executive committee feels that an investigation should be made as to the "relationship" between ABLE and the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Ga.

The Legion's entry into the situation followed public criticism of ABLE by Gov. George C. Wallace in a statement Friday.

"ABLE" is the name commonly used for an organization incorporated at Mobile as Alabamians Behind Local Education with the

(Page 6, Col. 5, LEGION)

Voting

(Continued From Page One)

the polls," Koury said. "In Chicago payoffs were made from automobiles; in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., pages were missing from registration books; in Little Rock, the 1956 ballot listed 169 elective offices to be filled; in 1960, Denver voters decided seven proposed constitutional amendments and 95 candidates for 45 offices," Koury said in an interview.

Koury's plan would combine mechanical, legal and moral obstacles to tampering with the ballot.

Greatly simplified, this is how it would work: The voter would receive his ballot on election day. At the vote center, the data-processing machine would verify the ballot—possible through a thumb print—and check whether the voter was registered. It then would tally the vote and prepare a receipt. Any faulty ballot would be rejected and reviewed for machine error, voter error or illegal voting. As Koury envisions it, the marked ballot would reveal only to the machine how the vote was cast.

"In view of the system's potential for boosting voter participation, the percentage of wrongdoing that might afflict the mail ballot method, even on an aggravated basis, could easily be lower than the present system," he says.

Koury, 50, is a consultant to management on labor relations in addition to his law practice.

ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
D. 84,691 S. 103,346

AUG 1 1 1963

Negro Equalit

Covers Entire

(Editor's Note: Caught in the turmoil of a summer of bitter racial discord, Americans find it difficult at times to assess the dimensions of the crisis, to know what has been gained or lost and where we are heading now. Here, in the last of a special series of Associated Press articles on the integration struggle, is a report by a correspondent who has covered it closely. It sums up the situation to date and looks at changes coming.)

By RELMAN MORIN

NEW YORK (AP) — The Negro drive for full equality has reached the dimensions of a national convulsion.

It wracks the whole United States, not just the Southern states. It is breaching the invisible racial barriers of the North no less than the visible walls in the South, shattering the complacency of one region, defeating the slowdown strategy of the other.

"Something's got a-hold of me," the Negro is chanting. "We shall overcome," is his anthem.

His movement is in the streets, the courts, the halls of Congress.

It touches schools and employment practices, a seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library — in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

Starting as non-violent, his campaign has engendered violence. The blood of both races has been spilled. No one can say whether more will flow, or where, or how much.

"We will advise our people not to use violence," said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at a news conference in Jackson, Miss. "The Negro can't win in a pitched battle with the whites. He's in the minority."

But can the Negro leaders control their followers, everywhere and at all times? Who, for example, speaks for Harlem, the giant Negro community in New York City?

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These maneuvers were pioneered by the Committee on Racial Equality which was founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago. It obtained a foothold in the South with the "sit-in" of 1960.

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The Southern Regional Council estimated there are 5,045,000 Negroes of voting age in 11 Southern and border states. About one-fourth, some 1,344,000, are registered.

But the figures for Negro registration are rising, spectacularly in some cases. In Bullock County, Ala., there were four registered Negroes in 1961. Now there are 1,341.

In all probability, another factor has played a part in the Negro drive for equality, a subtle, unmeasurable factor — the new African nations.

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total segregation on their own terms. They want the federal government to set aside territory in which they propose to set up a Negro state.

In the vast, complicated and potentially dangerous picture of the racial struggle today, what are the positive sides? The principal ones would seem to be these:

1. To a greater degree than ever before, the problem is out in the open. More people, especially in the North but in the South, too, are aware of the intricacies and the injustices. More are thinking about it, seeking solutions.

2. Some degree of communication between the races is being restored in the South. Communications, Southerners say, generally tended to break down after the Supreme Court decision on the schools in 1954. Now, fitfully and with difficulty, Negroes and whites in some parts of the South are sitting down together again.

3. President Kennedy, in conferences with scores of Southern businessmen, clergymen and others, has sought means to desegregate many establishments. He set up a presidential committee on equal job opportunity, replacing two other such committees of the Eisenhower administration.

4. Congress is hearing testimony on the President's package of civil rights legislation. On June 11, he asked Congress to "make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law." Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy told the House Judiciary Committee, "This bill before you today embodies that commitment."

5. While the Negroes are crying for rights, a Negro lawyer, Mrs. Cora T. Walker, is making speeches sharply reminding them of their responsibilities. She tells them:

"We are as much to blame for our present condition as the white majority."

On the political side, she said, "There are approximately 1 million black people in New York City. These Negroes have no restrictions on their voting rights

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The hour seems late. Is it one minute to 12 now? If so, what raced the hands of the clock?

The story is soon told.

After World War II, the first important federal government action in race relations came when President Truman ordered the end of segregation in the armed forces. He also asked Congress for strong civil rights legislation. It was not granted.

During President Eisenhower's second administration, Congress enacted civil rights bills in 1957 and 1960. Using these laws, the administration filed 10 suits on behalf of Negroes' voting rights in the South.

The historic year, however, in the long and anguished struggle over civil rights, was 1954. The U.S. Supreme Court struck down, as unconstitutional, the doctrine of "separate-but-equal" in public schools. Segregation had been a legal fact for 58 years, based on a decision of the Supreme Court in 1896. Now, the court ordered the schools to be desegregated "with all deliberate speed."

Negroes and their white sympathizers exulted.

But the segregationist, eyeing that phrase, "with all deliberate speed," saw an escape hatch. He determined to resist as long as possible. And he did.

Mob violence exploded in Southern and border states.

A climactic point of this stage was Little Rock. The year was 1957. Exactly 80 years after the end of the Reconstruction in the South, federal troops marched into a Southern city again. They used bayonets to disperse crowds around Central High School. And they escorted Negro children into classrooms.

Elsewhere in the South, however, the barriers remained.

Oxford, Miss., and Tuscaloosa, Ala., were still to come.

At Oxford, two men died and scores were injured when a Negro, James H. Meredith, enrolled in the University of Mississippi. Again, federal troops marched, bivouacing on the campus.

At Tuscaloosa, Gov. George C. Wallace stood in the doorway of a University of Alabama building when Justice Department officials attempted to enroll two Negroes, Vivian Malone and James Hood. A few hours later, he stepped aside when federalized units of the National Guard marched onto the campus. There was no violence.

Long before these incidents, however, the "bright-new-day" jubilance of 1954 had begun to evaporate.

Negro disappointment, as the years passed with little desegregation, turned to bitterness. "Gradualism," the policy of slowly ending segregation, and "tokenism," permitting only a handful of Negro children in schools, offices or factories, became fighting words.

Today, nearly 10 years after the Supreme Court decision, figures compiled by the Southern Education Reporting Service indicate that about 257,000 Negro children are attending public elementary and high schools with white students in 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia.

Negro leaders say this is about 8 per cent of the school-age total.

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Then came another catalyst — Birmingham.

Last spring, Negroes there demonstrated in the streets for desegregation of some facilities in downtown stores and the formation of a permanent biracial committee to handle racial problems. So many were arrested that the jails overflowed.

Police dogs and fire hoses were used to disperse the crowds. It was not the first time the dogs had been used in Birmingham. The first time was against white men, rioting around "freedom riders" at a bus station. Nor, of course, was Birmingham the only city to use dogs.

Nevertheless, photographs of dogs leaping toward Negroes went around the globe.

For some reason, Birmingham appears to have dramatized the Negro struggle more than any other incident.

Almost overnight after Birmingham, too, Negro demonstrations erupted in the North. Violence flared in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and other northern cities.

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She said she has never had an adverse reaction from Negro audiences. "On the contrary, there have been more than 500 requests for reprints of these speeches."

A similar position was taken recently by another minority group, the "Nisei," or American-born Japanese. In San Francisco, Howard Imazeki, editor of the newspaper, Hobukei Mainichi, said in an editorial:

"We have yet to hear any Negro voices blaming themselves for their social maladjustment.

"What we are trying to say most sincerely here is that the Negro leaders should do a little soul-searching of their own."

Nearly 72 years ago, on Aug. 19, 1891, the New York Mail & Express published a pathetic little item. It said some Negro clergymen had met to discuss means of obtaining "better opportunities" for their people.

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ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800

PAGE ONE
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AUG 11 1963

Regional Council Denies Wallace's "Red" Taint

MONTGOMERY — (UPI) — Gov. George Wallace said Friday he was informed a Mobile organization was led by representatives of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., of Atlanta which had Communist-front ties.

The statement drew a strong denial from the SRC in Atlanta. Wallace said he was "distrubed by the activities of the so-called 'Able' organization in Mobile," and said the purpose of the group "in my judgement is the full integration of the schools of Mobile and Mobile County."

"'Able' is an organization led by representatives of the Southern Regional Council Inc. of Atlanta, Ga.," Wallace said. "I am informed that this organization has left wing and Communist-front organization ties."

DUNBAR REPLIES

Leslie Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta said "it (Able) is in no shape or form under our leadership. They are leading themselves. The only connection with Southern Regional Council was at the request of Able, we sent consultants over to talk with them and advise them about organizing.

"Able is a local group made up of local people from Mobile. Able is the same kind of organization that Hope was in Atlanta, the Women's Emergency Committee was in Little Rock or any number of similar groups in other places. It was formed for exactly the same purpose and that is to help assure peaceful orderly school desegregation in Mobile."

Regarding Wallace's charges concerning the SRC, Dunbar said "Gov. Wallace is entirely misinformed about the Southern Regional Council, which has never had any connections with Comunist fronts or with Citizens Councils or with Ku Klux Klans.

Gov. Wallace is advising the people of Mobile to do something which he himself recklessly is not doing—that is to investigate the facts.

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

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AUG 1 1 1963

The Deepening Crisis

Racial Tensions Mounted Swiftly, Outlook Is Murky, Writer Finds

Negroes' Civil Rights Drive Has Brought Bloodshed; More Could Lie Ahead

By RELMAN MORIN
Of the Associated Press

The Negro drive for full equality has reached the dimensions of a national convulsion.

It touches schools and employment practices, a seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library — in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

The blood of both ages has been spilled. No one can say whether more will flow, or where, or how much.

"How can anyone ask me to be nonviolent?" said a Negro war veteran. "That's like putting me back in the line in Korea and loading my rifle with blanks."

Counteraction Possible

Violence begets violence and the possibility of a white counterreaction has been noted by many observers.

"If that happens," said Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville (Miss.) Delta-Democrat, "all hell will break loose."

In the demonstrations in Birmingham last spring, a white taxi driver said to me: "If they kill any white people, I won't ask any questions. I'll just start killin'."

The hour seems late. What pushed the hands of the clock along so fast?

After World War II, the first segregation, turned to bitterness. "Gradualism," the policy of slowly ending segregation, and "tokenism," permitting only a handful of Negro children in schools, offices or factories, became fighting words.

New Sectors Opened

Apart from the schools, new sectors opened in the fight for civil rights.

In 1955 and 1956, the Southern Christian Leadership conference, headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, boycotted segregated bus lines in Montgomery, Ala. They won.

The boycott, or "selective buying," as the Negro leaders prefer to say, began coming into play as a potent weapon in other parts of the south.

"Selective buying" has put southern businessmen in a vise. If they integrate some facilities after a Negro boycott, they may be hit by a white boycott.

Along with the boycott came the "sit-in," the tactic of simply sitting quietly in a restaurant, seeking service. Or the "kneel-in," crowds of Negroes praying on the steps of a public building or in a main street, stopping traffic.

These maneuvers were pioneered by the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) which was founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago. It obtained a foothold in the south with the "sit-in" of 1960.

Voter Registration

Parallel with action on these fronts, the Negroes began concentrating their efforts in another supremely important field — voter registration. Another Negro organization, the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating committee, has been active in this work.

The justice department has assisted. Since 1961, it has filed 29 suits against officials for refusing to register qualified Negroes. About 50% of these suits intricacies and the injustices. More are thinking about it, seeking solutions.

Some degree of communication between the races is being restored in the south. Communications, southerners say, generally tended to break down after the supreme court decision on the schools in 1954. Now, fitfully and with difficulty, Negroes and whites in some parts of the south are sitting down together again.

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While the Negroes are crying for rights, a Negro lawyer, Mrs. Cora T. Walker, is making speeches sharply reminding them of their responsibilities. She tells them: "We are as much to blame for our present condition as the white majority." Other Negro leaders are echoing her words.

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A climactic point of this stage was Little Rock, Ark., in 1957. Exactly 80 years after the end of the reconstruction in the south, federal troops used bayonets to disperse crowds around Central high school. They escorted Negro children into classrooms.

Two Died at Oxford

At Oxford, Miss., two men died and scores were injured in 1962 when a Negro, James H. Meredith, enrolled in the University of Mississippi. Again, federal troops marched, bivouacing on the campus.

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Two Edged Sword

This has been a source of pride and encouragement.

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Nevertheless, photographs of dogs leaping toward Negroes went around the world.

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Violence in North

Almost overnight, violence flared in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and other northern cities.

In the racial struggle today, what are the positive sides? The principal ones would seem to be these:

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ing speeches sharply reminding them of their responsibilities. She tells them: "We are as much to blame for our present condition as the white majority." Other Negro leaders are echoing her words.

Nearly 72 years ago, on Aug. 19, 1891, the New York Mail & Express published a small item. It said some Negro clergymen had met to discuss means of obtaining "better opportunities" for their people.

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Deepening Crisis—13

'Something's Got A

Editor's Note: In this last of a special series on the integration struggle which has rocked America's conscience this crucial Summer, Pulitzer Prize-winner Relman Morin tries to fathom what's ahead.

By Relman Morin

NEW YORK (AP)—The Negro drive for full equality has reached the dimensions of a national convulsion.

It wracks the whole United States, not just the Southern states. It is breaching the invisible racial barriers of the North no less than the visible walls in the South, shattering the complacency of one region, defeating the slow-down strategy of the other.

Something's got a hold of me," the Negro is chanting. "We shall overcome," is his anthem.

His movement is in the streets, the courts, the halls of Congress.

It touches schools and employment practices, a seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library—in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

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'We Shall Overcome' Rocks T

(Continued from Page 1, Part 1)

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Mob violence exploded in Southern and border states.

A climactic point of this stage was Little Rock, Ark. The year was 1957. Exactly 80 years after the end of the reconstruction in the South, federal troops marched into a Southern city again. They used bayonets to disperse crowds around Central High School. And they escorted Negro children into classrooms.

Elsewhere in the South, however, the barriers remained.

Oxford, Miss., and Tuscaloosa, Ala., were still to come.

At Oxford, two men died and scores were injured when a Negro, James H. Meredith, enrolled in the University of Mississippi. Again, federal troops marched, bivouacing on the campus.

"New Day" Fades Away

At Tuscaloosa, Gov. George C. Wallace stood in the doorway of a University of Alabama building when Justice Department officials attempted to enroll two Negroes, Vivian Maline and James Hood. A few hours later, he stepped aside when federalized units of the National Guard marched onto the campus. There was no violence.

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Apart from the schools, new sectors opened in the fight for civil rights.

Merchants In Vise

In 1955 and 1956, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., boycotted segregated bus lines in Montgomery, Ala. They won.

The boycott, or "selective buying," as the Negro leaders prefer to say, began coming into play as a potent weapon in other parts of the South. Negro economists estimate that the purchasing power of the Negro, nationally, is around $15 billion a year.

"Selective buying" has put Southern businessmen in a vise. If they integrate some facilities after a Negro boycott, they may be hit by a white boycott.

Along with the boycott came the "sit-in," the tactic of simply sitting quietly in a restaurant, seeking service. Or the "kneel-in," crowds of Negroes praying on the steps of a public building or in a main street, stopping traffic.

These maneuvers were pioneered by the Congress of Racial Equality, which was founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago. It obtained a foothold in the South with the sit-ins of 1960.

Parallel with action on these fronts, the Negroes began concentrating their efforts in another supremely important field — voter registration. Another Negro organization, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee — "SNICK"—has been active in this work.

The Justice Department has assisted. Since 1961, it has filed 29 suits against officials for refusing to register qualified Negroes. About 50 per cent of these suits have been won.

Negro Votes On The Rise

The Southern Regional Council estimates there are 5,045,000 Negroes of voting age in 11 Southern and border states. About one-fourth, some 1,344,000, are registered.

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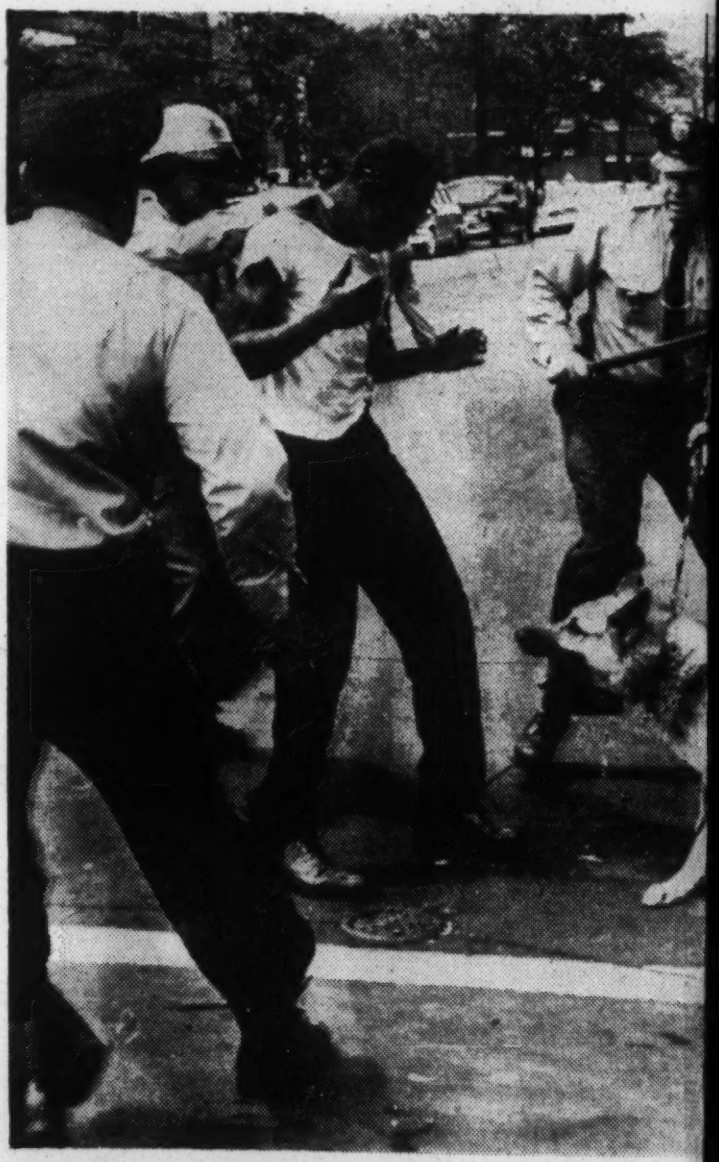

Scenes like this one in Birmingham, Ala., this Spring arou tion. Birmingham has become the symbol of this year' America's race relations.

Rocks The Conscience Of A Nation

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New Africa Plays A Part

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The Symbol: Birmingham

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"Birmingham engineered the revolution that began in the spring of 1963," Martin Ochs, editor of the Chattanooga Times, said in a recent speech at the University of Wisconsin.

Fear of violence and economic trouble has fostered a "mood of reconciliation" toward racial integration in the south, Ochs said.

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In New York City, to dramatize these and other demands, Negroes entered the offices of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller and stayed for days in a sit-in. They staged another in the City Hall.

Groups Form Coalition

Another recent development has been a unifying move among seven Negro organizations, some of which had been sniping at each other. They were the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, "SNICK," the National Urban League, the National Council of Negro Women, and the Legal Defense and Education Fund of the NAACP, a separately incorporated organization.

The coalition takes the name Council for United Civil Rights Leadership.

"Our primary concern is to eliminate violence," a spokesman said. "We want to provide a cadre of experienced Negro leaders who will prevent things from getting out of hand and keep irresponsible elements from turning to violence."

In the vast, complicated and potentially dangerous picture of the racial struggle today, what are the positive sides? The principal ones would seem to be these:

1. To a greater degree than ever before, the problem is out in the open. More people, especially in the North but in the South, too, are aware of the intricacies and the injustices. More are thinking about it, seeking solutions.

2. Some degree of communication between the races is being restored in the South. Communications, Southerners say, generally tended to break down after the Supreme Court decision on the schools in 1954. Now, fitfully and with difficulty, Negroes and whites in some parts of the South are sitting down together again.

3. President Kennedy, in conferences with scores of Southern businessmen, clergymen and others, has sought means to desegregate many establishments. He set up a presidential committee on equal job opportunity, replacing two other such committees of the Eisenhower administration. It is headed by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson.

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She tells them: "We are as much to blame for our present condition as the white majority."

Mrs. Walker suggests that Negroes should do more to help each other. "Isn't it our responsibility," she asks, "to take the initiative to secure the needs of our underprivileged?"

A similar position was taken recently by another minority group, the Nisei, or American-born Japanese. In San Francisco, Howard Imazeki, editor of the newspaper, Hobukei Mainichi, said in an editorial:

Soul-Searching Suggested

"We have yet to hear any Negro voices blaming themselves for their social maladjustment.

"What we are trying to say most sincerely here is that the Negro leaders should do a little soul-searching of their own."

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Birmingham, Ala., this Spring aroused worldwide indigna- become the symbol of this year's "deepening crisis" in

The Atlanta Journal
AND
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
SUN. 504,755

AUG 1 1 1963

THE DEEPENING CRISIS--NO. 13

Where Do We Go Now?

EDITOR'S NOTE—Caught in the turmoil of a summer of bitter racial discord, Americans find it difficult at times to assess the dimensions of the crisis, to know what has been gained or lost and where we are heading now. Here, in the last of a special series of Associated Press articles on the integration struggle, is a report by a correspondent who has covered it closely. It sums up the situation to date and looks at changes coming.

By RELMAN MORIN

NEW YORK, Aug. 10 (AP)—The Negro drive for full equality has reached the dimensions of a national convulsion.

It wracks the whole United States, not just the Southern states. It is breaching the invisible racial barriers of the North no less than the visible walls in the South, shattering the complacency of one region, defeating the slow-down strategy of the other.

"Something's got a-hold of me," the Negro is chanting. "We Shall Overcome" is his anthem.

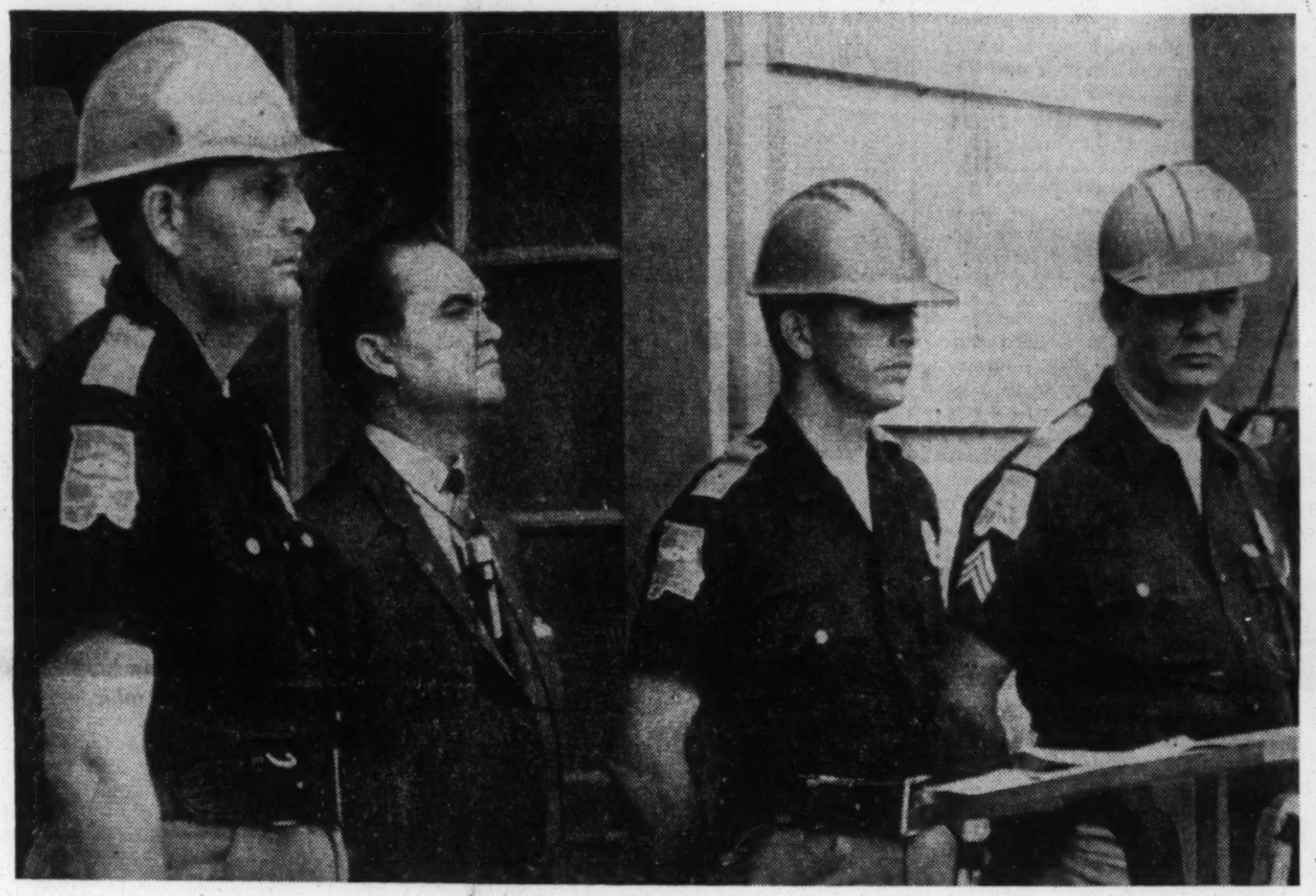
His movement is in the streets, the courts, the halls of Congress.

It touches schools and employment practices, a seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library—in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

Starting as nonviolent, his campaign has engendered violence. The blood of both races has been spilled. No one can say whether more will flow or where or how much.

"We will advise our people not to use violence," said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), at a news conference in Jackson, Miss. "The Negro can't win in a pitched battle with the whites. He's in the minority."

BUT CAN THE Negro leaders control their followers every-



Associated Press Wirephoto

GOV. GEORGE WALLACE STANDS IN DOORWAY OF UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
In Tuscaloosa, Governor Is Flanked by State Policemen; His Prepared Speech on Stand

Elsewhere in the South, however, the barriers remained.

Oxford, Miss., and Tuscaloosa, Ala., were still to come.

At Oxford, two men died and scores were injured when a Negro, James H. Meredith, enrolled in the University of Mississippi. Again, federal troops marched, bivouacing on the campus.

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BUT CAN THE Negro leaders control their followers, everywhere and at all times? Who, for example, speaks for Harlem, the giant Negro community in New York City?

"How can anyone ask me to be nonviolent?" said a Negro war veteran. "That's like putting me back in the line in Korea and loading my rifle with blanks."

Vilence begets violence and the possibility of a white counter-reaction has been noted by many observers. "If that happens," said Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville, Miss., Delta-Democrat, "all hell will break loose."

During the demonstrations in Birmingham last spring, a white taxi driver said to me, "If they kill any white people, I won't ask any questions. I'll just start killin'."

The hour seems late. Is it one minute to 12 now? If so, what raced the hands of the clock?

The story is soon told.

AFTER WORLD WAR II, the first important federal government action in race relations came when President Truman ordered the end of segregation in the armed forces. He also asked Congress for strong civil rights legislation. It was not granted.

During President Eisenhower's second administration, Congress enacted civil rights bills in 1957 and 1960. Using these laws, the administration filed 10 suits on behalf of Negroes' voting rights in the South.

The historic year, however, in the long and anguished struggle over civil rights, was 1954. The U.S. Supreme Court struck down, as unconstitutional, the doctrine of "separate-but-equal" in public schools. Segregation had been a legal fact for 58 years, based on a decision of the Supreme Court in 1896. Now, the court ordered the schools to be desegregated "with all deliberate speed."

Negroes and their white sympathizers exulted.

But the segregationist, eying that phrase, "with all deliberate speed," saw an escape hatch. He determined to resist as long as possible. And he did.

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A CLIMATIC point of this stage was Little Rock. The year was 1957. Exactly 80 years after the end of Reconstruction in the South, federal troops marched into a Southern city again. They used bayonets to disperse crowds around Central High School. And they escorted Negro children into classrooms.

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These maneuvers were pioneered by the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE), which was founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago. It obtained a foothold in the South with the "sit-in" of 1960.

Parallel with action on these fronts, the Negroes began concentrating their efforts in another supremely important field —voter registration. Another Negro organization, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee ("SNICK") has been active in this work.

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Distinctly separate from these groups are the Black Muslims. They demand not integration, but total segregation on their own terms. They want the federal government to set aside territory in which they propose to set up a Negro state.

Their leader, Muhammad Elijah, lies in Phoenix, Ariz. In answer to the question of whether the Muslims hate white people, he said:

"The Bible teaches us to love good and to hate evil. I can't love him (the white) because his is the very essence of evil."

IN THE VAST, complicated and potentially dangerous picture of the racial struggle today, what are the positive sides? The principal ones would seem to be these:

1. To a greater degree than ever before, the problem is out in the open. More people, especially in the North but in the South, too, are aware of the intricacies and the injustices. More are thinking about it, seeking solutions.

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5. **WHILE THE** Negroes are crying for rights, a Negro lawyer, Mrs. Cora T. Walker, is making speeches sharply reminding them of their responsibilities. She tells them:

"We are as much to blame for our present condition as the white majority."

On the political side, she says, "There are approximately one million black people in New York City. These Negroes have no restrictions on their voting rights. Yet there are only two elected Negroes in the entire city legislative government."

Of the economic situation, Mrs. Walker says, "In Harlem alone, Negroes spend $150 million a year on automobiles, $80 million on liquor, $75 million on wigs and hair pieces, $100 million on playing the numbers. More than 90 per cent of the businesses in our ghettos are owned, controlled and managed by whites outside of the community. We give minimum support to our own, who are in businesses or professions."

Of some social facts, she says, "We now are the major statistic in juvenile delinquency, dope addiction, crime and school drop-outs. Is this why 75 per cent of the out-of-wedlock children are born of our race?"

Mrs. Walker suggests that Negroes should do more to help each other. "Isn't it our responsibility," she asks, "to take the initiative to secure the needs of our underprivileged?"

She says she never has had an adverse reaction from Negro audiences. "On the contrary, there have been more than 500 requests for reprints of these speeches."

A SIMILAR position was taken recently by another minority group, the "Nisei," or American-born Japanese. In San Francisco, Howard Imazeki, editor of the newspaper Hobukei Mainichi said in an editorial:

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Nearly 72 years ago, on Aug. 19, 1891, the New York Mail and Express published a pathetic little item. It said some Negro clergymen had met to discuss means of obtaining "better opportunities" for their people.

Today, the Negro drive is for fully equal opportunity, for everything America offers every citizen.

Dallas Times Herald
D. 195,987 S. 206,275
AUG 1 1 1963

THE DEEPENING CRISIS—XIII

Final Sum: 'We'll Overcome'

Editor's Note—Caught in the turmoil of a summer of bitter racial discord, Americans find it difficult at times to assess the dimensions of the crisis, to know what has been gained or lost and where we are heading now. This last of a special series of Associated Press articles on the integration struggle sums up the situation to date and looks at changes ahead.

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By RELMAN MORIN

NEW YORK (AP)—The Negro drive for full equality has reached the dimensions of a national convulsion.

It wracks the whole United States, not just the Southern states. It is breaching the invisible racial barriers of the North no less than the visible walls in the South, shattering the complacency of one region, defeating the slow-down strategy of the other.

"Something's got a-hold of me," the Negro is chanting. "We shall overcome," is his anthem.

His movement is in the streets, the courts, the halls of Congress.

It touches schools and employment practices, a seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library—in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

Starting as non-violent, his campaign has engendered violence. The blood of both races has been spilled. No one can say whether more will flow, or where, or how much.

"We will advise our people not to use violence," said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), at a news conference in Jackson, Miss. "The Negro can't win in a pitched battle with the whites. He's in the minority."

But can the Negro leaders control their followers, everywhere and at all times? Who, for example, speaks for Harlem, the giant Negro community in New York City?

Counter-Reaction

Violence begets violence and the possibility of a white counter-reaction has been noted by many observers. "If that happens," said Hodding Carter, editor of the of the Greenville, Miss., Delta-Democrat, "all hell will break loose."

The hour seems late. Is it one minute to 12 now? If so, what raced the hands of the clock?

The story is soon told.

After World War II, the first important federal government action in race relations came when President Truman ordered the end of segregation in the armed forces. He also asked Congress for strong civil rights legislation. It was not granted.

During President Eisenhower's second administration, Congress enacted civil rights bills in 1957 and 1960. Using these laws, the administration filed 10 suits on behalf of Negroes' voting rights in the South.

The historic year, however, in the long and anguished struggle over civil rights, was 1954. The U.S. Supreme Court struck down, as unconstitutional, the doctrine of "separate-but-equal" in public schools. The court ordered the schools to be desegregated "with all deliberate speed."

Negroes and their white sympathizers exulted.

But the segregationist, eying that phrase, "with all deliberate speed," saw an escape hatch. He determined to resist as long as possible, and he did. The "bright-new-day" jubilance of 1954 began to evaporate.

Negro disappointment, as the years passed with little desegregation, turned to bitterness. "Gradualism," the policy of slowly ending segregation, and "tokenism," permitting only a handful of Negro children in schools, offices or factories, became fighting words.

Today, nearly 10 years after the Supreme Court decision, figures compiled by the Southern Education Reporting Service indicate that about 257,000 Negro children are attending public elementary and high schools with white students in 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia.

Negro leaders say this is about 8 per cent of the school-age total.

Apart from the schools, new sectors opened in the fight for civil rights.

In 1955 and 1956, the Southern Christian Leadership (SCLC) Conference, headed by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., boycotted segregated bus lines in Montgomery, Ala. They won.

The boycott, or "selective buying," as the Negro leaders prefer to say, began coming into play as a potent weapon in other parts of the South.

"Selective buying" has put Southern businessmen in a vise. If they integrate some facilities after a Negro boycott, they may be hit by a white boycott.

'Sit-In' Pioneer

Along with the boycott came the "sit-in," the tactic of simply sitting quietly in a restaurant, seeking service. Or the "kneel-in," crowds of Negroes praying on the steps of a public building or in a main street, stopping traffic.

These maneuvers were pioneered by the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE) which was founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago. It obtained a foothold in the South with the "sit-in" of 1960.

Parallel with action on these fronts, the Negroes began concentrating their efforts in another supremely important field — voter registration. Another Negro organization, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee ("Snick") has been active in this work.

The Justice Department has assisted. Since 1961, it has filed 29 suits against officials for refusing to register qualified Negroes. About 50 per cent of these suits have been won.

The Southern Regional Council estimates there are 5,045,000 Negroes of voting age in 11 Southern and border states. About one fourth, some 1,344,000, are registered.

Many tactics have been used to discourage Negroes from registering — gerrymandering, intimidation, widely spaced meetings of registration boards, throwing out Negro applications on technicalities.

Registration Drives

So concerted voter-registration drives began. Students went through Negro communities, ringing doorbells. Officials stationed themselves in public buildings in the South, buttonholing every Negro who came in and urging him to register. Voter "clinics" went up to instruct Negroes in filling out the application forms, and in meeting the technicalities.

It is a long, slow process, but the figures for Negro registration are rising, spectacularly in some cases.

In all probability, another factor has played a part in the Negro drive for equality, a subtle unmeasurable factor—the new African nations.

The American Negro has seen African heads of state being received in the White House and getting the red carpet treatment from Soviet Premier Khrushchev and other powerful leaders. He has seen African diplomats speaking from the rostrum of the United Nations.

This has been a source of pride and encouragement.

Birmingham

Then came another catalyst — Birmingham.

Last spring, Negroes there demonstrated in the streets for desegregation of some facilities in downtown stores and the formation of a permanent biracial committee to handle racial problem .

For some reason, Birmingham appears to have dramatized the Negro struggle more than any other incident.

Almost overnight after Birmingham, Negro demonstrations erupted in the North where Negro demands focus mainly on jobs and housing.

Another recent development has been a unifying move among seven Negro organizations, some of which had been sniping at each other. They were the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, "Snick," the National Urban League, the National Council of Negro Women, and the Legal Defense and Education Fund of the NAACP, a separately incorporated organization.

The coalition takes the name, Council for United Civil Rights Leadership.

"Our primary concern is to eliminate violence," a spokesman said. "We want to provide a cadre of experienced Negro leaders who will prevent things from getting out of hand and keep irresponsible elements from turning to violence."

Distinctly separate from these groups are the "Black Muslims." They demand not integration, but total segregation on their own terms. They want the federal government to set aside territory in which they propose to set up a Negro state.

Their leader, Muhammad Elijah, lives in Phoenix, Ariz. In answer to the question of whether the "Muslims" hate white people, he said:

"The Bible teaches us to love good and to hate evil. I can't love him (the white) because his is the very essence of evil."

In the vast, complicated and potentially dangerous picture of the racial struggle today, what are the positive sides? The principal ones would seem to be these:

1. To a greater degree than ever before, the problem is out in the open. More people, especially in the North but in the South, too, are aware of the intricacies and the injustices. More are thinking about it, seeking solutions.

2. Some degree of communication between the races is being restored in the South. Communications, Southerners say, generally tended to break down after the Supreme Court decision on the schools in 1954. Now, fitfully and with difficulty, Negroes and whites in some parts of the South are sitting down together again.

Kennedy Conferences

3. President Kennedy, in conferences with scores of Southern businessmen, clergymen and others, has sought means to desegregate many establishments. He set up a presidential committee on equal job opportunity, replacing two other such committees of the Eisenhower administration. It is headed by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson.

4. Congress is hearing testimony on the President's package of civil rights legislation. On June 11, he asked Congress to "make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law." Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy told the House Judiciary Committee, "This bill before you today embodies that commitment."

5. While the Negroes are crying for rights, a Negro lawyer, Mrs. Cora T. Walker, is making speeches sharply reminding them of their responsibilities. She tells them: "We are as much to blame for our present condition as the white majority."

On the political side, she says, "There are approximately one million black people in New York City. These Negroes have no restrictions on their voting rights. Yet there are only two elected Negroes in the entire city legislative government."

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The Mobile Press Register
MOBILE, ALA.
SUN. 89,891 PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
AUG 1 1 1963

Wallace Urging Voter 'Uprising'

Governor Seeking Support For Free Elector Movement

SHREVEPORT, La. (AP) — Alabama's Gov. George Wallace called on voters throughout the nation Saturday night to answer racial uprisings with a "demonstration of their own . . . at the polls in 1964."

"I've had enough of Kennedy," Wallace declared.

But he made no mention of what part he might play in the campaign—possibly by challenging President Kennedy in some of the presidential primaries, or as a "free elector" candidate, or both.

Wallace, in a speech prepared for a pro-segregation Citizens Council rally, renewed his oft-repeated criticism of Negro leaders for sponsoring protest demonstrations in and out of the South, and charged that the President had encouraged racial strife.

But, he continued, "There is a grass roots rebellion forming in this nation. I can sense it. In the last several weeks, over a quarter of a million letters have flooded into my office. . .

"People from all over this nation have written me that they stand with us in our fight against the ever-growing, all-powerful central government."

SOLONS LEARN

Some congressmen, too, are "finding out that meeting demands does not satisfy lawless agitators," Wallace declared. "It

(Page 6, Col. 6, WALLACE)

Legion

(Continued From Page One)

announced purpose of keeping the public schools open under all conditions. Mrs. Hollis J. Wiseman, wife of a local physician and president of the group, has stated that the governor was "misinformed" as to ABLE's aims and objectives and she asserted that the organization is not led by representatives of the Southern Regional Council "or any other organization."

In a written statement, Comdr. Crolich of the Legion post said the post executive committee "has examined certain material distributed by the Southern Regional Council, Inc., of Atlanta, Ga., for use by key workers of ABLE for the purpose of recruiting members."

"We found," Crolich continued, "this material to contain many things which we believe alien to the American way of life and the American way of doing things. We further examined testimony concerning the Southern Regional Council given under oath before a Mississippi state legislative committee and also testimony concerning this group given before an Arkansas legislative committee.

"There is no room for doubt that the origins, activities and affiliations of the Southern Regional Council are at best highly questionable."

MATERIAL AVAILABLE

Crolich stated that a number of copies of the material allegedly coming from the Southern Regional Council is being made available to Legion members and others.

"It is contemplated in the near future," he said, "that all of this evidence as well as any additional facts we may be able to obtain will be presented to a general (Legion) membership meeting, date of which will be announced shortly."

GREEN BAY, WIS
PRESS-GAZETTE
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AUG 11 1963

The Deepening Crisis: A Summation

Negroes' Drive for Complete E

Editor's note — Caught in the turmoil of a summer of bitter racial discord, Americans find it difficult at times to assess the dimensions of the crisis, to know what has been gained or lost and where we are heading now. Here, in the last of a special series of Associated Press articles on the integration struggle, is a report by a correspondent who has covered it closely. It sums up the situation to date and looks at changes coming.

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It wracks the whole United States, not just the southern states. It is breaching the invisible racial barriers of the north no less than the visible walls in the south, shattering the complacency of one region, defeating the slow-down strategy of the other.

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His movement is in the streets, the courts, the halls of Congress.

It touches schools and employment practices, a seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library—in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

Non-Violence Changed

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But can the Negro leaders control their followers, everywhere and at all times? Who, for example, speaks for Harlem, the giant Negro community in New York City?

"How can anyone ask me to be non-violent?" said a Negro war veteran. "That's like putting me back in the line in Korea and loading my rifle with blanks."

Violence begets violence and the possibility of a white counter-reaction has been noted by many observers. "If that happens," said Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville, Miss., Delta-Democrat, "All hell will break loose."

During the demonstrations in Birmingham last spring, a white taxi driver said to me, "If they kill any white people, I won't ask any questions. I'll just start killin'."

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Negro People Exulted

Negroes and their white sympathizers exulted.

But the segregationist, eyeing that phrase, "with all deliberate speed," saw an escape hatch. He determined to resist as long as possible. And he did.

Mob violence exploded in southern and border states.

A climactic point of this stage was Little Rock, Ark. The year was 1957. Exactly 80 years after the end of the reconstruction in the south, federal troops marched into a southern city again. They used bayonets to disperse crowds around Central High School. And they escorted Negro children into classrooms.

Elsewhere in the south, however, the barriers remained.

Oxford, Miss., and Tuscaloosa, Ala., were still to come.

At Oxford, two men died and scores were injured when a Negro, James H. Meredith, enrolled in the University of Mississippi. Again, federal troops marched, bivouacing on the campus.

At Tuscaloosa, Gov. George C. Wallace stood in the doorway of a University of Alabama building when Justice Department officials attempted to enroll two Negroes, Vivian Malone and James Hood. A few hours later, he stepped aside when federalized units of the National Guard marched onto the campus. There was no violence.

'New Day' Evaporates

Long before these incidents, however, the "bright-new-day" jubilance of 1954, had begun to evaporate.

Negro disappointment, as the years passed with little desegregation, turned to bitterness. "Gradualism," the policy of slowly ending segregation, and "tokenism," permitting only a handful of Negro children in schools, offices or factories, became fighting words.

Today, nearly 10 years after the Supreme Court decision, figures compiled by the Southern Education Reporting Service indicate that about 257,000 Negro children are attending public elementary and high schools with white students in 17 southern and border states and the District of Columbia.

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In 1955 and 1956, the Southern Christian Leadership (SCLC) Conference, headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., boycotted segregated bus lines in Montgomery, Ala. They won.

Buying Power Important

The boycott, or "selective buying," as the Negro leaders prefer to say, began coming into play as a potent weapon in other parts of the south. Negro economists estimate that the purchasing power of the Negro, nationally, is around $15 billion a year.

"Selective buying" has put southern businessmen in a vise. If they integrate some facilities after a Negro boycott, they may be hit by a white boycott.

Along with the boycott came the "sit-in," the tactic of simply sitting quietly in a restaurant, seeking service. Or the "kneel-in," crowds of Negroes praying on the steps of a public building or in a main street, stopping traffic.

These maneuvers were pioneered by the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE) which was founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago. It obtained a foothold in the south with the "sit-in" of 1960.

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Justice Dept. Assisted

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See Our Large Selection of Sleep...
Over 10 Styles To Choose From

quality Convulses United States

Voting Instruction — A prospective voter is shown how to operate a voting machine by an instructor with a drawing of an average voting machine. This "clinic," one of a number set up in the South, is operated by members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta, Ga. It is just one of a number of ways Negroes are trying to encourage members. (AP Photo)

ly-spaced meeting of registration boards, throwing out Negro applications on technicalities.

So concerted voter-registration drives began. Students went through Negro communities, ringing doorbells. Officials stationed themselves in public buildings in the south, buttonholing every Negro who came in, whatever his business, and urging him to register, there and then. Voter "clinics" were set up to instruct Negroes in filling out the application forms, and in meeting the technicalities.

It is a long, slow process, but the figures for Negro registration are rising, spectacularly in some cases. In Bullock County, Ala., there were four registered Negroes in 1961. Now there are 1,341. This, of course, is a special case.

Of the registration drives, Bishop George W. Barber, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, said:

Seeks Full Registration

"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible Negro voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of two million new Ne-

"Freedom Riders" at a bus station. Nor, of course, was Birmingham the only city to use dogs.

Nevertheless, photographs of dogs leaping toward Negroes went around the globe.

For some reason, Birmingham appears to have dramatized the Negro struggle more than any other incident.

"Birmingham engineered the revolution that began in the spring of 1963," Martin Ochs, editor of the Chattanooga Times, said in a recent speech at the University of Wisconsin.

Conciliation Mood Set

Fear of violence and economic trouble has fostered a "mood of reconciliation" toward racial integration in the south, Ochs said.

Almost overnight after Birmingham, too, Negro demonstrations erupted in the north. Violence flared in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and other northern cities. The Los Angeles Times published a cartoon depicting two Negro figures, one in a menacing posture. It was captioned, "Integration not intimidation."

In the north, Negro demands focus mainly on jobs and housing. Negro unemployment is high, more than doulims" hate white people, he said:

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● 2. Some degree of communication between the races is being restored in the south. Communications, southerners say, generally tended to break down after the Supreme Court decision on the schools in 1954. Now, fitfully and with difficulty, Negroes and whites in some parts of the south are sitting down together again. One southern newspaper publisher called such a meeting in his own plant—and deliberately placed the conference table where it could be seen through the window from the sidewalk.

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The American Negro has seen African heads of state being received in the White House and getting the red carpet treatment from Soviet Premier Khrushchev and other powerful leaders. He has seen African diplomats speaking from the rostrum of the United Nations.

This has been a source of pride and encouragement.

But it also is a two-edged sword. "An African in a robe and turban can go into a restaurant or a hotel where I can't go," said a Negro public relations man in Washington. "How silly can segregation be? How do you think this makes me feel?"

Then came another catalyst—Birmingham.

Arrests Filled Jails

Last spring, Negroes there demonstrated in the streets for desegregation of some facilities in downtown stores and the formation of a permanent biracial committee to handle racial problems. So many were arrested that the jails overflowed.

Police dogs and fire hoses were used to disperse the crowds. It was not the first time the dogs had been used in Birmingham. The first time was against white men, rioting around and other northern cities. The Los Angeles Times published a cartoon depicting two Negro figures, one in a menacing posture. It was captioned, "Integration not intimidation."

In the north, Negro demands focus mainly on jobs and housing. Negro unemployment is high, more than double white unemployment. Labor unions have been accused of discrimination against Negroes. Negro leaders are demanding that a certain quota of Negroes shall be employed on given projects, and even in restaurants.

Another recent development has been a unifying move among seven Negro organizations, some of which had been sniping at each other. They were the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, "SNICK," the National Urban League, the National Council of Negro Women, and the Legal Defense and Education Fund of the NAACP, a separately incorporated organization.

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Nobody Wants Violence

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Their leader, Muhammad Elijah, lives in Phoenix, Ariz. In answer to the question of whether the "Mus-

What's in the Future — What lies in the future for this young Negro family walking along a Harlem street in New York? Will the Negro drive for full equality, now wracking the entire United States, be successful within their lifetime? Will the future hold a discrimination-free life of opportunity for their children? The blood of both races is being spilled as the originally non-violent campaign for equal opportunity engendered violence. Now both black and white are beginning to wonder where the campaign will lead. (AP Photo)

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"We are as much to blame for our present condition as the white majority."

Little Political Gain

On the political side, she says, "There are approximately one million black people in New York City. These Negroes have no restrictions on their voting rights. Yet there are only two elected Negroes in the entire city legislative government."

Of the economic situation, Mrs. Walker says, "In Harlem alone, Negroes spend $150 million on automobiles, $80 million on liquor, $75 million on wigs and hair pieces, $100 million on playing the numbers. More than 90 per cent of the businesses in our ghettos are owned, controlled and managed by whites outside the community. We give minimum support to our own, who are in business or professions."

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A similar position was taken recently by another minority group, the "Nisei," or American-born Japanese. In San Francisco, Howard Imazeki, editor of the newspaper, Hobukei Mainichi, said in an editorial:

"We have yet to hear any Negro voices blaming themselves for their social maladjustment.

Soul-Searching Needed

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AUG 11 1963

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(Of The Associated Press)

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The Historic Year: 1954

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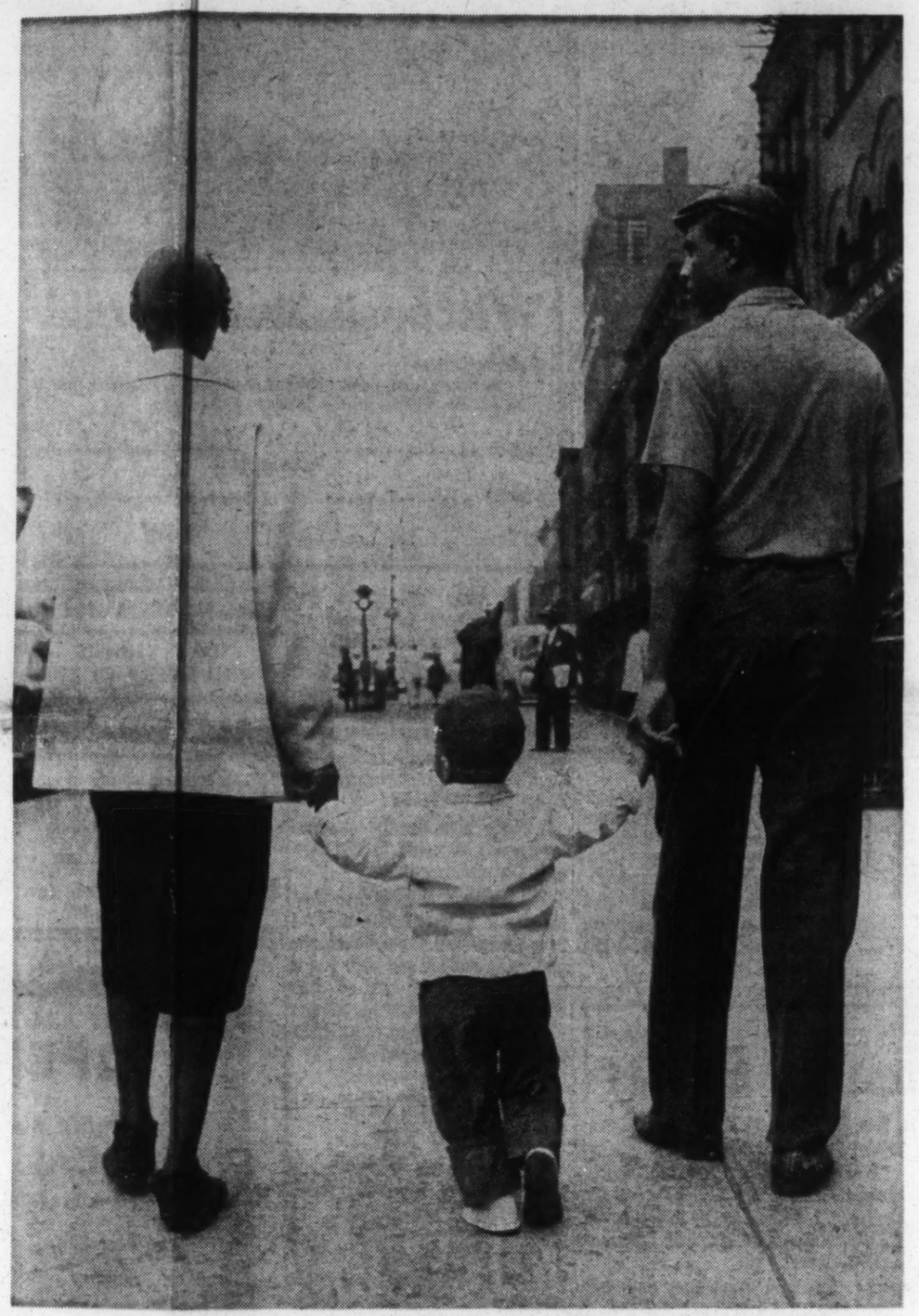

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—AP Newsfeatures Photo

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"Our primary concern is to eliminate violence," a spokesman said. "We want to provide a cadre of experienced Negro leaders who will prevent things from getting out of hand and keep irresponsible elements from turning to violence."

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Distinctly separate from these groups are the "Black Muslims." They demand, not integration, but total segregation on their own terms. They want the federal government to set aside territory in which they propose to set up a Negro state.

Their leader, Muhammad Elijah, lives in Phoenix, Ariz. In answer to the question of whether the "Muslims" hate white people, he said:

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THREE. President Kennedy, in conferences with scores of southern businessmen, clergymen, and others, has sought means to desegregate many etablishments. He set up a presidential committee on equal job opportunity, replacing two other such committees of the Eisenhower administration. It is headed by Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson.

FOUR. Congress is hearing testimony on the President's package of civil rights legislation. On June 11, he asked Congress to "Make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law." Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy told the House Judiciary committee, "This bill before you today embodies that commitment."

FIVE. While the Negroes are crying for rights, a Negro lawyer, Mrs. Cora T. Walker, is making speeches sharply reminding them of their responsibilities. She tells them:

"We are as much to blame for our present condition as the white majority."

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On the political side, she says, "There are approximately one million black people in New York City. These Negroes have no restrictions on their voting rights. Yet there are only two elected Negroes in the entire city legislative government."

Of the economic situation, Mrs. Walker says, "In Harlem alone, Negroes spend $150 million a year on automobiles, $80 million on liquor, $75 million on wigs and hair pieces, $100 million on playing the numbers. More than 90 per cent of the businesses in our ghettos are owned, controlled, and managed by whites outside of the community. We give minimum support to our own, who are in businesses or professions."

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Page About People

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Wisconsin State Journal

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SUNDAY, AUGUST 11, 1963 SECTION 3, PAGE 5

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These maneuvers were pioneered by the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) which was founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago. It obtained a foothold in the South with the "sit-in" of 1960.

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Parallel with action on these fronts, the Negroes began concentrating their efforts in another supremely important field — voter registration. Another Negro organization, the Student Non-Violence Coordinating Committee ("Snick") has been active in this work.

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The American Negro has seen African heads of state being received in the White House and getting the red carpet treatment from Soviet Premier Khrushchev and other powerful leaders. He has seen African diplomats speaking from the rostrum of the United Nations.

This has been a source of pride and encouragement.

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Fear of violence and economic trouble has fostered a "mood of reconciliation"

What lies in the future for this young Negro family walking along a Harlem street in New York? Will the Negro drive for full equality, now wracking the entire United States, be successful within their lifetime? Will the future hold a life of real opportunity, free of discrimination for their child?

—AP Newsfeatures Photo

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ROANOKE, VA.
TIMES
D. 55,233 S. 93,957

AUG 11 1963

Deepening Crisis

One Minute to

A Broad Assessment by Expert

Caught in turmoil of a summer of bitter racial discord, Americans find it difficult at times to assess the dimensions of the crisis, to know what has been gained or lost and where we are heading now. Here, in the last of a series of Associated Press articles on the integration struggle, is a report by a correspondent who has covered it closely. It sums up the situation to date and looks at changes coming.

Background of THE TIMES

Sunday, August 11, 1963. A—7

By RELMAN MORIN

NEW YORK (AP)—The Negro drive for full equality has reached the dimensions of a national convulsion.

It wracks the whole United States, not just the Southern states. It is breaching the invisible racial barriers of the North no less than the visible walls in the South, shattering the complacency of one region, defeating the slow-down strategy of the other.

"Something's got a-hold of me," the Negro is chanting. "We shall overcome," is his anthem.

His movement is in the streets, the courts, the halls of Congress.

It touches schools and employment practices, a seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library—in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

Starting as nonviolent, his campaign has engendered violence. The blood of both races has been spilled. No one can say whether more will flow, or where, or how much.

"We will advise our people not to use violence," said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at a news conference in Jackson, Miss. "The Negro can't win in a pitched battle with the whites. He's in the minority."

But can the Negro leaders control their followers, everywhere and at all times? Who, for example, speaks for Harlem, the giant Negro community in New York City?

"How can anyone ask me to be nonviolent?" said a Negro war veteran. "That's like putting me back in the line in Korea and loading my rifle with blanks."

Violence begets violence and the possibility of a white counter-reaction has been noted by many observers. "If that happens," said Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville, Miss., Delta-Democrat, "all hell will break loose."

During the demonstrations in Birmingham last spring, a white taxi driver said to me, "If they kill any white people, I won't ask any questions. I'll just start killin'."

The hour seems late. Is it one minute to 12 now? If so, what raced the hands of the clock?

The story is soon told.

After World War II, the first important federal government action in race relations came when President Truman ordered the end of segregation in the armed forces. He also asked Congress for strong civil rights legislation. It was not granted.

During President Eisenhower's second administration, Congress enacted civil rights bills in 1957 and 1960. Using these laws, the administration filed 10 suits on behalf of Negroes' voting rights in the South.

The historic year, however, in the long and anguished struggle over civil rights, was 1954. The U.S. Supreme Court struck down, as unconstitutional, the doctrine of "separate-but-equal" in public schools. Segregation had been a legal fact for 58 years, based on a decision of the Supreme Court in 1896. Now, the court ordered the schools to be de "with all deliberate sp

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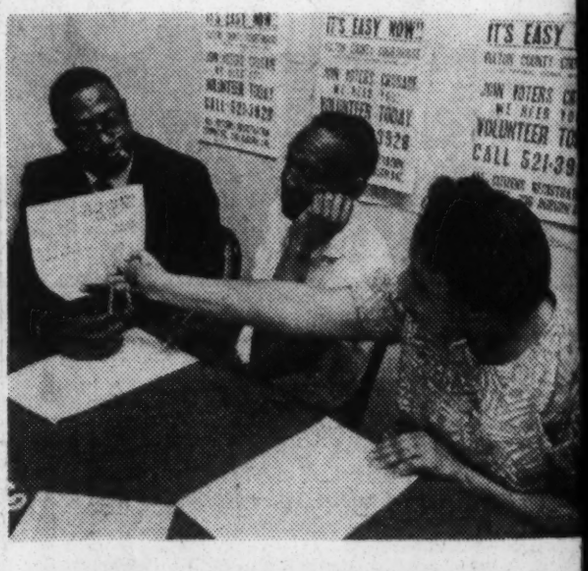

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These maneuvers were pioneered by the Congress of Racial Equality, which was founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago. It obtained a foothold in the South with the sit-ins of 1960.

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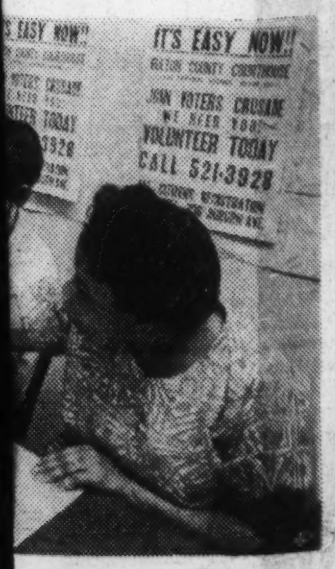

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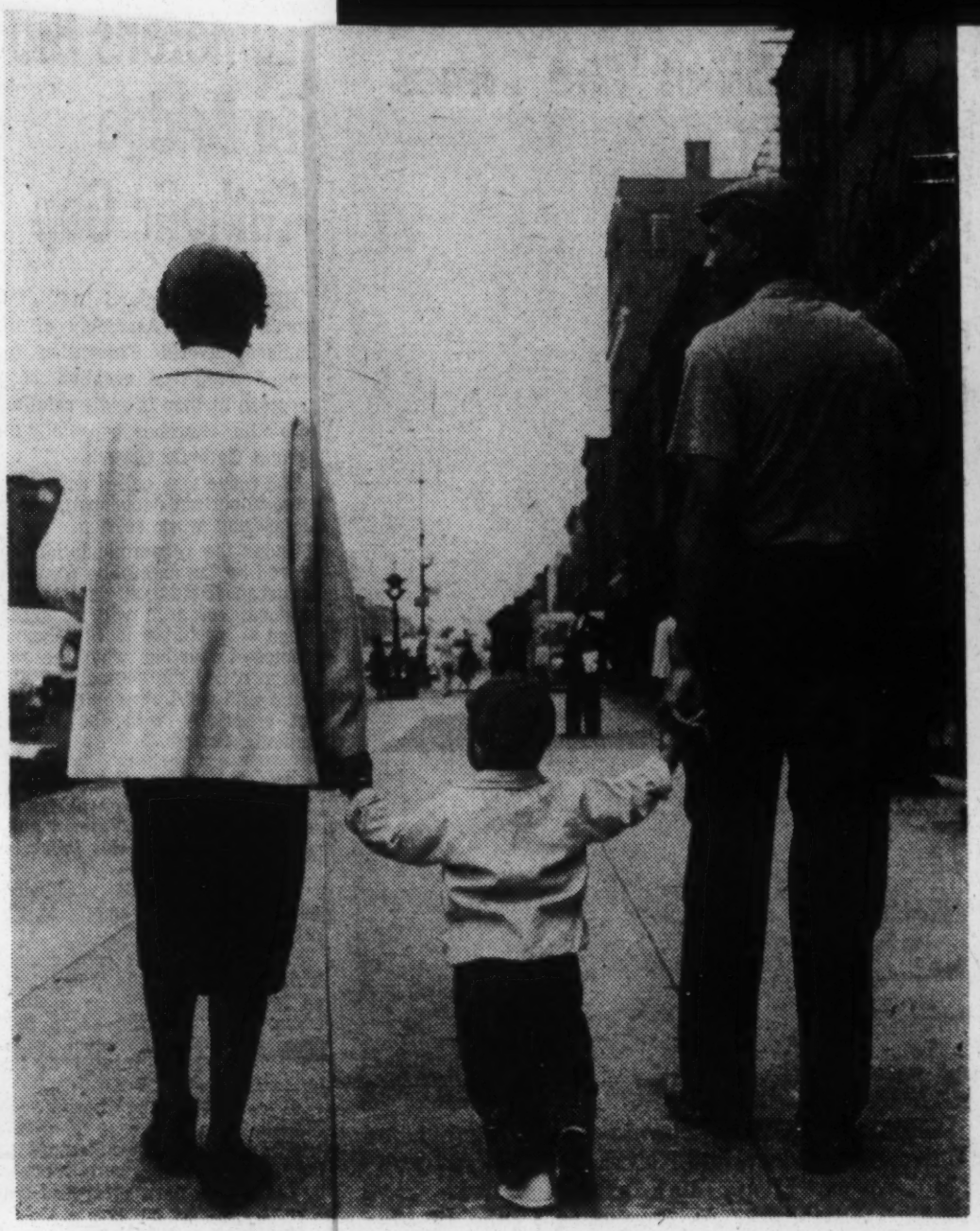

What's in Future for Family Walking Along Harlem Street?

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2. Some degree of communication between the races is being restored in the South. Communications, Southerners say, generally tended to break down after the Supreme Court decision on the schools in 1954. Now, fitfully and with difficulty, Negroes and whites in some parts of the South are sitting down together again. One Southern newspaper publisher called such a meeting in his own plant—and deliberately placed the conference table where it could be seen through the window from the sidewalk.

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SHEAFFER'S

THE DAILY OKLAHOMAN
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.
D. 173,499 S. 272,503

AUG 1 1 1963

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Last of a Series

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She says she has never had an adverse reaction from Negro audiences. "On the contrary, there have been more than 500 requests for reprints of these speeches."

A similar position was taken recently by another minority group, the "Nisei," of American-born Japanese. In San Francisco, Howard Imazeki, editor of the newspaper, Hobukei Mainichi, said in an editorial:

"We have yet to hear any Negro voices blaming themselves for their social maladjustment.

"What we are trying to say most sincerely here is that the Negro leaders should do a little soul-searching of their own."

Nearly 72 years ago, in Aug. 19, 1891, the New York Mail & Express published a pathetic little item. It said some Negro clergymen had met to discuss means of obtaining "better opportunities" for their people.

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Police dogs and fire hoses were used to disperse the crowds. It was not the first time the dogs had been used in Birmingham. The first time was against white men, rioting around "freedom riders" at a bus station. Nor, of course, was Birmingham the only city to use dogs.

Nevertheless, photographs of dogs leaping to-

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Their leader, Muhammad Elijah, lives in Phoenix, Ariz. In answer to the question of whether the "Muslims" hate white people, he said:

"The Bible teaches us to love good and to hate evil. I can't love him (the white) because his is the very essence of evil."

In the vast, complicated and potentially dangerous picture of the racial struggle today, what are the positive sides? The principal ones would seem to be these:

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FIVE — While the Negroes are crying for rights, a Negro lawyer, Mrs. Cora Walker, is making speeches sharply reminding them of their responsibilities. She tells them:

"We are as much to blame for our present condition as the white majority."

On the political side, she says, "There are approximately one million black people in New York City. These Negroes have no restrictions on their voting rights. Yet there are only two elected Negroes in the entire city legislative government."

Of the economic situation, Mrs. Walker says, "In Harlem alone, Negroes spend $150 million a year on automobiles, $80 million on liquor, $75 million on wigs and hair pieces, $100 million on playing the numbers. More than 90 percent of the businesses in our ghettos are owned, controlled and managed by whites outside of the communty. We give minimum support to our own, who are in business or professions."

Of some social facts, she says, "We now are the major statistic in juvenile delinquency, dope addiction, crime, and school drop-outs. Is this why 75 percent of the out-of-wedlock children are born of our race?"

Mrs. Walker suggests that Negroes should do

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The Deepening Crisis

Negro's Drive For Equality Wracks Entire U. S.--Not Confined To South

BY RELMAN MORIN
AP Newsfeatures Writer

NEW YORK—The Negro drive for full equality has reached the dimensions of a national convulsion.

It wracks the whole United States, not just the Southern states. It is breaching the invisible racial barriers of the North no less than the visible walls in the South, shattering the complacency of one region, defeating the slow-down strategy of the other.

"Something's got a-hold of me," the Negro is chanting. "We shall overcome," is his anthem.

His movement is in the streets, the courts, the halls of Congress.

It touches schools and employment practices, the seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library—in short, rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

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EDITOR'S NOTE—Relman Morin, author of this last in a series of Associated Press articles on the integration struggle, is preparing a follow-up article outlining progress to date in integration activities around the country. It will cover schools, employment and desegregation of facilities and will be carried in The Enquirer. Watch for it!

POLICE DOGS have been used against both whites and Negroes in the racial conflict. In Baltimore, left, police and dogs converge on whites protesting integration of a swimming pool. In Birmingham, Ala., dogs were used by police to disperse Negro demonstrators.

—AP Newsfeatures Photo

WHAT LIES IN the future for this young Negro family walking along a Harlem street in New York? Will the Negro drive for equality be successful in their lifetime? Will the future hold a discrimination-free life of opportunity for their children?

THE CINCINNATI ENQUIRER
features
Section H
Sunday, August 11, 1963

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For some reason Birmingham appears to have dramatized the Negro struggle more than any other incident.

"Birmingham engineered the revolution that began in the spring of 1963," Martin Ochs, editor of the Chattanooga Times, said in a recent speech at the University of Wisconsin.

Fear of violence and economic trouble has fostered a "mood of reconciliation" toward racial integration in the South, Mr. Ochs said.

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AUG 11 1963

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By RELMAN MORIN

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13th Of A Series

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In New York City, to dramatize these and other demands, Negroes entered the offices of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller and stayed for days in a sit-in. They staged another in the City Hall.

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4. Congress is hearing testimony on the President's package of civil rights legislation. On June 11, he asked Congress to "make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law." Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy told the House Judiciary Committee, "This bill before you today embodies that commitment."

5. While the Negroes are crying for rights, a Negro lawyer, Cora T. Walker, is making speeches sharply reminding them of their responsibilities.

She tells them: "We are as much to blame for our present condition as the white majority."

On the political side, she says, "There are approximately one million black people in New York City. These Negroes have no restrictions on their voting rights. Yet there are only two elected Negroes in the entire city legislative government."

Of the economic situation, Mrs. Walker says, "In Harlem alone, Negroes spend $150 million a year on automobiles, $80 million on liquor, $75 million on wigs and hair pieces, $100 million on playing the numbers. More than 90 per cent of the businesses in our ghettos are owned, controlled and managed by whites outside of the community. We give minimum support to our own, who are in businesses or professions."

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Mrs. Walker suggests that Negroes should do more to help each other. "Isn't it our responsibility," she asks, "to take the initiative to secure the needs of our underprivileged?"

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Violence begets violence and the possibility of a white counter-reaction has been noted by many observers. "If that happens," said Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville, Miss., Delta-Democrat, "all hell will break loose."

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But the segregationist, eying that phrase, "with all deliberate speed," saw an escape hatch. He determined to resist as long as possible. And he did.

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A climactic point of this stage was Little Rock, Ark. The year was 1957. Exactly 80 years after the end of the reconstruction in the South, federal troops marched into a Southern city again. They used bayonets to disperse crowds around Central High School. And they escorted Negro children into classrooms.

Elsewhere in the South, However, the barriers remained.

Oxford, Miss., and Tuscaloosa, Ala., were still to come.

At Oxford, two men died and scores were injured when a Negro, James H. Meredith, enrolled in the University of Mississippi. Again, federal troops parched, bivouacing on the campus.

At Tuscaloosa, Gov. George C. Wallace stood in the doorway of a University of Alabama building when Justice Department officials attempted to enroll two Negroes, Vivian Maline and James Hood. A few hours later, he stepped aside when federalized units of the National Guard marched onto the campus. There was no violence.

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The Deepening Crisis

A 'Summing Up' of Integration Struggle

Editor's Note: Caught in the turmoil of a summer of bitter racial discord, Americans find it difficult at times to assess the dimensions of the crisis, to know what has been gained or lost and where we are heading now. Here, in the last of a special series of Associated Press articles on the integration struggle, is a report by a correspondent who has covered it closely.

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By Relman Morin

NEW YORK—(AP)—The Negro drive for full equality has reached the dimensions of a national convulsion.

It wracks the whole United States, not just the Southern states. It is breaching the invisible racial barriers of the North no less than the visible walls in the South, shattering the complacency of one region, defeating the slow-down strategy of the other.

"Something's got a-hold of me," the Negro is chanting. "We shall overcome," is his anthem.

His movement is in the streets, the courts, the halls of Congress.

It touches schools and employment practices, a seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library—in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

Starting as non-violent, his campaign has engendered violence. The blood of both races has been spilled. No one can say whether more will flow, or where, or how much.

Oppose Violence

"We will advise our people not to use violence," said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), at a news conference in Jackson, Miss. "The Negro can't win in a pitched battle with the whites. He's in the minority."

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Vote Drive Launched

So concerted voter-registration drives began. Students went through Negro communities, ringing doorbells. Officials stationed themselves in public buildings in the South, buttonholing every Negro who came in, whatever his business, and urging him to register, there and then. Voter "clinics" were set up to instruct Negroes in filling out the application forms, and in meeting the technicalities.

It is a long, slow process, but the figures for Negro registration are rising, spectacularly in some cases. In Bullock County, Ala., there were four registered Negroes in 1961. Now there are 1,341. This, of course, is a special case.

Of the registration drives, Bishop George W. Barber, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, said:

"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible Negro voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of two million new Negro voters, North and South."

African Nations' Link

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"Our primary concern is to eliminate violence," a spokesman said. "We want to provide a cadre of experienced Negro leaders who will prevent things from getting out of hand and keep irresponsible elements from turning to violence."

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Our Deepening Crisis

The Threat Of Violence Lies In Negro Struggle

EDITOR'S NOTE — Caught in turmoil of a summer of bitter racial discord, Americans find it difficult at times to assess the dimensions of the crisis, to know what has been gained or lost and where we are heading now. Here, is the last of a special series of Associated Press articles on the integration struggle, is a report by a correspondent who has covered it closely. It sums up the situation to date and looks at changes coming.

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It wracks the whole United States, not just the Southern states. It is breaching the invisible racial barriers of the North no less than the visible walls in the South, shattering the complacency of one region, defeating the slow-down strategy of the other.

"Something's got a-hold of me," the Negro is chanting. "We shall overcome," is his anthem.

His movement is in the streets, the courts, the halls of Congress.

It touches schools and employment practices, a seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library—in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

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But can the Negro leaders control their followers, everywhere and at all times? Who, for example, speaks for Harlem, the giant Negro community in New York City?

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But the segregationist, eyeing that phrase, "with all deliberate speed," saw an escape hatch. He determined to resist as long as possible. And he did.

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to register qualified Negroes. About 50 per cent of these suits have been won.

The Southern Regional Council estimates there are 5,045,000 Negroes of voting age in 11 Southern and border states. About one-fourth, some 1,344,000, are registered.

It is a long, slow process, but the figures for Negro registration are rising, spectacularly in some cases. In Bullock County, Ala., there were four registered Negroes in 1961. Now there are 1,341. This, of course, is a special case.

In all probability, another factor has played a part in the Negro drive for equality, a subtle, unmeasurable factor—the new African nations.

The American Negro has seen African heads of state being received in the White House and getting the red carpet treatment from Soviet Premier Khrushchev and other powerful leaders. He has seen African diplomats speaking from the rostrum of the United Nations.

This has been a source of pride and encouragement.

But it also is a two-edged sword. "An African in a robe and turban can go into a restaurant or a hotel where I can't go," said a Negro public relation man in Washington. "How silly can segregation be? How do you think this makes me feel?"

In South

Then came another catalyst—Birmingham.

Last spring, Negroes there demonstrated in the streets for desegregation of some facilities in downtown stores and the formation of a permanent biracial committee to handle racial problems. So many were arrested that the jails overflowed.

Police dogs and fire hoses were used to disperse the crowds. It was not the first time the dogs had been used in Birmingham. The first time was against white men, rioting around "freedom riders" at a bus station. Nor, of course, was Birmingham the only city to use dogs.

Nevertheless, photographs of dogs leaping toward Negroes went around the globe.

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term. They want the federal government to set aside territory in which they propose to set up a Negro state.

Their leader, Elijah Muhammad lives in Phoenix, Ariz. In answer to the question of whether the Muslims hate white people, he said:

"The Bible teaches us to love good and to hate evil. I can't love him (the white) because his is the very essence of evil."

In the vast, complicated and potentially dangerous picture of the racial struggle today, what are the positive sides? The principal ones would seem to be these:

1. To a greater degree than ever before, the problem is out in the open. More people, especially in the North but in the South, too, are aware of the intricacies and the injustices. More are thinking about it, seeking solutions.

2. Some degree of communication between the races is being restored in the South. Communications, Southerners say, generally tended to break down after the Supreme Court decision on the schools in 1954. Now, fitfully and with difficulty, Negroes and whites in some parts of the South are sitting down together again.

3. President Kennedy, in conferences with scores of Southern businessmen, clergymen and others, has sought means to desegregate many establishment. He set up a presidential committee on equal job opportunity, replacing two other such committees of the Eisenhower administration. It is headed by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Civil Rights

4. Congress is hearing testimony on the President's package of civil rights legislation. On June 11, he asked Congress to "make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law." Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy told the House Judiciary Committee, "This bill before you today embodies that commitment."

5. While the Negroes are crying for rights, a Negro lawyer, Cora T. Walker, is making speeches sharply reminding them of their responsibilities.

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These maneuvers were pioneered by the Congress of Racial Equality, which was founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago. It obtained a foothold in the South with the sit-ins of 1960.

Parallel with action on these fronts, the Negroes began concentrating their efforts in another supremely important field — voter registration. Another Negro organization, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee — "SNICK"—has been active in this work.

The Justice Department has assisted. Since 1961, it has filed 29 suits against officials for refusing

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Grim Facts

Of some social facts, she says, "We now are the major statistic in juvenile delinquency, dope addiction, crime, and school dropouts. Is this why 75 per cent of the out-of-wedlock children are born of our race?"

Mrs. Walker suggests that Negroes should do more to help each other. "Isn't it our responsibility," she asks, "to take the initiative to secure the needs of our underprivileged?"

A similar position was taken recently by another minority group, the Nisei, or American-born Japanese. In San Francisco, Howard Imazeki, editor of the newspaper, Hobukei Mainichi, said in an editorial:

"We have yet to hear any Negro voices blaming themselves for their social maladjustment.

"What we are trying to say most sincerely here is that the Negro leaders should do a little soul-searching of their own."

Nearly 72 years ago, on Aug. 19, 1891, the New York Mail & Express published a pathetic little item. It said some Negro clergymen had met to discuss means of obtaining "better opportunities" for their people.

DURHAM, N.C.
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AUG 1 1 1963

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Negro Gets A Break

A Negro shares a work break with white workers on a construction job in New York. Picket lines in the North, in the current upsurge of Negro militancy, often are keyed to the demand for jobs, and for better jobs. A union official points out that unions cannot afford to lower job standards by putting unqualified men in skilled work. So, say the Negroes, give us the skills.

Rings Out In Turmoil

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Many tactics have been used to discourage Negroes from registering — gerrymandering, intimidation, widely - spaced meetings of registration boards, throwing out Negro applications on technicalities.

So concerted voter-registration drives began. Students went through Negro communities, ringing doorbells. Officials stationed themselves in public buildings in the South, buttonholing every Negro who came in, whatever his business, and urging him to register, there and then. Voter "clinics" were set up to instruct Negroes in filling out the application forms, and in meeting the technicalities.

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Of the registration drives, Bishop George W. Barber of the African Methodist Episcopal Church said:

"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible Negro voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of two million new Negro voters, North and South."

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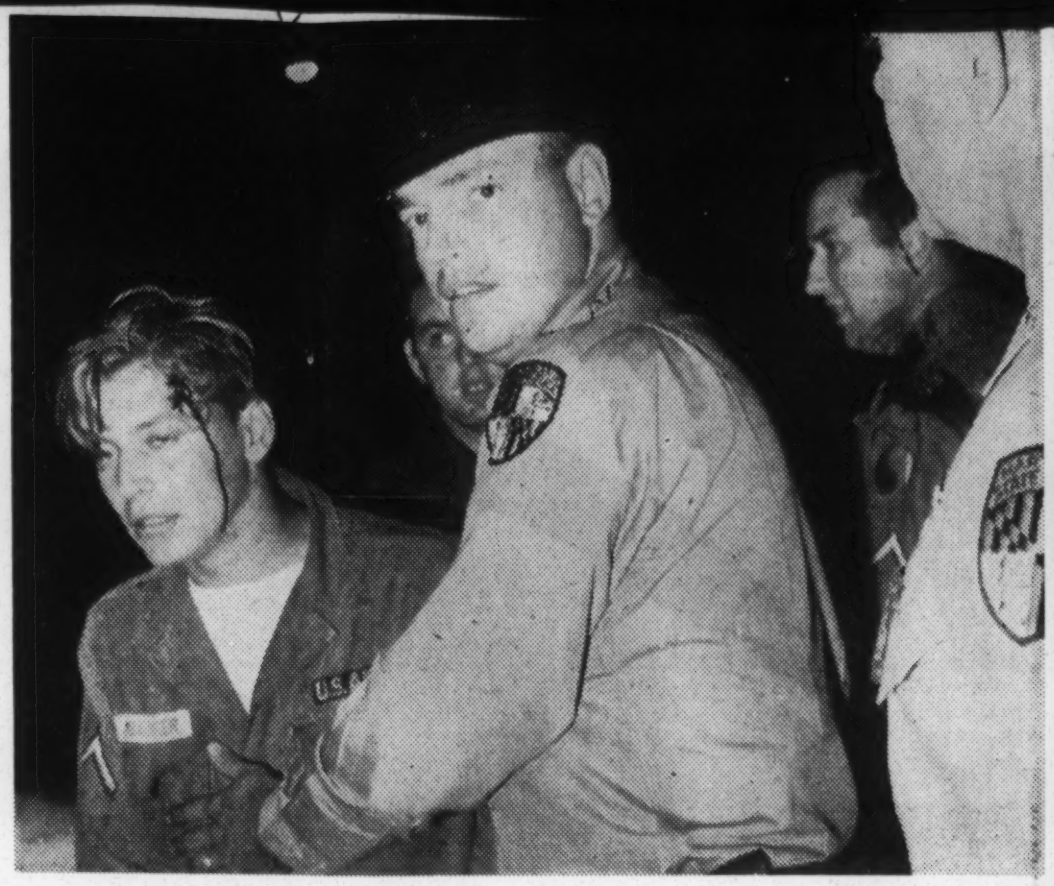

Bloody Climax

A National Guardsman, one of three injured by a single shot fired into their car, is aided by a state policeman in Cambridge, Md. Growing militancy, and finally violence, interrupted a pattern of partial integration in the town on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Efforts to settle Cambride's crisis are stalemated. But other Eastern Shore towns, observing Cambridge's growing tensions, have integrated without incident.

Start Of Chain Reaction

In the North as in the South, most Negroes live in ghettoes. These tenements are in the largest, New York's Harlem. The restricted housing in turn leads to de facto school segregation, say Northern Negroes, demanding admission to white schools which they maintain are better. This demand in turn is tied to the need for better education to equip Negroes with the skills they must have to improve their job status. (AP Newsfeatures Photos)

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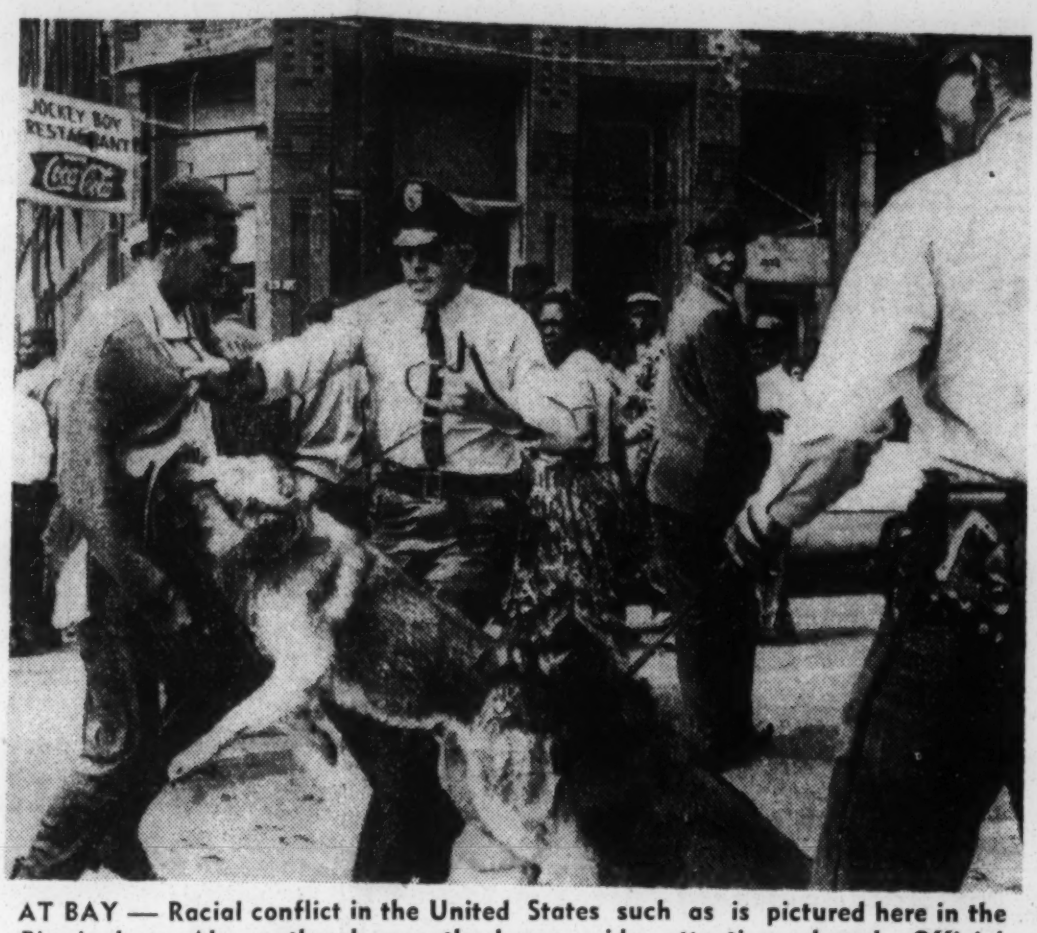

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But it also is a two-edged sword "An African in a robe and turban can go into a restaurant or a hotel where I can't go," said a Negro public relations man in Washington. "How silly can segregation be? How do you think this makes me feel?"

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AUG 11 1963

Turmoil in Negro Crisis Gives Point to Question of Future

BY RELMAN MORIN

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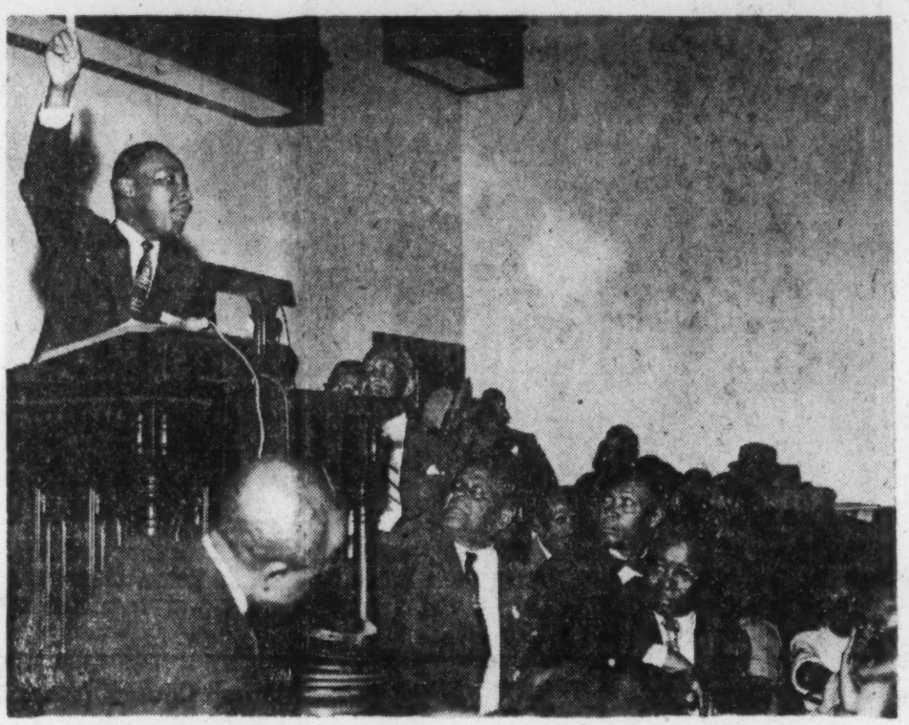

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. speaks to an overflow crowd at the Holt St. Baptist Church in Montgomery, Ala., March 22, 1956, urging a boycott of the city's segregated buses. (AP Newsfeatures Photo)

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In the vast, complicated and potentially dangerous picture of the racial struggle today, what are the positive sides? The principal ones would seem to be these:

1. To a greater degree than ever before, the problem is out in the open. More people, especially in the North but in the South, too, are aware of the intricacies and the injustices. More are thinking about it, seeking solutions.

2. Some degree of communication between the races is being restored in the South. Communications, southerners say, generally tended to break down after the Supreme Court decision on the schools in 1954. Now, fitfully and with difficulty, Negroes and whites in some parts of the South are sitting down together again. One southern newspaper publisher called such a meeting in his own plant — and deliberately placed the conference table where it could be seen through from the sidewalk.

3. President Kennedy, in conferences with scores of southern businessmen, clergymen and others, has sought means to desegregate many establishments. He set up a presidential committee on equal job opportunity, replacing two other such committees of the Eisenhower administration. It is headed by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson.

4. Congress is hearing testimony on the President's package of civil rights legislation. On June 11, he asked Congress to "make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law." Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy told the House Judiciary Committee, "This bill before you today embodies that commitment."

5. While the Negroes are crying for rights, a Negro lawyer, Mrs. Cora T. Walker, is making speeches sharply reminding them of their responsibilities. She tells them:

"We are as much to blame for our present condition as the white majority."

On the political side, she says, "There are approximately one million black people in New York City. These Negroes have no restrictions on their voting rights. Yet there are only two elected Negroes in the entire city legislative government."

Negro Critic

Of the economic situation, Mrs. Walker says, "In Harlem alone, Negroes spend $150 million a year on automobiles; $80 million on liquor, $75 million on wigs and hair pieces, $100 million on playing the numbers. More than 90 per cent of the businesses in our ghettos are owned, controlled and managed by whites outside of the community. We give minimum support to our own, who are in businesses or professions."

Of some social facts, she says, "We now are the major statistic in juvenile delinquency, dope addiction, crime, and school drop-outs. Is this why 75 per cent of the out-of-wedlock children are born of our race?"

Mrs. Walker suggests that Negroes should do more to help each other. "Isn't it our responsibility," she asks, "to take the initiative to secure the needs of our underprivileged?"

She says she has never had an adverse reaction from Negro audiences. "On the contrary, there have been more than 500 requests for reprints of these speeches."

A similar position was taken recently by another minority group, the "Nisei," or American-born Japanese. In San Francisco, Howard Imazeki, editor of the newspaper, Hobukei Mainichi, said in an editorial:

"We have yet to hear any Negro voices blaming themselves for their social maladjustment.

"What we are trying to say most sincerely here is that the Negro leaders should do a little soul-searching of their own."

Nearly 72 years ago, on Aug. 19, 1891, the New York Mail & Express published a pathetic little item. It said some Negro clergymen had met to discuss means of obtaining "better opportunities" for their people.

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What Lies in the Future for this young Negro family walking along a Harlem street in New York? Will the Negro drive for full equality, now wracking the entire United States, be successful within their lifetime? Will the future hold a discrimination-free life of opportunity for their children? (AP Newsfeatures Photo)

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His movement is in the streets, the courts, the halls of Congress.

It touches schools and employment practices, a seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library—in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

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This Report Ends Series

EDITOR'S NOTE— Caught in turmoil of a summer of bitter racial discord, Americans find it difficult at times to assess the dimensions of the crisis, to know what has been gained or lost and where we are heading now. Here, is the last of a special series of Associated Press articles on the integration struggle, is a report by a correspondent who has covered it closely. It sums up the situation to date and looks at changes coming.

Along with the boycott came the "sit-in," the tactic of simply sitting quietly in a restaurant, seeking service. Or the "kneel-in," crowds of Negroes praying on the steps of a public building or in a main street, stopping traffic.

These maneuvers were pioneered by the Congress of Racial Equality, which was founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago. It obtained a foothold in the South with the sit-ins of 1960.

Parallel with action on these fronts, the Negroes began concentrating their efforts in another supremely important field — voter registration. Another Negro organization, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee — "SNICK"—has been active in this work.

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In all probability, another factor has played a part in the Negro drive for equality, a subtle, unmeasurable factor—the new African nations.

The American Negro has seen African heads of state being received in the White House and getting the red carpet treatment from Soviet Premier Khrushchev and other powerful leaders. He has seen African diplomats speaking from the rostrum of the United Nations.

This has been a source of pride and encouragement.

But it also is a two-edged sword. "An African in a robe and turban can go into a restaurant or a hotel where I can't go," said a Negro public relations man in Washington. "How silly can segregation be? How do you think this makes me feel?"

Another Catalyst

Then came another catalyst—Birmingham.

Last spring, Negroes there demonstrated in the streets for desegregation of some facilities in downtown stores and the formation of a permanent biracial committee to handle racial problems. So many were arrested that the jails overflowed.

Police dogs and fire hoses were used to disperse the crowds. It was not the first time the dogs had been used in Birmingham. The first time was against white men, rioting around "freedom riders" at a bus station. Nor, of course, was Birmingham the only city to use dogs.

Nevertheless, photographs of dogs leaping toward Negroes went around the globe.

For some reason, Birmingham appears to have dramatized the Negro struggle more than any other incident.

"Birmingham engineered the revolution that began in the spring of 1963," Martin Ochs, editor of the Chattanooga Times, said in a recent speech at the University of Wisconsin.

Fear of violence and economic trouble has fostered a "mood of reconciliation" toward racial integration in the south, Ochs said.

Almost overnight after Birmingham, too, Negro demonstrations erupted in the North. Violence flared in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and other Northern cities. The Los Angeles Times published a cartoon depicting two Negro figures, one in a menacing posture. It was captioned, "Integration, not intimidation."

In the North, Negro demands focus mainly on jobs and housing. Negro unemployment is high, more than double white unemployment. Labor unions have been accused of discriminating against Negroes. Negro leaders are demanding that a certain quota of Negroes shall be employed on given projects, and even in restaurants.

In New York City, to dramatize these and other demands, Negroes entered the offices of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller and stayed for days in a sit-in. They staged another in the City Hall.

Another recent development has been a unifying move among seven Negro organizations, some of which had been sniping at each other. They were the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, "SNICK," the National Urban League, the National Council of Negro Women, and the Legal Defense and Education Fund of the NAACP, a separately incorporated organization.

The coalition takes the name Council for United Civil Rights Leadership.

Primary Concern

"Our primary concern is to eliminate violence," a spokesman said. "We want to provide a cadre of experienced Negro leaders who will prevent things from getting out of hand and keep irresponsible elements from turning to violence."

Distinctly separate from these groups are the Black Muslims. They demand, not integration, but total segregation on their own terms. They want the federal government to set aside territory in which they propose to set up a Negro state.

Their leader, Elijah Muhammad lives in Phoenix, Ariz. In answer to the question of whether the Muslims hate white people, he said:

"The Bible teaches us to love good and to hate evil. I can't love him (the white) because his is the very essence of evil."

In the vast, complicated and potentially dangerous picture of the racial struggle today, what are the positive sides The principal ones would seem to be these:

1. To a greater degree than ever before, the problem is out in the open. More people, especially in the North but in the South, too, are aware of the intricacies and the injustices. More are thinking about it, seeking solutions.

2. Some degree of communication between the races is being restored in the South. Communications, Southerners say, generally tended to break down after the Supreme Court decision on the schools in 1954. Now, fitfully and with difficulty, Negroes and whites in some parts of the South are sitting down together again.

3. President Kennedy, in conferences with scores of Southern businessmen, clergymen and others, has sought means to desegregate many establishments. He set up a presidential committee on equal job opportunity, replacing two other such committees of the Eisenhower administration. It is headed by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson.

4. Congress is hearing testimony on the President's package of civil rights legislation. On June 11, he asked Congress to "make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law." Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy told the House Judiciary Committee, "This bill before you today embodies that commitment."

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Must Share Blame

She tells them: "We are as much to blame for our present condition as the white majority."

On the political side, she says, "There are approximately one million black people in New York City. These Negroes have no restrictions on their voting rights. Yet there are only two elected Negroes in the entire city legislative government."

Of the economic situation, Mrs. Walker says, "In Harlem alone, Negroes spend $150 million a year on automobiles, $80 million on liquor, $75 million on wigs and hair pieces, $100 million on playing the numbers. More than 90 per cent of the businesses in our ghettos are owned, controlled and managed by whites outside of the community. We give minimum support to our own, who are in businesses or professions."

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A similar position was taken recently by another minority group, the Nisei, or American-born Japanese. In San Francisco, Howard Imazeki, editor of the newspaper, Hobukei Mainichi, said in an editorial:

"We have yet to hear any Negro voices blaming themselves for their social maladjustment.

"What we are trying to say most sincerely here is that the Negro leaders should do a little soul-searching of their own."

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New Sectors

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1954 Was The Historic Year In Battle For Civil Rights

By RELMAN MORIN

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It wracks the whole United States, not just the Southern states. It is breaching the invisible racial barriers of the North no less than the visible walls in the South, shattering the complacency of one region, defeating the slowdown strategy of the other.

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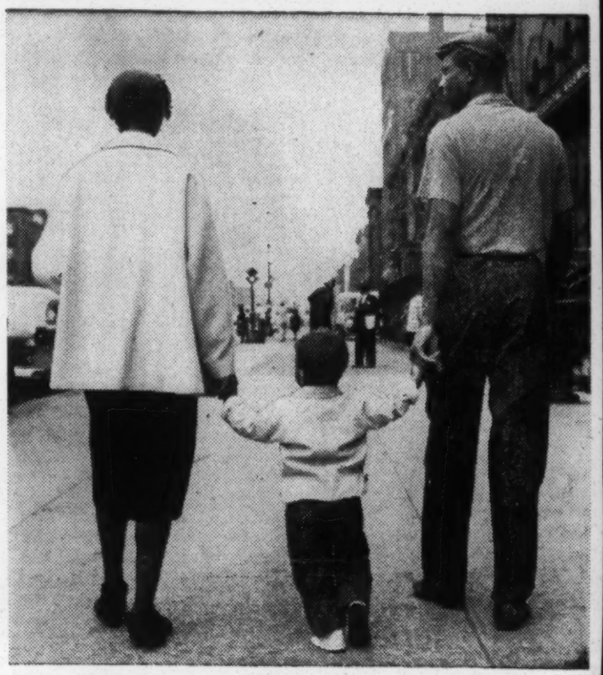

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Many tactics have been used to discourage Negroes from registering — gerrymandering, intimidation, widely-spaced meetings of registration boards, throwing out Negro applications on technicalities.

So concerted voter-registration drives began. Students went through Negro communities, ringing doorbells. Officials stationed themselves in public buildings in the South, buttonholing every Negro who came in, whatever his business, and urging him to register, there and then. Voter "clinics" were set up to instruct Negroes in filling out the application forms, and in meeting the technicalities.

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JOHNSON CITY, TENN.
PRESS-CHRONICLE
D. 7,248 S. 23,048

AUG 11 1963

Deepening Crisis . . . a summary . . .

Negro drive for full equality now in stage of U.S. convulsion

EDITOR'S NOTE — Caught in the turmoil of a summer of bitter racial discord, Americans find it difficult at times to assess the dimensions of the crisis, to know what has been gained or lost and where we are heading now. Here, in the last of a special series of Assocaited Press articles on the integration struggle, is a report by a correspondent who has covered it closely. It sums up the situation to date and looks at changes coming.)

By RELMAN MORIN

NEW YORK, (AP) — The Negro drive for full equality has reached the dimensions of a national convulsion.

It wracks the whole United States, not just the Southern states. It is breaching the invisible racial barriers of the North no less than the visible walls in the South, shattering the complacency of one region, defeating the slow-down strategy of the other.

"Something's got a-hold of me," the Negro is chanting. "We shall overcome," is his anthem.

His movement is in the streets, the courts, the halls of Congress.

It touches schools and employment practices, a seat at a lunch counter and a home in a better neighborhood, the right to vote and the right to worship in any church, the right to sit in any public park and to read a book in any public library — in short, the rights of an American citizen and access to equal opportunity.

Engendered Violence

Starting as non - violent, his campaign has engendered violence. The blood of both races has been spilled. No one can say whether more will flow, or where, or how much.

"We will advise our people not to use violence," said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), at a news conference in Jackson, Miss. "The Negro can't win in a pitched battle with the whites. He's in the minority."

But can the Negro leaders control their followers, everywhere and at all times? Who, for example, speaks for Harlem, the giant Negro community in New York City?

"How can anyone ask me to be non-violent?" said a Negro war veteran. "That's like putting me back in the line in Korea and loading my rifle with blanks."

Violence begets violence and the possibility of a white counter-reaction has been noted by many observers. "If that happens," said Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville, Miss., Delta-Democrat, "all hell will break loose."

'I'll Just Start Killing'

During the demonstrations in Birmingham last spring, a white taxi driver said to me, "If they kill any white people, I won't ask any questions. I'll just start killin'."

The hour seems late. Is it one minute to 12 now? If so, what raced the hands of the clock?

The story is soon told.

After World War II, the first important federal government action in race relations came when President Truman ordered the end of segregation in the armed forces. He also asked Congress for strong civil rights legislation. It was not granted.

During President Eisenhower's second administration, Congress enacted civil rights bills in 1957 and 1960. Using these laws, the administration filed 10 suits on behalf of Negroes' voting rights in the south.

The historic year, however, in the long and anguished struggle over civil rights, was 1954. The U. S. Supreme Court struck down, as unconstitutional, the doctrine of "separate - but-equal" in public schools. Segregation had been a legal fact for 58 years, based on a decision of the Supreme Court in 1896. Now, the court ordered the schools to be desegregated "with all deliberate speed."

Negroes and their white sympathizers exulted.

Escape Hatch

But the segregationist, eying that phrase, "with all deliberate speed," saw an escape hatch. He determined to resist as long as possible. And he did.

Mob violence exploded in Southern and border states.

A climactic point of this stage was Little Rock, Ark. The year was 1957. Exactly 80 years after the end of the reconstruction in the South, federal troops marched into a Southern city again. They used bayonets to disperse crowds around Central High School. And they escorted Negro children into classrooms.

Elsewhere in the South, however, the barriers remained.

Oxford, Miss., and Tuscaloosa, Ala., were still to come.

At Oxford, two men died and scores were injured when a negro, James H. Meredith, enrolled in the University of Mississippi.

Again, federal troops marched, bivouacing on the campus.

At Tuscaloosa, Gov. George C. Wallace stood in the doorway of a University of Alabama building when Justice Department officials attempted to enroll two Negroes, Vivian Malone and James Hood. A few hours later, he stepped aside when federalized units of the National Guard marched onto the campus. There was no violence.

Long before these incidents, however, the "bright - new-day" jubilance of 1954 had begun to evaporate.

Bitterness

Negro disappointment, as the years passed with little desegregation, turned to bitterness. "Gradualism," the policy of slowly ending segregation, and "tokenism," permitting only a handful of Negro chidlren in schools, offices or factories, became fighting words.

Today, nearly 10 years after the Supreme Court decision, figures complicated by the Southern Education Reporting Service indicate that about 257-000 Negro children are attending public elementary and high schools with white students in 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia.

Negro leaders say this is about eight per cent of the school-age total.

Apart from the schools, new sectors opened in the fight for civil rights.

In 1955 and 1956, the Southern Christian Leadership (SCLC) Conference, headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., boycotted segregated bus lines in Montgomery, Ala. They won.

The boycott, or "selective buying," as the Negro leaders prefer to say, began coming into play as a potent weapon in other parts of the South. Negro economists estimate that the purchasing power of the Negro, nationally, is around $15 billion a year.

'Selective Buying'

"Selective buying" has put Southern businessmen in a vise. If they integrate some facilities after a Negro boycott, they may be hit by a white boycott.

Along with the boycott came the "sit-in," the tactic of simply sitting quietly in a restaurant, seeking service. Or the "kneel - in," crowds of Negroes praying on the steps of a public building or in a main street, stopping traffic.

These maneuvers were pioneered by the Committee on Radical Equality (CORE) which was founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago. It obtained a foothold in the South with the "sit-in" of 1960.

Parallel with action on these fronts, the Negroes began concentrating their efforts in another supremely important field-voter registration. Another Negro organization, the Student Non - Violent Coordinating Committee ("SNICK") has been active in this work.

The Justice Department has assisted. Since 1961, it has filed 29 suits against officials for refusing to register qualified Negroes. About 50 per cent of these suits have been won.

The Southern Regional Council estimates there are 5,045,000 Negroes of voting age in 11 Southern and border states. About one fourth, some 1,344,-000, are registered.

Many tactics have been used to discourage Negroes from registering — gerrymandering, intimidation, widely - spaced meetings of registration boards, throwing out Negro applications on technicalities.

So concerted voter - registration drives began. Students went through Negro communities, ringing doorbells. Officials stationed themselves in public buildings in the South, buttonholing every Negro who came in, whatever his business, and urging him to register, there and then. Voter "clinics" were set up to instruct Negroes in filling out the application forms, and in meeting the technicalities.

Long, Slow Process

It is a long, slow process, but the figures for Negro registration are rising, spectacularly in some cases. In Bullock County, Ala., there were four registered Negroes in 1961. Now there are 1,341. This, of course, is a special case.

Of the registration drives, Bishop George W. Barber, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, said:

"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible Negro voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of two million new Negro voters. North and South."

In all probability, another factor has played a part in the Negro drive for equality, a subtle, unmeasurable factor — —the new African nations.

The American Negro has seen African heads of state being received in the White House and getting the red carpet treatment from Soviet Premier Khrushchev and other powerful leaders. He has seen African diplomats speaking from the rostrum of the United Nations.

This has been a source of pride and encouragement.

But it also is a two-edged sword. "An African in a robe and turban can go into a restaurant or a hotel where I can't go," said a negro public relations man in Washington. "How silly can segregation be? How do you think this makes me feel?"

Then came another catalyst— Birmingham.

Last spring, Negroes there demonstrated in the streets for desegration of some facilities in downtown stores and the formation of a permanent biracial committee to handle racial problems. So many were arrested that the jails overflowed.

Police dogs and fire hoses were used to disperse the crowds. It was not the first time the dogs had been used in Birmingham. The first time was against white men, rioting around "freedom riders" at a bus station. Nor, of course, was Birmingham the only city to use dogs.

Nevertheless, photographs of dogs leaping toward Negroes went around the globe.

For some reason, Birmingham appears to have dramatized the Negro struggle more than any other incident.

Fear of violence and economic trouble has fostered a "mood of reconciliations" toward racial integration in the South, Ochs said.

MONROE, LA.
WORLD
D: 27,587 S. 41,061

AUG 11 1963

FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

The Week In Focus

by Jack Gates

ON THE DOMESTIC SIDE

The nation's heart went out the past week to President and Mrs. Kennedy over the death of their son — Patrick Bouvier Kennedy. The child died approximately 39 hours after his birth by caesarean delivery from a respiratory ailment.

The boy was almost 5½ weeks premature and developed the ailment shortly after his birth in the Otis Air Force Base hospital. He was rushed to the Children's Hospital Medical Center at Boston where breathing aid facilities were available. His condition seesawed during his 34 hours in the hospital. On Thursday, he was believed better and the President so reported to his wife.

KENNEDY

But the child became worse despite a special chamber which had been constructed to aid its breathing and died around 2:30 a.m. CST Friday. The President was in the room at the time and so was his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy. Later in the day, the sorrowing president visited his wife at Otis and notified her of the death. The disease which snuffed out the life of the child is known as idiopathic respiratory distress syndrome. At week's end, Mrs. Kennedy's condition was described as excellent.

A SURVEY, meanwhile, shows that prayer and bible reading will continue this fall in many U.S. public schools despite the Supreme Court's ruling that such religious exercises are unconstitutional. The survey turned up only two states — Pennsylvania and California which appear to be acting on the court's suggestion. In Alabama, the state board of education defied the Supreme Court and made Bible reading part of the required curriculum of public schools. And Gov. George Wallace said if the courts rule out the practice in a specific Alabama school "I'm going to that school and read it myself.". . .

WAS A NEW romantic interest behind the separation of Henry Ford II and his wife. Some reports say it is and they list the new interest as Mrs. Christina Austin, a blonde Italian divorcee. Mrs. Austin told newsmen that she knew Ford and his wife — but was just a good friend. Ford is the grandson of auto pioneer Henry Ford.

IN JOLIET, Illinois, an 11-year-old boy who said he strangled a little girl because of an idea he got while watching television was committed to the custody of the Illinois Youth Commission. Because of his age, the youth, Kenneth Warner — could not be prosecuted on a criminal charge. Officers quoted the boy as saying he killed the girl after practicing by choking cats and kittens. . .

A MAJOR report is expected to be released this weekend dealing with the psychiatric aspects of the desegregation of southern schools. The findings are expected to be controversial. The report will be published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League. The study was produced by Dr. Robert M. Coles, a Boston psychiatrist who spent two years gathering the clinical material. . . .

IN NEIGHBORING Mississippi, a Democratic election for governor was held the past week, with Lieutenant Gov. Paul Johnson and former Governor J. P. Coleman emerging as the two top candidates. They will enter a runoff on August 27. Johnson, who was the top man, is expected to emerge the victor in the runoff . . .

CONCORD, N.C.
TRIBUNE
D 9,919 S. 10,067
AUG 1 1963

THE DEEPENIN

The Negro Goal: Two

EDITOR'S NOTE—In a potentially powerful weapon in his fight against segregation, the Negro is enthusiastcally taking part today in a massive vote registration campaign. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. Fourth in a specialized series of articles by The Associated Press on the racial crisis.

By RELMAN MORIN

TUSKEGEE, Ala. (AP) — The Negro woman says she is 50 years old and wants to register to vote.

She doesn't know the procedure, never having done it.

In the offices of the Tuskegee Civic Association, a Negro organization, they give her a sample copy of the Alabama registration form. Slowly, studying it line by line, she fills in the form. A TCA official finds some minor errors but otherwise, he says, the papers are in order. He tells her where, and on which days, she can file a real application. If it is accepted, she will be a registered voter.

A reporter questions her. She says, simply:

"I just want to become a citizen of our country. Being registered will make me a full citizen."

This scene—with its immense potentialities for the Negro movement—is being re-enacted in hundreds of cities in the South today.

It is the result of the voter-registration drive.

Throughout the South, Negro organizations are working to register more of their people, thousands of men and women who never voted before. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. Here, potentially, is a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation.

The drive moves through many channels.

The woman in Tuskegee may have decided to try to register after hearing a constantly-repeated radio appeal, attending a meeting, or simply receiving a handbill.

Elsewhere, Negro workers canvass a residential district on registration days, ringing doorbells. If the housewife isn't registered, they urge her to go to the courthouse immediately. If she has no transportation, they provide it. If she says she can't leave her children, they offer to baby-sit.

Or they station themselves in municipal buildings. A Negro comes in for, say, a driver's license. They ask whether he is registered. If not, they try to persuade him to do so, there and then.

Another device is the "voter clinic." This is a meeting in which Negro instructors show would-be applicants the technicalities of registering, how to correctly fill out the forms. In Tuskegee alone, during the month of June, there were 19 such "clinics."

And there is the famous Alabama mule. He walks through the streets of Huntsville, carrying a sandwich billboard. The sign reads, "I'm not registered because I'm a mule. What's your excuse?"

Speaking of the voter registration drives, Bishop George W. Baber of the African Methodist Episcopal Church said:

"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of two million new Negro voters, North and South."

The movement is steady and

HE DEEPENING CRISIS: 4

al: Two Million New Voters

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"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of two million new Negro voters, North and South."

The movement is steady and seems to be gaining momentum. What are the results?

Exact figures for the South as a whole are not complete. However, the Department of Justice and the Southern Regional Council's "voter education project" pinpoint the changes in some specific areas.

In Tennessee's Haywood and Fayette Counties, a Justice Department official said, Negro registration has jumped from 150 to about 5,000 in five years.

Bullock County, Alabama, had four Negro voters on the rolls in 1961, he said. Now the figure is 1,341. In the city of Montgomery, the rate of registration of Negroes used to be about 200 a year. Now it is about 200 per month, he said.

Statistics on 11 Southern states, compiled by the Southern Regional Council, indicate that about one-fourth of the Negroes of voting age are registered. The figures show a total of 5,045,000, of whom 1,344,000 are registered. Wiley Branton, an SRC executive, said the figures are incomplete, some counties being as yet untabulated.

Comparable figures for the white voting population in these states show 17,539,000, of whom 10,566,000 are registered.

Especially in areas where Negroes outnumber the whites—sometimes by as much as five to one — many devices have been used to keep political power in the hands of the whites.

Registration boards met irregularly and at widely-spaced intervals. They worked slowly, and then quit for the day, while Negroes were still waiting in line to file applications. Or they rejected applications on technical grounds.

For example, on March 17, 1961, after a long legal battle, a federal court in Alabama ruled on a lawsuit involving Macon County. The judge wrote in his memorandum that:

"18 affiants, more than half of whom had college or advanced degrees, were rejected for such inconsequential, formal, technical mistakes."

He ordered the board to register 64 Negroes and to give priority attention to 400 applicants on the waiting list.

Similarly, in testimony before the House Judiciary Committee, Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy said:

"In one county, Negroes have been required to copy and interpret long, archaic sections of the state constitution, and then have been rejected for omissions of punctuation. White, meanwhile have been asked to copy such simply provisions as, 'There shall be no imprisonment for debt.' "

Mississippi's Gov. Ross Barnett, ascribed the small number of registered Negroes in his state to other causes. In a copyrighted interview with U.S. News and World Report," he said:

"The primary reasons for the fewer Negro voters include illiteracy, apathy, and the law requiring payment of a poll tax. So many Negroes are not qualified to vote."

NEXT: THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.
NEWS-FREE PRESS
D. 56,606

AUG 12 1963

No Epidemic of 'Hatred'

The Southern Regional Council is an Atlanta-based organization dedicated to pressing for racial integration. It has been joined by the integration-promoting Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith in a series of sociological reports designed to advance their cause.

While most of the publications resulting from this effort are the usual propaganda that might be expected, in the most recent release there is a statement that is highly significant, and is especially so because of its source. The statement is this:

"The particularly enraged person, be he teacher or student (in an integrated situation), is relatively rare among millions of Southerners."

This really should be no surprise—but it is a fact that many people overlook. The integrationists, in their zeal to force their idea of social amalgamation upon the nation, upon public and private institutions and upon individuals, have often allowed themselves to characterize those who disagree with them, those who want to maintain free choice of associations, as being guilty of "race hatred."

As a general matter, there is no such thing as "race hatred" prevalent in the South.

Some individuals of both Negro and white races have engaged in excesses. But the general white population entertains no hatred for the Negro race, and despite organized agitation attempts the Negro race in general seems to feel no pervading hatred for whites.

There are differences of point of view, to be sure. But hatred is an isolated disease, not an epidemic one.

It is interesting to find an integrationist organization is willing to admit that "the enraged person . . . is relatively rare among millions of Southerners."

Southern people of both races have lived in harmony for many years during which greatest adversity has not been allowed to prevent progress for all. We trust that Southern people of both races will weather the agitation of today and will continue to make progress tomorrow. That does not mean that there will be a surrender on the part of the majority to total social integration of the races; no such thing should be expected, for alternate options likely will develop in every case of major forced race-mixing. But the good will of the people of the South should prevail despite provocations.

Hatred has never been the ruling force in racial relations in the South and should never be.

GADSDEN, ALA.
TIMES
D. 25,348 S. 24,059

AUG 12 1963

Material Goes To Wallace

MOBILE (AP) — Material is in the mail headed for Gov. George Wallace today which the Mobile post of the American Legion says will connect Alabamians Behind Local Education (Able) with the Southern Regional Council.

Peter V. Crolich Jr., commander of the post, said he mailed copy of instructions which came from the Southern Regional Council, Inc., of Atlantaa.

The post's chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Frank B. Shottgen, said he had furnished identical material to Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers.

Able has been under attack by Wallace and the local American Legion post on charges that it was trying to discredit Wallace and that it preaches integration of schools.

Mrs. Hollis J. Wiseman, ABLE president, said Wallace "obviously has been misinformed." She said the organization took no stand on racial matters and is not led by representatives of the Southern Regional Council "or any other organization."

She said ABLE's primary cause is to see that Mobile students continue to receive education in the face of court-ordered desegregation.

THE MOBILE REGISTER
MOBILE, ALA.
D. 41,393 S. 37,782

AUG 12 1963

Legion Files New Data In Seeking ABLE Probe

American Legion officials at Mobile Sunday reported new moves in an effort to bring about an investigation of the local organization known as "ABLE" which was incorporated with the announced purpose of keeping the public schools open under all conditions.

Peter V. Crolich Jr., commander of Lamar Y. McLeod Post No. 3 of the Legion, said he has mailed to Gov. George C. Wallace at Montgomery a copy of instructions purportedly issued by ABLE to "key workers."

This copy, Crolich said, was accompanied by a cover sheet which, he stated, was endorsed by the executive committee of Lamar Y. McLeod Post at a meeting on Monday, Aug. 5. The cover sheet carried comments to the effect that ABLE has a connection with the Southern Regional Council, Inc., of Atlanta, Ga., and the suggestion that there should be a further investigation.

FLOWERS GETS MATERIAL

Frank B. Schottgen, chairman of the committee on un-American activities of Lamar Y. McLeod Post, announced Sunday night that he has furnished identical material concerning ABLE and the Southern Regional Council to Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers.

Schottgen made his announcement upon his return from Montgomery where he attended a state Legion conference. He said Atty. Gen. Flowers promised to study the material.

Gov. Wallace last Friday issued a statement charging that ABLE is led by representatives of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., and that ABLE's purpose is the integration of the Mobile County public school system. The governor said Sen. John M. Tyson and Rep. Mylan R. Engel joined him in his statement.

"ABLE" is the name commonly used for the organization's incorporated name of Alabamians Behind Local Education. Mrs. Hollis J. Wiseman, president of ABLE, has declared that Gov. Wallace "obviously has been misinformed" and she has asserted that the organizaiton is not led by representatives of the Southern Regional Council or "any other organization."

THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL
MEMPHIS, TENN.
D. 216,358 S. 260,847

AUG 1 5 1963

Funds Flowing To Civil Rights

Wealthy New Yorker Seen As Source Of Million For Racial Groups

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14. — Stephen R. Currie, a wealthy 32-year-old New Yorker, has taken the lead in fund-raising activities for civil rights organizations.

The New York Times reported the Taconic Foundation, established by the New Yorker and his wife in 1958, has contributed one million dollars to civil rights organizations.

In addition, he arranged a breakfast at the Hotel Carlyle in New York on June 19 at which 96 corporation and foundation leaders contributed nearly $800,000. Much of this, as well as other funds, will be used to finance the Aug. 28 civil rights demonstrations in Washington. The budget for this project has been set at $1,500,000.

The New Yorker, wealthy in his own right, is married to the former Audrey Bruce, daughter of David K. E. Bruce, United States ambassador to Britain and Ambassador Bruce's former wife, Mrs. Ailsa Mellon Bruce, a daughter of the late multi-millionaire Andrew Mellon.

"The Curriers established the (Taconic) Foundation," the Times reported, "because they believed that they, as possessors of wealth and the advantages that went with it, had a deep obligation to the less privileged."

The Times reported available figures show the Taconi Foundation contributed $162,000 to race relations in 1960, $260,200 in 1961, and $318,500 in 1962. And already this year the foundation has committed $400,000 to the same work.

Of the $400,000 committed this year, the Times said, $125,000 is going to the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, an organization which long has promoted Negro rights in the South. Another $80,000 is going to the Urban League, $25,000 to the NAACP legal defense and educational fund, and $70,000 to "miscellaneous projects."

The Times credited the wealthy New Yorker with helping to co-ordinate the fund-raising activities of the various pro-Negro organizations.

"Largely through his efforts," the Times said, "seven of them formed for this purpose the Council for Civil Rights Leadership (CCRL), and the Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense (WE.L.D.).

The New Republic Magazine reports in the current issue that W.E.L.D. was established to receive tax-deductible contributions. Contributions to CCRL will not be tax-deductible.

New Republic also reported that $300,000 of the $800,000 raised at the June 19 breakfast went in nontax-deductible form to four civil rights organizations. It said the NAACP was allocated $125,000, C.O.R.E. $100,000, Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference $50,000, and the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee $15,000 with a promise of more later.

The New Republic said tax-deductible allocations included $125,000 to the Urban League,

TOPIC IS ADVERTISING — Ernest Lee (left) president of Merrill Kremer, Inc., advertising agency, and Dr. Robert M. Cooper, (right), executive vice president of the firm, chat with Raymond Skinner, president of Forest Hill Dairies, Inc., during an open house at the agency's new quarters at 641 South Cooper. The dairy has been a client of the agency 31 years. —Staff Photo

The Atlanta Journal
"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"
D. 259,003

AUG 2 0 1963

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS:

GOP Lambasted on Milk Price Position

The Editors: The Young Republicans should be honest enough to give both sides of the milk price question.

May I suggest that they analyze the advance in the price of milk for each five-year period covering the last 30 years? Also they should show the increase in salaries and wages for the same period.

Let them show the increase in cost of production of milk for the same period, such as increase in the cost of land, buildings, automobiles, trucks, milking equipment, all other farm equipment, and the cost of cows and feed.

Is it not just as fair to fix the price of milk by law as it is to fix the minimum wages?

If the dairymen were organized as well as union labor and had tied the price of milk to the wage increase for the past 30 years, milk would be a dollar per quart instead of a dollar per gallon.

Our Young Republicans should attack the real issues that face us today, such as, giving our tax money to Communist enemies and corruption and extravagance in government. These are far more important to the people of Georgia and the nation than the price of a quart of milk, which is probably the lowest cost food commodity on the market today. A tax reduction would leave the consumer with more dollars with which to buy milk.

E. M. THORNE.

Millen.

'Why Accommodate Rabble-Rousers?'

The Editors: I have just read

Letters should not exceed 200 words. Short letters will be given preference. All letters must bear the name and address of the writer. Occasionally, when there is valid reason, the name may be withheld on publication if the writer requests it.

but no one had spoken to him in weeks. He became very lonely, and at last went to the country's wise man to ask his advice.

After listening to him patiently for a long while, the wise man said:

"Why are you surprised about what happened? Don't you realize that whenever people become convinced that they cannot associate with you without hurting you, they will avoid you? If one end of the see-saw goes up, the other end must come down."

When are we going to take "race relations" out of the hands of the stupid?

C. E. PURCELL.

Lithonia.

'Older People Superstitious'

The Editors: The contempt in which the world's aged men and women often are held today is deserved, for the aged should be the receptacles of the race's wisdom but today's aged mainly are merely superstitious.

National and racial conceit never are more than superstitions.

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E. M. THORNE.

Millen.

✓ ✓ ✓

'Why Accommodate Rabble-Rousers?'

The Editors: I have just read a story about the plans of the District of Columbia government to accommodate the rabble-rousers, who have vowed to descend on that city, which belongs to all the American people, on Aug. 28.

Their demonstrations are about as "nonviolent" as a nest of rattlesnakes.

Any demonstrations which breed violence are violent, and should be suppressed before they begin. The idea of using the taxpayers' money to make these troublemakers comfortable is thoroughly reprehensible.

If they faint because of their emotional antics, or suffer from lack of food, water and toilet facilities, so much the better. It might teach them a lesson.

If I were driving a car and they threw themselves in front of it, I would run right over them.

MARY HAMMOND.

Atlanta.

✓ ✓ ✓

A New Fable From Lithonia:

The Editors: Once upon a time in the country of "Y" there lived a man who found himself continually being "mistreated" by his neighbors. He made up his mind that he was going to get his "rights," and he found some people who had sympathy for his plight.

At first he was rather surprised at the ease with which he triumphed over his "enemies." Many ministers supported his fight for "fair treatment," and many newspaper editors made of him a "cause celebre." Things seemed to be going his way. He thought he "had it made."

After a time, however, he began to realize that his neighbors were avoiding him. He could find no particular cause for complaint. No one had abused him in several weeks, "race relations" out of the hands of the stupid?

C. E. PURCELL.

Lithonia.

✓ ✓ ✓

'Older People Superstitious'

The Editors: The contempt in which the world's aged men and women often are held today is deserved, for the aged should be the receptacles of the race's wisdom but today's aged mainly are merely superstitious.

National and racial conceit never are more than superstitions.

The world's national leaders today, in their national conceits and international ill-will, by which they justify military conscription and armaments, should be viewed as the very embodiment of superstition — fully as blind as their ancient fore-forebears, the mumbo-jumbo medicine men of old, sacrificing their youth in egoistic orgies.

DERWOOD M. DUDLEY.

Atlanta.

✓ ✓ ✓

He Sees Another 'Lunatic Fringe'

The Editors: We have noticed for a long time that you always refer to the John Birch Society, the Citizens Council and similar organizations as "the lunatic fringe and the crackpots" while you speak of the NAACP, the Urban League, CORE and the Southern Regional Council in the most complimentary terms.

In The Atlanta Journal of August 7, you carried a United Press International article entitled "Negro Marshall Plan Eyed," which stated that the Urban League conceived the idea for the government to spend $10 billion over a period of 10 years to close the gap between the Negro and the white man by providing the Negro with superior schools and teachers over that of the whites and giving him preference in education, job training and employment opportunities, and that Whitney Young Jr., executive secretary of the Urban League, was in a day-long high-level conference at the White House discussing the proposal.

Young said that equality wasn't enough, we must go beyond that. The Urban League is to manage the program. We will leave it to your readers to decide who are the "lunatic fringe and the crackpots."

G. M. ANDERSON.

Cedartown.

GREENSBORO, N.C.
RECORD
D. 31,743

AUG 20 1963

Prejudice's Cost To South Called Very Expensive

BY HUGH PAGE
Record Staff Writer

Prejudice takes a toll from the majority as well as from a victimized minority, delegates to the Continental Conference of Liberal Religious Youth were told today in a panel discussion constituting the daily "theme address" of their sessions at Guilford College.

Dr. Henry Clark, representing the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, told the 186 teen-agers attending sessions of the Universalist-Unitarian young peoples' organization that white people have realized economical, psychological and political gains from segregation, but they have been bought at "an awful cost."

"Booker T. Washington said the only way you can keep a man in the ditch is to stay there with him, and that is what has happened in the South," Dr. Clark said.

The cost, economically, he said, has been terrific.

"Racial prejudice has been very important in keeping unions out of the South and preventing workers from getting their fair share of profits from industry," he said.

He cited other ways in which he said racial prejudice has cost the South.

Appearing with Dr. Clark in the discussion of "Prejudice As It Affects the Minority and the Majority" were M. Carl Holman, information officer of the Civil Rights Commission, Washington, and Rabbi Joseph Asher of Temple Emanuel, Greensboro.

Holman said that progress has been made in the realm of civil rights, but the Negro is still the victim of discrimination in schools, housing, politics and other fields.

"The gap in the employment picture is widening," he said. "Those people throwing themselves down in front of bulldozers in New York and Philadelphia are just expressing a frustration."

Although restrictive covenants have been outlawed in housing, he said, the Negro finds himself the victim of "gentlemen's agreements."

The Negro also still finds two codes of justice in many courts, one for the whites and one for himself, Holman said, and subterfuges are used to keep him from voting.

He said racial prejudice is not a one-way street. The Negro's experiences have taught him to distrust white people—even to the extent that many have stock answers for questions about race relations which are contrary to their true feeling.

Rabbi Asher said that Jew of today has less difficulty with prejudice than he had a few years ago, but many of the discriminatory acts suffered by the Negro have been suffered by his race.

"All minorities share certain experiences," he said. "If a Catholic were here, he probably would tell of some of the same experiences. He said he is concerned lest the diminishing prejudice have a detrimental effect in challenging the Jew to excellence. The LRY board of trustees was scheduled to elect new officers at a meeting this afternoon.

Justin J. Finger of Atlanta, Southern counsel for the Anti-Defamation League, told the young people last night that the Ku Klux Klan "has gone ivy league."

Finger spoke at a session closed to the public so that his audience would have greater freedom in a question and answer period.

Theme of the meeting is "Prejudice as It Affects the Minority."

Although Finger spoke at a closed session, he discussed his views freely for the press before the meeting.

"There has been a Ku Klux Klan resurgence, mainly in Alabama and Georgia," he said. "There is an intense recruiting drive going on now. What concerns us most is that a higher cut of people, a better class, is attending the Klan meetings now. I don't mean to imply that all better class people are joining the Klan, but there are more than used to be."

The topic of last night's session was the growth of anti-Semitism in the South. Finger said that anti-Semitism "is not too prevalent" in the area and what there is of it comes mostly from belief that movements to give Negroes civil rights is "a Communist-Jewish plot to mongrelize the races."

The Evening Gazette
WORCESTER, MASS.
D. 93,580

AUG 2 0 1963

A voter registration campaign in Atlanta, Ga.

More Negroes Are Registering to Vote

By Relman Morin

Of the Associated Press

TUSKEGEE, Ala. — The Negro woman says she is 50 years old and wants to register to vote. She doesn't know the procedure, never having done it.

In the offices of the Tuskegee Civic Association, a Negro organization, they give her a sample copy of the Alabama registration form. Slowly studying it line by line. she fills in the form. A TCA official finds some minor errors but otherwise, he says the papers are in order. He tells her where, and on which days she can file a real application. If it is accepted, she will be a registered voter.

A reporter questions her. She says simply:

"I just want to become a citizen of our country. Being registered will make me a full citizen."

Widespread Campaign

This scene—with its immense potentialities for the Negro movement—is being re-enacted in hundreds of cities in the South today.

It is the result of the voter-registration drive.

Throughout the South, Negro organizations are working to register more of their people thousands of men and women who never voted before. As the number grows, the political leverage of the Negro increases. Here potentially, is a powerful weapon in his fight against segregation.

The drive moves through many channels.

The woman in Tuskegee may have decided to try to register after hearing a constantly-repeated radio appeal attending a meeting, or simply receiving a handbill.

Provide Help

Elsewhere Negro workers canvass a residential district on registration days, ringing doorbells. If the housewife isn't registered they urge her to go to the courthouse immediately. If she has no transportation, they provide it. If she says she can't leave her children they offer to baby-sit.

Or they station themselves in municipal buildings. A Negro comes in for, say a driver's license. They ask whether he is registered. If not, they try to persuade him to do so there and then.

Another device is the "voter clinic." This is a meeting in which Negro instructors show would-be applicants the technicalities of registering, how to correctly fill out the forms. In Tuskegee alone during the month of June, there were 19 such "clinics."

And there is the famous Alabama mule. He walks through the streets of Huntsville, carrying a sandwich billboard. The sign reads, "I'm not registered because I'm a mule. What's your excuse?"

The Goal

Speaking of the voter registration drivers, Bishop George W. Baber of the African Methodist Episcopal Church said:

"The objectives of the campaign would be accomplished substantially by registering and voting every single, eligible voter within sight or hearing of our membership. Our goal is a minimum of two million new Negro voters North and South."

The movement is steady and seems to be gaining momentum. What are the results?

Exact figures for the South as a whole are not complete. However, the Department of Justice and the Southern Regional Council's "voter education project" pinpoint the changes in some specific areas.

In Tennessee's Haywood and Fayette Counties a Justice Department official said, Negro registration has jumped from 150 to about 5,000 in five years.

Bullock County, Alabama, had four Negro voters on the rolls in 1961, he said. Now the figure is 1,341. In the city of Montgomery, the rate of registration of Negroes used to be about 200 a year. Now it is about 200 per month he said.

Statistics on 11 Southern states, compiled by the Southern Regional Council, indicate that about one-fourth of the Negroes of voting age are registered. The figures show a total of 5,045,000 of whom 1,344,000 are registered. Wiley Branton, an SRC executive said the figures are incomplete, some counties being as yet untabulated.

Comparable figures for the white voting population in these states show 17,539,000, of whom 10,566,000 are registered.

How to Block Them

Especially in areas where Negroes outnumber the whites—sometimes by as much as five to one — many devices have been used to keep political power in the hands of the whites.

Registration boards met irregularly and at widely-spaced intervals. They worked slowly, and then quit for the day while Negroes were still waiting in line to file applications. Or they rejected applications on technical grounds.

For example, on March 17, 1961, after a long legal battle a federal court in Alabama ruled on a lawsuit involving Macon County. The judge wrote in his memorandum that:

"18 applicants, more than half of whom had college or advanced degrees were rejected for such inconsequential, formal technical mistakes."

He ordered the board to register 64 Negroes and to give priority attention to 400 applicants on the waiting list.

Similarly, in testimony before the House Judiciary Committee, Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy said:

"In one county Negroes have been required to copy and interpret long, archaic sections of the state constitution and then have been rejected for omissions of punctuation. Whites, meanwhile have been asked to copy such simply provisions as 'There shall be no imprisonment for debt.' "

Mississippi's Gov. Ross Barnett, ascribed the small number of registered Negroes in his state to other causes. In a copyrighted interview with U.S. News and World Report" he said:

"The primary reasons for the fewer Negro voters include illiteracy, apathy and the law requiring payment of a poll tax. So many Negroes are not qualified to vote."

As to literacy qualifications for registering, he said:

"They have to be able to read and understand and interpret a section of the constitution of the state of Mississippi. We don't believe in having ignorant people elect our officials."

As Negro voting strength increases, what are the political implications for a candidate for public office in the South.

There have been indications already—although it is difficult to say with certainty—that the Negro vote tipped the balance in certain elections. Some residents of Birmingham, Ala.; for example say Negro ballots ousted T. Eugene (Bull) Connor from the city government. Others are not so sure.

'The Best Qualified'

In any case, the thousands of new Negro votes can be expected today to go to the man with "moderate" views on segregation and against the candidate running on a program of strict "white supremacy." In a close election this could spell the difference.

In Tuskegee, Ala. Negro leaders say they already outnumber the whites in registered voters. Thus, theoretically, they could elect a mayor and an entire city government. But William P Mitchell executive secretary of the Tuskegee Civic Association, says:

"We would discourage an all-Negro slate. We don't want Negro domination and we have preached that for years.

"We just want to vote for the best qualified man."

DURHAM, N.C.
HERALD
D. 35,032 S. 41,626

AUG 21 1963

Official Declares Segregation Cost In South 'Awful'

GUILFORD COLLEGE (AP) — A Southern Regional Council official said here Tuesday that segregation has been maintained in the South "at an awful cost."

Dr. Henry Clark told the Continental Congress of Liberal Religious Youth at Guilford College that "Booker T. Washington said the only way you can keep a man in the ditch is to stay there with him. And that is what has happened in the South."

The costs of prejudice have been terrific economically, Dr. Clark said. "Racial prejudice has been very important in keeping unions out of the South and preventing workers from getting their fair share of profits from industry," he told 186 teen-agers at the Universalist - Unitarian Young People's Meeting.

Dr. Clark said, however, that although the costs have been high, the white people have realized some economical, psychological and political gains from segregation.

Dr. Clark made his remarks Tuesday when he appeared on a panel discussion entitled "Prejudice as it affects the minority and majority." Also appearing on the panel were M. Carl Holman, information office of the Civil Rights Commission in Washington, and Rabbi Joseph Asher of Greensboro.

EL DORADO, ARK.
TIMES
D. 10,869 S. 11,609

AUG 21 1963

BRANTON NAMED

LITTLE ROCK (AP) — A New York Comhittee has named Wiley A. Branton of Pine Bluff to coordinate seven national civil rights organizations for the next six months.

The appointment of the Negro attorney was announced by the Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense (WELD). Branton will maintain his position as head of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council at Atlanta, Ga.

The Atlanta Journal
"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"
D. 259,003

AUG 2 1 1963

WILEY BRANTON

Atlanta Is in Forefront of Quiet But Momentous Civil Rights Move

By PAT WATTERS

AGAINST all the fanfare and fervor of the buildup to a civil rights moment of truth in Washington, a probably more significant development has been taking place this summer in the background. And an Atlantan is in the forefront of it, Wiley A. Branton, a Negro leader strangely unsung, unknown locally, but of the very top echelon nationally.

The nation's seven leading civil rights organizations have, after years of sometimes vicious, always enfeebling internecine competition, temporarily banded together — agreeing to quit disagreeing over means to mutual ends.

This coincides with a new stabilizing force in the underwriting of the civil rights revolution. As described by Reese Cleghorn recently in the New Republic, big-time money and organization, largely through efforts of the Taconic Foundation headed by Stephen R. Currier of New York, are finally coming behind the revolution.

NEW PHASE

Some might say that with the development, the revolution has moved into a final, familiar, uniquely American phase — gilt-edge respectability. No longer, anyhow, should there be the impetus or temptation toward unnecessary extremes (proneness to violence for example) for the sake of fiscal survival.

Mr. Branton of Atlanta has been named to coordinate the activities (including raising $1,500,000 jointly) of the seven civil rights organizations. In the words of one sometimes irreverent Negro leader, this makes him "president of the Negroes in America."

This new move could be the beginning of a long-range unified approach of civil rights organizations, said Mr. Branton . . . Of Atlanta, he said fixed patterns of segregated housing may be the most significant stumbling block to desegregation. This didn't matter as much before all the court orders . . .

A quiet-spoken, deliberate man, Mr. Branton would be the first to disclaim such a title. For him, it will be more work of the same hard kind he has done for a year and a half as coordinator of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. (Another important joint effort of Negro organizations, this project reported 115,000 new voters registered in the South its first year, and 25,000 voters saved from purge lists.)

Mr. Branton will continue both jobs during the six months he has been named to the new one, commuting from here to New York. He brings to it a shrewd and undeluded ability to appraise organizations and individuals, and a demanding control of purse strings.

Mr. Branton came to Atlanta from Little Rock. He was chief counsel in the famous school desegregation suits there. He has served as a civil rights lawyer in other phases of the revolution, has spoken over the nation on the subject, has lived unperturbed through sieges of Arkansas harassment for his activities (a cross was burning on his lawn when the youngest of his six children was brought home from the hospital . . . and yet white court officials presented him a silver tray when he moved), and he has received many honors and awards outside Atlanta.

STARTLING

He startled people earlier this year when in reply to charges he was an outside agitator in Greenwood, Miss., he pointed out he was descended from a pioneer family, a French trader and Indian princess, for whom Greenwood and Leflore County were named. Ensuing publicity brought a joking telegram from his brother, a lawyer in Los Angeles whose clients include Nat King Cole. You had to open your big mouth, it said. Now they probably won't serve me in bars out here. (It's against the law to serve drinks to Indians in California.)

This is the joking approach to a worlds-apart anomaly which as one friend put it, makes Mr. Branton look white among whites, Negro among Negroes. (Quietly and surely with grim humor, he desegregated many staunchly segregationist Atlanta restaurants long before the student drive. Of one, he says, "I stopped eating there because they wouldn't desegregate . . .")

The serious approach is more profound. Mr. Branton's life, with another chapter beginning with this new, vital job, is a large factor in changing American history.

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED (N)
AUG 21 1963

Branton To Coordinate Rights Committee Work

The Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense (WELD) today announced that Wiley A. Branton, a leader in the Negro voter registration drive in the South, will coordinate the activities of seven national civil rights agencies over the next six months.

It also announced receipt of a $50,000 grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to assist in achieving, through peaceful means, equal rights for all citizens.

Mr. Branton, one of the nation's highly regarded civil rights attorneys, will work closely with the leadership of all seven agencies to strengthen and coordinate their activities in the field.

WELD is composed of the Educational Fund of the National Council of Negro Women, the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund and the National Urban League. Its Co-chairmen, Stephen R. Currier and Whitney M. Young, Jr., are also Co-Chairmen of the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership, which includes these three tax-exempt organizations and the Congress of Racial Equality, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

In announcing Mr. Branton's appointment, Mr. Young and Mr. Currier said he brings to the co-

(Continued on Page 8, Col. 1)

Branton To

(Continued from Page One)

ordinated effort a wealth of experience and dedication to the civil rights movement. They commended his willingness to assume a key role in the unity program represented by the Council and WELD while continuing with the vitally important Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council which has been carrying out voter registration campaigns in Southern cities.

Mr. Young and Mr. Currier said that WELD and the Council are seeking to raise $1.5 million in joint emergency funds to meet the unexpected costs of the current civil rights crisis. Contributions to WELD, which are tax deductible, may be sent to 10 Columbus Circle, New York 19, N. Y.

It will be Mr. Branton's task to help focus the efforts of the participating organizations, each of which retains full autonomy and continues to pursue their own objective—equal rights—in a variety of ways for maximum effectiveness within the framework of orderly democratic processes to which the organizations are dedicated.

Mr. Branton, a graduate of the University of Arkansas School of Low, has represented, at various times, virtually all of the civil rights organizations comprising the Council. He served as legal counsel for the Little Rock, Arkansas school cases and in a large number of constitutional questions involving freedom riders and equal opportunities matters.

Mr. Branton was born in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, attended local schools, and served for 3½ years in the U. S. Army Far Eastern Theater. He is married to the former Lucille McKee of Memphis, Tennessee, and has six children. Among recent awards he has received are:

C. Francis Stratford Award by National Bar Association, Chicago, 1958.

Outstanding Citizen of the Year Award, Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Cleveland, Ohio, 1958.

Demonocratic Minority Conference Award, Los Angeles, California, 1959.

Arkansas Conference NAACP Award, for outstanding legal work in the field of civil rights, 1958.

Cited by LIFE Magazine as one of the 100 most important young men and women in the United States, September 14, 1962.

HICKORY, N.C.
RECORD
D. 22,399

AUG 22 1963

Teens Told Costs High For Prejudice

GUILFORD COLLEGE (AP) — A Southern Regional Council official said here Tuesday that segregation had been maintained in the South "at an awful cost."

Dr. Henry Clark of Atlanta told the Continental Congress of Liberal Religious Youth at Guilford College that "Booker T. Washington said the only way you can keep a man in the ditch is to stay there with him. And that is what has happened in the South."

The costs of prejudice have been terrific economically, Clark said. "Racial prejudice has been very important in keeping unions out of the South and preventing workers from getting their fair share of profits from industry."

Clark said that although the costs have been high, the white people have realized some economic, psychological and political gains from segregation.

The conference is being attended by 186 teen-agers.

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS
REGISTER
W. 9,912 (N)

AUG 23 1963

Little Known Foundation Gives Million to Rights Fight

By the Associated Negro Press

NEW YORK—More than $1,000,000 has been quietly pumped into the civil rights fight since 1958 by a young publicity shy son of a distinguished American artist and his wife who is the granddaughter of the powerful Pennsylvania industrialist, Andrew Mellon.

Through their Tactonic Foundation, Stephen R. Currier, who is 32, and his wife, Audrey, have given financial aid to such organizations as the NAACP, the National Urban league, the Southern Regional council and the Potomac Institute, created by them "to eliminate discrimination and advance equal opportunity for all Americans."

Currier was largely responsible for the recent decision of seven predominantly Negro civil rights organizations to establish common fund-raising units to meet the additional financial burden of the great increase in civil rights activities.

Currier is the son of the late Richard Currier, a painter who lived for many years in Europe, and of Mrs. Elizabeth Galt Griscom Currier.

His wife is the former Audrey Bruce, daughter of David K. E. Bruce, United States ambassador to Britain, and Bruce's former wife, Mrs. Alisa Mellon Bruce. Mrs. Currier's mother is the daughter of the late Andrew Mellon, one-time secretary of the treasury.

The Curriers established the foundation because they believed that they, as possessors of wealth and the advantages that went with it, had a deep obligation to the less privileged.

Determined to put their money to the best possible use, they made a thorough study of the field of philanthropy and the work done by other foundations.

They concluded that certain areas, such as higher education, medicine, science and the arts, were already well served financially and decided to concentrate primarily on race relations, child welfare and mental health.

Studies made under the auspices of the foundation or with its financial help then convinced the Curriers that the most serious problem was that of the "deprived" Negro. Of the money they have put into the foundation from year to year, more and more has gone to help solve this problem.

Complete figures on the foundation's grants are not available, but those that are, show that in 1960, $162,000, was devoted to race relations; in 1961, $260,200; and in 1962, $318,500. Already this year the foundation has committed $400,000 to this work.

The total outlay of the fund in 1960 was $347,703; in 1961, $585,477, and in 1962, $605,569.

In addition to race relations, grants have been made for youth and welfare work, for a study of youth unemployment, for mental health and urban problems, and to community and neighborhood organizations.

The Tactonic foundation also has established and supports the Potomac institute in Washington. Its purpose is "to eliminate discrimination and advance equal opportunity for all Americans."

Of the $400,000 already committed this year for race relations work, $125,000 is going to the Southern Regional council for its program to increase Negro voter registration in the South. The Tactonic foundation has already granted $125,000 more for this project.

Approximately $100,000 is for the Potomac institute; $80,000 for the Urban league: $25,000 for the legal defense, and educational fund

GREENVILLE, S.C.
NEWS
D. 82,430 S. 86,866

AUG 22 1963

Segregation's Cost 'Awful'

GUILFORD COLLEGE, N. C. (AP) — A Southern Regional Council official said here Tuesday that segregation has been maintained in the South "at an awful cost."

Dr. Henry Clark told the Continental Congress of Liberal Religious Youth at Guilford College that "Booker T. Washington said the only way you can keep a man in the ditch is to stay there with him. And that is what has happened in the South.

The costs of prejudice have been terrific economically, Dr. Clark said. "Racial prejudice has been very important in keeping unions out of the South and preventing workers from getting their fair share of profits from industry," he told 186 teen-agers at the Universalist-Unitarian young people's meeting.

AUGUSTA, GA.
CHRONICLE
D. 45,160 S. 55,793

AUG 21 1963

Segregation cost is termed high

GUILFORD COLLEGE, N. N. (AP)—A Southern Regional Council official said here Tuesday that segregation has been maintained in the south "at an awful cost."

Dr. Henry Clark of Atlanta, told the continental congress of liberal religious youth at Guilford College that the costs of prejudice have been terrific economically.

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Approximately $100,000 is for the Potomac institute; $80,000 for the Urban league; $25,000 for the legal defense, and educational fund of the NAACP, and the remaining $70,000 for what was described as "miscellaneous projects."

Currier's work with Negro civil rights organizations convinced him that greater co-ordination was needed in their fund-raising activities. Largely through his efforts, seven of them formed for this purpose the Council for Civil Rights Leadership and the Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense.

He arranged a breakfast at the Hotel Carlyle on June 19 at which leaders of the seven organizations explained their needs to 96 corporation and foundation leaders. This meeting produced nearly $800,000 for the council.

Currier is president of the foundation and also of Currier and company, which manages the family's business interests.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.
LOUISIANA WEEKLY (N)
W. 19,532

AUG 24 1963

Foundation Grants $1 Million To Civil Rights Fight In Four Years

NEW YORK (ANP) -- More than $1,000,000 has been quietly pumped into the civil rights fight since 1958 by a young publicity shy son of a distinguished American artist and his wife who is the granddaughter of the powerful Pennsylvania industrialist, Andrew Mellon.

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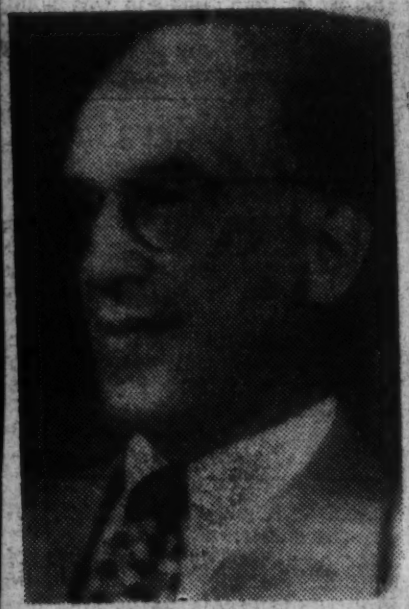
In addition to race relations, grants have been made for youth and welfare work, for a study of youth unemployment, for mental health and urban problems, and to community and neighborhood organizations.

ATLANTA, GA. PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
WORLD (N)
D. 29,800
AUG 25 1963

Forrester B. Washington Dies After Long Illness

NEW YORK CITY — Dr. Forrester B. Washington, distinguished sociologist and educator, died here Saturday morning after an extended illness. He resided at 200 West 190th Street.

Funeral services will be held Tuesday, at Detroit, Michigan.



DR. FORRESTER WASHINGTON

A native of Salem, Mass., he received baccalaureate degrees from Tufts College, Medford, Mass., and Columbia University, New York City. He did graduate work at Harvard University and was awarded an honorary LL. D., by Morehouse College.

Dr. Washington started his long career as a social worker and educator as executive director of the Detroit Urban League in 1916. He held other important positions, including supervisor Dept of Labor; director research bureau, Detroit Associated Charities; and executive secretary, Armstrong Association, Philadelphia.

DIRECTOR A. U. SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK 28 YEARS

He served as director of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, Atlanta, Ga., for 28 years, from 1927 until he retired in 1955. Immediately after leaving Atlanta University, he worked for the Harmon Foundation on African Studies.

Before his retirement, Dr. Washington held membership in numerous professional organizations and contributed articles to the leading journals and periodicals in the field of Social Work. He was a member of the Southern Regional Council, the Fulton County Citizens Democratic Club; Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity and was former president of the Atlanta Chapter of the NAACP.

It is the request of the family

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 4)

Forrester Washington

(Continued from Page One)

that instead of sending flowers, his friends will send contributions to the Forrest B. Washington Scholarship Loan Fund at Atlanta University. This fund was set up to aid students desirous of training for careers in the field of Social Work.

Immediate survivors include his wife, Mrs. Sophronia J. Washington; a daughter, Mrs. Dorothy Jackson, Detroit, Mich.; two brothers, Lawrence and Ernest Washington, Boston, Mass.; a grandson, Ronald Jackson, a student at Morehouse College; and two nephews, Lawrence M. Washington, Atlanta; and Dr. John W. Washington, Dayton, Ohio.

WALL STREET JOURNAL.
CLEVELAND, OHIO
D. 207,360 PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
AUG 27 1963

A Shift in Strategy

Mass Demonstrations Begin to Lose Favor With Integration Forces

Especially in Dixie, Negroes Turn More to Boycotts and Drives to Register Voters

Activists Soon to Be in School

By WILLIAM E. BLUNDELL
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

With the nation's attention riveted on tomorrow's march on Washington, who would claim the technique of public demonstrations, employed more than 1,000 times this summer, is losing favor with militant Negro rights organizations?

Many Negro leaders would—and do—make this claim, especially Negro leaders in the South. They reveal a significant shift in the strategy of civil rights groups.

"This is the watchword now: Stay out of jail, keep your money in your pockets and register every voter you can get your hands on," says Charles Evers, who has taken over as Mississippi field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People following the murder of his brother, Medgar, this summer.

What Mr. Evers is calling for are more intensive boycotts and stepped up voter registration drives in place of street demonstrations which put hundreds of Negroes into jail.

"Negroes are just beginning to realize that big demonstrations of the civil disobedience variety are not a magic formula," says Paul Anthony, field director of the Southern Regional Council, a respected bi-racial human rights group. "Demonstrations have been and will continue to be useful where they can trigger community action. But in some communities, the trigger is pulled but the gun doesn't go off. White resistance just solidifies."

Mixed Results

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A Shift in Strategy: Demonstrations Begin to Lose Integrationists' Favor

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A Shift in Strategy

Mass Demonstrations Begin to Lose Favor With Integration Forces

Especially in Dixie, Negroes Turn More to Boycotts and Drives to Register Voters

Activists Soon to Be in School

By WILLIAM E. BLUNDELL
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

With the nation's attention riveted on tomorrow's march on Washington, who would claim the technique of public demonstrations, employed more than 1,000 times this summer, is losing favor with militant Negro rights organizations?

Many Negro leaders would—and do—make this claim, especially Negro leaders in the South. They reveal a significant shift in the strategy of civil rights groups.

"This is the watchword now: Stay out of jail, keep your money in your pockets and register every voter you can get your hands on," says Charles Evers, who has taken over as Mississippi field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People following the murder of his brother, Medgar, this summer.

What Mr. Evers is calling for are more intensive boycotts and stepped up voter registration drives in place of street demonstrations which put hundreds of Negroes into jail.

"Negroes are just beginning to realize that big demonstrations of the civil disobedience variety are not a magic formula," says Paul Anthony, field director of the Southern Regional Council, a respected bi-racial human rights group. "Demonstrations have been and will continue to be useful where they can trigger community action. But in some communities, the trigger is pulled but the gun doesn't go off. White resistance just solidifies."

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Negroes are well aware that when school opens their children will be vulnerable to disciplinary action by school officials if they miss school as a result of their demonstrating. Says Mr. Evers: "We simply can't afford to take the chance of our children getting expelled. We remember Birmingham."

In that city, 1,081 school children were suspended or expelled for participating in riots in May. Though a Federal court overturned the school board ruling on a technicality, sources close to the Birmingham school board indicate youthful demonstrators will meet the same reception if they try again.

An Economic Argument

Southern school boards advance an economic argument for taking a tough stand on truancy caused by demonstrations: "We intend to be very intolerant of truancy of this nature," promises Savannah School Board President Dr. Darnell Brawner. "With more than half our operating revenues coming from the state on the basis of average daily attendance, we just can't afford to look the other way."

All this, of course, doesn't mean that young Negroes will be taken out of the picture entirely when school opens. Negro leaders note that nights and weekends will still be available for demonstrations. Also, militant Negro college students trooping back to school will doubtless form the core of many demonstrations in towns near their schools. Nevertheless, the opening of school signals the death knell for massive marches in many communities.

Besides being influenced by school reopenings, Negro strategists are reacting to the lack of success they've had with demonstrations in such Southern cities as Jackson and Albany, Ga. Demonstrations having failed to gain the objective in these towns, Negroes are switching to more subtle methods which some refer to as "guerrilla warfare."

Consider Albany, a little southwestern Georgia trade center. Big demonstrations there in 1961 and last year have failed completely to budge an adamant city government. Quick police action has consistently broken up Negro demonstration efforts and, as a result, there hasn't been a major demonstration all this year, Negro and white leaders report.

"We had to switch strategy after the demonstrations had no tangible effect," says M. S. Page, executive secretary of the Albany movement. "And frankly, many of our adult Negroes simply don't have the backbone for it; they've been frightened off. So now we're waging guerrilla warfare, hanging on with bulldog tenacity."

Mass Boycott

The Albany Negroes have turned to a mass boycott. Since it began early this year, Negroes drive out of town to buy in nearby Moultrie, in Columbus, 85 miles away and even in Atlanta 170 miles away. Some go in a car pool arranged by the movement. "I figure I've spent about $2,000 out of town this year," says Mr. Page, who recently motored

Please Turn to Page 6, Column 2

Success of a Fake: Simulated Furs Attract Fast-Growing Demand

Continued From First Page

dresses, shifts, hats, purses, slacks, shoes and parkas are among items for fall that are made of simulated fur. Cabana Beachwear Co. even is bringing out a $30 tiger fabric bathing suit.

Although fake furs are going mainly into women's garments at this time, makers of children's clothing are using them increasingly. Phony pony for children's coats and parkas is a popular item. And Dave Paris, president of Steffi Fashions, Inc., says he is making coats for girls from age three up in eight patterns, including calf and civet cat, and is far behind in getting out his orders.

Makers of women's coats report a similar prosperity. Morton Metzger, general manager of Morris Metzger & Sons, which produces the Sportown line of coats, says "this is the biggest year since we've been in business." Herbert Haar, Jr., secretary-treasurer of Fairmoor Coat & Suit Corp., says sales are running 90% ahead of a year ago and would be up considerably more if he could get more deliveries of the fake fur fabrics.

Steffi Fashions' Mr. Paris declares that the boom in fake furs has "really kicked the woolen business in the teeth." And makers of wool coating fabrics concede they have suffered. "Fake fur unquestionably has cut into our business," says one manufacturer. "The only question is how long the fake fur fad will last."

Furriers, on the other hand, say they have noticed no ill effects. Few women who buy coats of fake fur could be regarded as potential buyers of real fur coats, they contend.

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AUG 27 1963

A Shift in Strategy

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The Atlanta Journal
"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"
D. 259,003

AUG 2 7 1963

Chatham Righters To Get New Office

Special to The Atlanta Journal

SAVANNAH, Aug. 27 — The Chatham County Crusade of Voters is moving from its rent-free office in quarters of a subversive-branded union "to protect our own reputation," its president has announced.

Hosea Williams, also president of the Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters, said he hopes the civil rights organization can relocate by Wednesday. Two offices are being considered, he said.

The organization is now using quarters of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, which has been labeled Communist-controlled by the Subversive Activities Control Commission of the federal government. The union is appealing.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS leader admitted some top echelon personnel of the union have been cited for subversive activity. But he denied that any members of the Savannah local are guilty. "I have no doubt of their patriotism," he said.

He said the decision to move offices was made because his organization "must be beyond criticism."

In announcing the imminent move, the civil rights leader also said he believes Georgia Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook and U.S. Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy should investigate the Savannah local and make public its findings.

HE CHARGED the controversy here stems from a "witch-hunt" by The Atlanta Constitution.

The civil rights leader said his organization is financially broke and is appealing for aid from the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

He said if aid can be obtained, his organization will concentrate on voter registration and organizing "adult citizenship schools." Unless aid is forthcoming, however, he said the voter registration drive may be "doomed."

No more street demonstrations are planned at this time, he said.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
For 95 Years the South's Standard Newspaper
D. 202,635

AUG 2 8 1963

Voter Crusade Demonstrates Wisdom In Decision to Vacate Free Office

The decision of the Chatham County Crusade for Voters to relinquish free office space, supplied by a union with alleged Communist ties, should be a lesson all around.

Except among those who oppose equal rights movements with or without provocation, the Crusade's action should show good faith.

And for the Crusade itself, the whole episode is a sobering reminder that reformers have a special duty to be above suspicion.

The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers has been declared Communist-controlled by the federal Subversive Activities Control Commission.

The commission's findings are on appeal. Furthermore, the Crusade's president, Hosea Williams, said he knew of no members of the Savannah local engaged in subversive activities.

Whatever the truth of the charges, the reputation of the union is such that its involvement hurts the Crusade. Mr. Williams said the bad publicity was "beneficial in one way" because he "had no idea how much damage" could be done to the civil rights movement by the involvement.

That is straight to the point. Those who oppose Negro efforts for equal justice seized upon the free office in an effort to weave a pattern of Communist conspiracy around the perfectly respectable activities the Crusade, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the Southern Regional Council and anyone or anything else in sight.

It should be no surprise that Communist efforts to divide Americans include concentrating on a real weakness: our failure to live up at times to the promises of the American creed.

That Negroes consistently and almost unanimously over the years have rejected hypocritical Communist overtures is a credit to their loyalty and restraint. Action of the Chatham Crusade fits well into that tradition.

The New York Times
WESTERN EDITION
D. 100,000

AUG 29 1963

SPARKED BY SIT-IN IN GREENSBORO, N.C.

Militancy Has Swept the Nation, Giving Negroes New Confidence

By CLAUDE SITTON
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 — The changing mood of the Negro people and the urgency of their drive for equality emerged dramatically today in a show of strength by a protest movement only three-and-a-half years old.

The outpouring of Negroes and their white supporters raised a serious question as to whether the Kennedy Administration's civil rights proposals could ease the national crisis over the issue, even if they were adopted by a seemingly reluctant Congress.

Few who saw the marchers or talked with their leaders could be but impressed by their enthusiasm, determination and confidence. Few could but ask where was the seeming resignation with which many Negroes once accepted their place in American society. It seemed to have disappeared forever.

That resignation was always more apparent than real. This was demonstrated frequently in the past by the Negroes relatively frequent, if often forgotten, revolts against oppression dating back to the earliest slave uprisings.

Time and again the Negro's hopes were raised by piecemeal steps toward equality: the Emancipation Proclamation, the social changes growing out of two world wars and the Supreme Court decision in 1954 against public school segregation. But these resulted largely from action by whites.

Now, his leaders' statements, his own militant behavior and the new light in which others see him show that he is no longer an interested bystander in the civil rights struggle.

Today's appeal to Congress and the nation, more than anything else, served notice that the Negro believes that he is as much a master of his destiny as any American.

This significant change began to emerge three-and-a-half years ago in Greensboro, N. C., a Piedmont city of 119,574 persons whose industrial growth and two party politics make it a symbol of the changing South.

For Negroes, the year 1960 had opened on a somber note. A Federal grand jury at Biloxi, Miss., refused to indict suspects in the slaying of Mack Charles Parker, a Negro who had been dragged from a jail cell in Poplarville, Miss., and lynched while awaiting trial on a charge of raping a white

RICHMOND, KY.
REGISTER
D. 5,105

AUG 29 1963

MARCH ON WASHINGTON WAS A PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION

It is gratifying that the Negro march on Washington was completely without untoward incident. The vast throng was orderly and the complete lack of violence was fortunate. The leaders are to be commended for this, as are the followers.

Some of the speakers called for an extension of demonstrations across the country in a sustained effort to create support for civil rights legislation. We doubt the wisdom of this.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that demonstrations "are not a magic formula" says Paul Anthony, field director of the Southern Regional Council, a respected bi-racial human rights group. In some southern communities Anthony said "white resistance just solidifies", following demonstrations.

In demonstrations in southern communities high school Negro students have formed a large portion of the demonstrators. With the students returning to school it will be more difficult to assemble big crowds to stage demonstrations.

The impression prevails that Negro demonstrations have been more successful in the North than in the South. In some Southern communities it seems likely that the strategy will be changed, with emphasis being shifted to registering of Negro voters.

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Tuskegee Report Noted

Tuskegee Institute, in its annual report on race relations, asserted that aside from action by Federal courts and agencies the nation had done little in 1959 to improve the Negroes' lot.

There had been earlier indications, principally in the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott in 1955-56 that Negroes might find the unity necessary for a broadside assault on segregation and discrimination. But nothing approaching it developed until four youths from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College walked into the F. W. Woolworth store on Greensboro's North Elm Street at 4:45 P.M. Feb. 1, 1960, and sat down at the "white" lunch counter.

There had been other sit-ins but this one marked the beginning of a series that swept the South and later evolved into a widespread civil rights movement. This generated the crisis now facing the entire nation.

The sit-ins were at first dismissed as just another college fad. But as their frequency increased, whites appeared baffled. Mayor William G. Enloe of Raleigh, N. C., issued a statement at the time that reflected the false hope with which some comforted themselves.

"It is regrettable that some of our young Negro students would risk endangering Raleigh's friendly and cooperative race relations by seeking to change a long-standing custom in a manner that is all but destined to fail," he said.

White Southerners appealed to Negro leaders to halt the demonstrations. Instead, these leaders expressed support for the students, who had become almost overnight the cutting edge of the drive for equality. Signs of dissatisfaction over the slow pace of desegregation in schools and other public facilities became increasingly evident throughout the Negro community.

Informal organizations sprang up at colleges and universities outside the South to support the demonstrators. Even a few white Southern students joined Negroes at lunch counters in Durham, N.C., Nashville and Atlanta.

Far more than the Supreme Court school decision, the sit-ins convinced white leaders in the South that the end of segregation was inevitable. A surprising number of them outside the hard-core segregationist states sought to find a compromise. Although many of them were motivated by economic considerations stemming from the threat of disorder, a number of communities nevertheless removed racial barriers for the first time without legal compulsion.

Seven months after the sit-ins had begun, the Southern Regional Council reported that a survey had found that at least 70,000 Negroes and whites had actively participated in the protests. The campaign had spread to all of the Southern and Border states as well as into Nevada, Illinois and Ohio—twenty in all. An estimated total of 3,600 students and their supporters had been arrested.

But these, perhaps, were the least important results of the demonstrations. Profound changes began to become apparent with the civil rights movement, its leaders and its organizations. These changes included the formation of a new group.

This took place in April, 1960, when representatives of student groups in the South and North met at Shaw University in Raleigh on Easter weekend and formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Members of Snick, as it is popularly known, soon became and remain today the shock troops of the civil rights struggle in the South.

The Congress of Racial Equality, which had pioneered the sit-ins following its founding in Chicago in 1942, guided and advised many of the demonstrations in 1960 and thus gained a foothold in the South.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who had gained prominence as a leader of the Montgomery bus boycott, stepped up the activity of his Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He founded the organization, chiefly a coalition of local groups led by Negro ministers, in 1957.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, oldest and largest of the civil rights organizations, began to place increasing emphasis on sit-ins and other forms of direct action against racial barriers. The stimulus came from criticism that its leaders had relied too heavily on legal action.

One success followed another as the movement picked up strength and intensity. Additional impetus came from the Kennedy Administration's inauguration of a much stronger civil rights policy. Negroes continued to find a sympathetic hearing in the Federal courts, escpecially above the District Court level.

The sit-ins at luch counters lost momentum but Negroes turned to other forms of protest in attacking segregation in restaurants, churches, parks, playgrounds and beaches. They also began to press for equal job opportunity, now their chief goal throughout much of the nation.

The Freedom Riders met a riotious reception in Anniston, Birmingham and Montgomery, Ala., in May, 1961. This phase of the movement was short-lived and involved no more than 1,000 persons. But it brought a ruling from the Interstate Commerce Commission prohibiting segregation on buses and in bus terminals and it spurred Justice Department action against all segregation in public transportation.

The demonstrations in the South led Negroes in the North to take a critical look at their own position. They soon joined the struggle with drives against de facto school segregation and discrimination in housing and employment.

White Southerners reacted to the rising pressure by making token adjustments, sometimes violently but far more frequently with peaceful, though grudging, acceptance of the inevitable. However, Negroes met increasing resistance as the tide of social change rolled into the Deep South.

The admission of two Negroes to the University of Georgia led to a riot. This was followed by the state's retreat from its policy of massive resistance to desegregation in education and the peaceful enrollment of Negroes in four Atlanta high schools.

This year brought what some already are calling the turning point of the fight for equality. It began with a spirited drive by Negroes of the Mississippi Delta for voter registration, highlighted by the demonstrations and arrests in Greenwood.

But it was the conflict between Negroes and resisting white segregationists in Birmingham, with its police dogs and fire hoses, that caught the attention of the nation and touched off demonstrations in the South and North.

Out of Birmingham, one observer has said, came a realization that "the alternatives may not be those of the civil war—indivisible union or irreparable separation—but they are no less stark and serious: total equality or total repression."

In a very real sense, this is the question some observers think was put to the Congress today.

St. Petersburg Times
ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.
D. 127,804 S. 132,035

AUG 29 1963

APPRAISAL

Negro Now Becoming Master Of His

Determination Replaces Acceptance Of Fate

By CLAUDE SITTON

Special To The Times
From The New York Times

WASHINGTON—The Negro's changing mood and the urgency of his drive for equality emerged dramatically yesterday in a show of strength by a protest movement only three and a half years old.

The massed ranks of the demonstrators before the Lincoln Memorial indicated that the civil rights campaign was still gathering momentum and that it could not be slowed, much less reversed.

THE OUTPOURING of Negroes and their white supporters raised a serious question as to whether the Kennedy administration's civil rights proposals could ease the national crisis over the issue even if they were adopted by a seemingly reluctant Congress.

Those who saw the marchers or talked with their leaders were impressed by their enthusiasm, determination and confidence. One wondered if the seeming resignation with which many Negroes once accepted their place in American society has disappeared forever.

Time and again the Negro's hopes have been raised by piecemeal steps toward equality: the Emancipation Proclamation, the social changes growing out of two world wars and the 1954 Supreme Court decision against public segregation. But these resulted largely from action by whites.

Yesterday his leaders' statements, his own militant behavior and then ew light in which others see him show that the Negro is no longer a [illegible] interested bystander in the civil rights struggle. And yesterday's appeal to Congress and the nation, more than anything else, served notice that he believes he is as much a master of his own destiny as any American.

THIS SIGNIFICANT change began to emerge three and a half years ago in Greensboro, N.C., a Piedmont city of 119,574 persons whose industrial growth and two-party politics make it a fitting symbol of the changing South.

For Negroes, 1960 had opened on a somber note.

Tuskegee Institute, in its annual report on race relations, asserted that aside from action by federal courts and agencies the nation had done little in 1959 to improve the Negro's lot.

There had been indications in the 1955-56 Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott that Negroes might find the unity necessary for a broad-scale assault on segregation and discrimination. But nothing approaching it developed until four youths from North Carolina A. & T. College walked into Woolworth's store on Greensboro's North Elm Street at 4:45 p.m. the afternoon of Feb. 1, 1960, and sat down at the "white" lunch counter.

This marked the beginning of a widespread civil rights movement and generated the crisis now facing the entire nation.

DISMISSED at first as just another college fad, the sit-ins increased and the whites appeared baffled. Mayor William G. Enloe of Raleigh, N.C., issued a statement at the time that reflected the false hope that prevailed.

"It is regrettable that some of our young Negro students would risk endangering Raleigh's friendly and cooperative race relations by seeking to change a long-standing custom in a manner that is all but destined to fail," said the mayor.

White Southerners appealed to Negro leaders to halt the demonstrations. Instead, these leaders expressed support for the students, who had become almost overnight the cutting edge of the drive for equality. And dissatisfaction over the slow pace of desegregation in schools and other public facilities became increasingly apparent.

Far more than the Supreme Court school decision, the sit-ins convinced white leaders in the South that the end of segregation was inevitable. And a surprising number of them outside the hard core segregationist states sought to find a compromise. While many of them were motivated by economic considerations stemming from Negro boycotts and the loss of white business that resulted from the threat of disorder, a number of communities nevertheless removed racial barriers for the first time without legal compulsion.

SEVEN MONTHS after the sit-in's began, the Southern Regional Council reported that 3,600 students and their supporters had been arrested.

John H. Wheeler, a Durham, N.C., Negro lawyer and president of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, said that the Negro community had been divided in the past over the issue of pressing for desegregation, "not because it didn't want it but because it wasn't convinced that it could take place."

One success followed another as the movement picked up strength and intensity. Additional impetus came from the Kennedy administration's stronger civil rights policy. And Negroes continued to find a sympathetic hearing in the federal courts.

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This is the question some observers think was put to the Congress yesterday by the Negro's mass appeal.

—AP Wirephoto

'FREEDOM MARCH' LEADERS MEET PRESIDENT KENNEDY AT WHITE HOUSE

. . . after mass rally at Lincoln Memorial. From left, Whitney Young, National Urban League; Dr. Martin Luther King, Christian Leadership Conference; John Lewis, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; Rabbi Joachim Prinz, American Jewish Congress; Dr. Eugene P. Blake, National Council of Churches; A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO vice president; Kennedy; Walter Reuther, United Auto Workers; Vice President Lyndon Johnson, rear, and Roy Wilkins, NAACP.

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD (N)
D. 29,800

AUG 30 1963

Little Known Foundation Aids Civil Rights Efforts

NEW YORK — (ANP) — More than $1,000,000 has been quietly pumped into the civil rights fight since 1958 by a young publicity shy sort of a distinguished American artist and his wife who is the granddaughter of the powerful Pennsylvania industrialist, Andrew Mellon.

Through their Tactonic Foundation, Stephen R. Currier, who is 32 and his wife, Audrey, have given financial aid to such organizations as the NAACP, The National Urban League, the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute, created by them "to eliminate discrimination and advance equal opportunity for all Americans."

Currier was largely responsible for the recent decision of seven pre-dominantly Negro civil rights organizations to establish common fund-raising units to meet the additional financial burden of the great increase in civil rights activities.

Currier, is the son of the late Richard Currier, a painter who lived for many years in Europe and of Mrs. Elizabeth Galt Griscom Currier.

His wife is the former Audrey Bruce, daughter of David K. E. Bruce, United States Ambassaor to Britain, and Bruce's former wife, Mrs. Alisa Mellon Bruce. Mrs. Currier's mother is the daughter of the late Andrew Mellon, one-time Secretary of the Treasury.

The Curriers established the foundation because they believed that they, as possessors of wealth and the advantages that went with it, had a deep obligation to the less privileged.

Determined to put their money to the best possible use, they made a thorough study of the field of philantropy and the work done by other foundations.

They concluded that certain areas, such as higher education, medicine, sience and the arts, were already well served financially and decided to concentrate primarily on race relations, child welfare and mental health.

Studies made under the auspices of the foundation or with its financial help then convinced the Curriers that the most serious problem was that of the "deprived" Negro.

Of the money they have put into the foundation from year to year, more and more has gone to help solve this problem.

Complete figures on the foundation's grants are not available, but those that are, show that in 1960, $162,000 was devoted to race relations, in 1961, $260,200, and in 1962, $318,500. Already this year the foundation has committed $400,000 to this work.

In addition to race relations, grants have been made for youth and welfare work, for a study of youth unemployment, for mental health and urban problems, and to community and neighborhood organi-ations.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA.
FLORIDA STAR (N)
W. 22,391

AUG 31 1963

$1 Million Aid Give Civil Rights Groups

NEW YORK -- (ANP) -- More than $1,000,000 has been quietly pumped into the civil rights fight since 1958 by a young publicity shy son of a distinguished American artist and his wife who is the granddaughter of the powerful Pennsylvania industrialist Andrew Mellon.

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PROGRESSIVE
MADISON, WIS.
MONTHLY 32,000

AUG 1963

All God's Chillun

by MARGARET LONG

It is the Southern fashion these days to speak of the "remarkable progress" of Southern Negroes who, we all agree, have "come a *lawng* way" since Emancipation.

Segregationists cite this advance to prove that colored people, though inferior and unworthy to be our peers, still enjoy such generous treatment under our separate system that "the exceptions" among them ascend rocket-like to professions, wealth, and artistic success. Desegregationists and "moderates" regard this rise as comforting evidence that Negroes will not debase our white schools, befoul decent housing, or marry our white daughters and sisters if they get their rights. "Extreme" liberals, or integrationists, who want us all to be not only legal equals but friends down here in the South, behold the general Negro advance, and the brilliant victory of a few over brutal obstacles, as a happy sign that all God's chillun got wings, and that the best of us manage to fly even with clipped wings.

We extremists on the human side also have a rather rabid tendency to believe and suggest, if not state outright, that Negroes are better than white people and can do no wrong. I think it is possible to substantiate the first notion, and now propose to do so, and even to proclaim the obvious fact that Negroes are leading the multicolored South out of our common bondage. But after fifteen years of occasional "mixing and mingling," as our conservative politicians call socializing friendships between Negroes and white people, I cannot, alas, conclude that Negroes can do no wrong.

Some Negroes I know can inform, delight, and enlarge, and others can misinform, exasperate, and, worst of all, bore. I have an admirable white friend, an energetic and intelligent woman whose devotion to our slowly-arriving free society is important to us in Atlanta. She likes and approves of *all* Negroes, as far as I can see, and I'm very much afraid that her rectitude and ardor have led her into another kind of racism. Many Southern Negroes are as wrong-headed, prejudiced, and tedious as many Southern whites, which seems inescapable since we have all been together in this mess for 300 years.

I cannot appraise the emancipated slaves of 100 years ago, or measure or demonstrate the extent of their advance this year in Dixie, as I don't know any emancipated slaves to stack up against the Freedom Riders, Ph.D's, domestics, clubwomen, and writers who are my Negro friends this century. I am, however, old enough to have known several former slaves who were, despite "emancipation" of fifty, sixty, or seventy years, still in a condition of real bondage, and who bore that bondage with a spirited strength, ironic sophistication, and transforming kindness which seems to me to animate and uphold the Negro movement presently liberating the South.

When I was five years old and my little sister was three, my mother and

MARGARET LONG is information director of the Southern Regional Council and editor of New South. She has worked as a reporter for a number of Southern papers and is the author of two novels, "Louisville Saturday" and "Affair of the Heart."

father, who, as I look back on them, suggest a variation of the simple felicity of the song, "Your pappy's rich and your mammy's good-lookin" (my pappy, a newspaperman, wasn't rich but my mammy, a blue-eyed, black Irish type, was certainly good-looking), would leave us with old Aunt Anne when they went out for gala evenings. I somehow blend the ironed starch and clean snuff smell of Aunt Anne with my mother's redolence of violet perfume and seal fur as she kissed us goodbye, Daddy's tiny Christmas-gift diamonds glittering in her ears. I don't know if it was the gayety of Daddy's party mood, or Mother's fragrance, or the presence of Aunt Anne that made their leave-takings so delightful and beglamored; but they departed, good-looking, good-smelling, and laughing, in a chorus of Aunt Anne's reassuring farewells and our high cries of good night and have-a-nice-time, a commotion comparable to take-off on a world tour.

Then we would turn with joy to Aunt Anne who stood there at the age of ninety (she calculated) small, shriveled, nut-brown in her drab long dress and impeccably starched white apron and head rag. We sat by her, touched her, felt her smile; her torchy old voice told us enthralling stories as she pinched snuff, endured us late, and got us to bed with no protest. Sometimes she lay down beside one or the other of us, and we loved the presence of the aged, strong body, the beloved face, and the rich, murmuring voice. I think she told us a lot of Bible stories, but she never scared us.

Before I was five, old Mrs. Keenan, a retired school teacher innocent of modern methods, taught me the alphabet, the phonetic sounds of each letter and diphthongs, and in a couple of weeks, long before school, I spelled out the words and recognized their sound with the exhilarating discovery that I could read. My parents were equally elated the time I put together the slant, black letters of a magazine name and cried out: *"Saturday Evening Post!"* A week later, when they were out and Aunt Anne couldn't, of course, find Miss Hazel Gewinner's name in the phone book to call and tell them about a long distance call, I was proud to find G-e-w—in the directory. I think it was then that Aunt Anne sighed out her ambition to read the Bible and I said, "I can show you how, Aunt Anne."

So I did, starting with the ABC's, as old Mrs. Keenan had started me. Sitting in her lap, with my little sister big-eyed at Aunt Anne's effort or falling asleep with her golden head on the white apron, I'd show her the letters and she would say them, short or long, and hard or soft, after me. The next time Aunt Anne came we started on my first-grade primer, and she quickly spelled and pronounced her marveling way through it, as Sister jumped and laughed at Aunt Anne's triumph. She started on the newspaper with my halting help, and we corrected one another. She began her Bible at home and in a few months had spelled and read her way through it, with loud praise to the Lord, and me.

I remember how her laughter rejoiced us little girls and enchanted my father. I can see now the expression of awed tenderness—awe for her sharply worded wisdom and tenderness for her tough, loving old age—on my mother's face when they talked woman-talk about men, children, cooking, friends, spites, and angers. I don't remember what Aunt Anne laughed at, but my feeling is that her mirth was comic and profoundly ironic. I don't know what advice or Biblical injunctions she offered my young mother, but I nostalgically feel them as tinged with forgiveness, cynicism, and a scorn which was high, humble, and tolerant of the human condition.

As an eighteen-year-old cub reporter in Macon, Georgia, I was sent to the Spring Street home of "an interesting old Nigra" to gather material for an uneasy and audacious feature story on her past grandeur as the wife of a city councilman during Reconstruction. She was Airey Sellers, whose forebears were embarrassingly rich, Ohio-educated, and said to have, at least one of them, fought on the Union side. When I ascended the steps of the cottage and entered the old-fashioned parlor, dark with ancient mahogany, walnut, and gold-framed portraits of formidable Negroes, I encountered an old woman of mulatto color and a shriveled, arrogant face with heavy lids over hazel eyes, flaring nostrils, and a wide mouth set in hauteur. She was enthroned in a rose-back chair.

"Airey," I began brightly, in the diffident and cordial voice with which nice white children address aged Nigras, "I hope you'll tell me about the Reconstruction days and your experiences after The Wah."

"Don't call me Airey," replied the dark dowager in a heavy old voice harsh with command and rebuke. "I am old enough to be your grandmother, so you are presumptuous and ill-mannered. Don't call me Auntie or Mammy. I am no relation to you. If you cannot bring yourself to call me Mrs. Sellers, perhaps you might say Madame Sellers. If that courtesy is impossible, then address me as Sellers. Will you sit down?"

I sat down, dizzy at the impact of this unknown viewpoint. Here was a Negro rebuking my white manners with high insolence, with brazen violation of my sacred, undefined duty to suppress Negro dignity. She also was laying claim to all the precepts and feelings of a respectful, inviting style in human encounter—that is, of good manners, especially of young people toward their elders—with which I had been equally indoctrinated. My confusion and dismay were so complete that I don't know what I said, but it was probably something like, "Well, yes ma'am, I'm sorry."

I am ashamed to remember that, from an awful sense of betraying a vague, fierce moral principle, I couldn't say "Mrs.," or "Miz" as we pronounce it, though my instincts pushed me close to it. She accepted my ridiculous "Sellers" and gave me an absorbing interview. My vivid memory of her rebuke and my confusion have obliterated all of what she said; I remember only her painful lesson in manners.

Mrs. Sellers talked so volubly, opening up a world so unsuspected, that we didn't complete the interview and I returned the next afternoon. I was eager and feeling grandly emancipated from the narrow use of first names for venerable old Negroes, and Mrs. Sellers was gracious. She presented her granddaughter, a pretty little light-

brown girl about my age, as Miss Sellers, and compounded the shock of presenting a Negro contemporary to me as a social equal by asking if I'd like some lemonade. My dilemma was again excruciating, with the sense of betraying some mysterious morality, as I drank lemonade with them. It was excellent lemonade on that sweltering August day, and as I departed I was so undone that I thanked both Mrs. Sellers and Miss Sellers for a lovely afternoon and the particularly refreshing lemonade. "What else could I do?" I asked myself. I don't know how long I pondered the question, finally to wonder what wickedness lurks in civility to Negroes.

The Reverend Isom Ivins was never a slave or a Reconstruction Negro in high political position over Southern whites, because he wasn't that old. He was a preacher in Macon, and like most Negro clerics of that day, I reckon he had to wash white windows and hoe white gardens and mow white lawns to support his family. We little girls were delighted when Isom came to mow the lawn or chop out the grass in the paving cracks or weed the collia and salvia beds around the house. We loved his deep and melodious preacher's voice, his embracing smile, and his pleasure in children. We also loved his children and grandchildren, black, handsome, hardworking, and entertaining "good Nigras" who gave you your money's worth and some of whom went to college.

One June morning my mother looked with a brooding puzzlement out of the window to the front yard. There my little sister, a fair five-year-old with golden curls and great blue eyes, was tagging after Isom at his yard work in the summer sunshine. Isom, a heavy black man with an aquiline face, smiled his sweet, white smile at her as she danced around him asking questions which amused him and as he made replies which fascinated her. I don't know what they were talking about, and only see now the sunlit picture of the little golden girl and the splendid black patriarch in soft rapport on the grass around our cedar tree.

"I sometimes think," my mother mused, regarding the fair child and

Engelhardt in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"There's a Lion in the Streets"

the old black preacher, "that something is all wrong when you children can call a grand old man like Isom by his first name."

Of course, everything was all wrong when, in the Southern pattern of "good manners," we gently and inexorably degraded the Negroes we loved and respected most with this refusal to address them courteously or even to permit our children to accord their black betters this respect.

I am aware that it is suspect and offensive to recall, with love and wonder, the "old slave-type of darkies," but I can't forget the dark, humor-rich, and generous men and women who bore their oppressions with great grace. (I do not forget, of course, the Negroes whose drunkenness, rages, ill-tempers, and sullen humility filled the small-town jails on weekends, erupted in wild knifings and beatings in the dark alleys, and rendered white households wretched with silent servant hatred. Nor do I forget the stubborn refusal of whites to understand the anguish behind this behavior.) I know these generous, benevolent figures from my childhood, with their ironic laughter and easy airs of humility, are what rebellious young Negroes today call "Uncle Toms" and scorned "Old Mammy" folks whom the New Negro does not enjoy invoking.

It occurs to me that we New White Folks, or whatever we are, are entitled to much more shame at the recollection of our absurdly lordly forebears, strutting through the paces of a cruel and arrogant system, and that, as the years rolled by and the darkness is dissipating, the Negroes emerge wiser, braver, and sweeter by far than the masters they now assail with sacrificial and nonviolent demands and with their invitation to the forgiveness of freedom and friendship together.

I believe that the Negroes, in their most abject debasement and repression, must have been bigger and more human than the whites who underpaid, overworked, humiliated, and sometimes lynched them and then proclaimed the corroding lie that this Way of Life was mutually happy. I can remember the irony around the old black mouths, the occasional suppressed amusement playing around young lips at some "kindly" white admonition or other. I can remember the bitter but delicious laughter of the nurses who accompanied us afternoons to the playground or church steps. "And she say, look like all we done for you, Annabelle, you could git here fo' sebm-thirty!" and the young women's shrieks would rise, beginning low and rich and ascending high and helpless into the summer afternoon air, as Annabelle's friends remembered "all they done for her," like "she woulda been fired if she hadn't come to work sick, that wore out dress they give her and that two dollars they took out for a broken cup."

Ah, they could laugh, and they still can, having earned the sharp freedom of humor and having honed their irony on the hard edges of white fear, tyranny, and pious talk.

It is not the Negroes, it seems to me, who are crippled, confused, and frightened by a system of oppression. They are, rather, toughened, enlarged, and infinitely sophisticated by it—those who weathered it. And today, we see them all over the South, literate, illiterate, well-to-do, and poor, demanding with wisdom and grace the rights which many whites are still resisting with idiot shibboleths and crazy fears

which are the wonder of the rational world. And when the white barriers topple and the astonished masters regard Negroes stepping over the broken barricades, it is the Negroes whose wise, generous, and graceful demeanor soothes the trembling whites. Their aplomb handles the confrontation on busses or at polling places, softly meets the gauche and fascinated stares of diners in an integrated restaurant, and gently and adamantly explains Negro requirements to the city politician who is suddenly astute enough to learn a fast lesson in manners and democracy.

I think it is the old love, irony, and patience which is at work on childlike and bewildered white neighbors clinging senselessly to an ancient stance once held sacred, and slowly yielding it with naive elation over the new and natural freedom between two peoples who belonged together all the time.

I think of a young girl named Ruby Doris Smith, who is "jail-crazy," they say in laughing pride. My friend Ruby Doris is an indefatigable revolutionary of that incomprehensible band called the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which sends young Negroes sitting-in, promoting voter registration, marching, demonstrating, singing, and popping in and out of the foulest jails in the South. By these means SNCC advances the revolution years ahead of the plans of more conservative Negro organizations, which must follow these mad youngsters into the wilds of the deepest South with lawyers, bond money, and big-name support, as in Albany, Georgia, and McComb, Mississippi, to name only two scenes of sensational uprising.

After the Freedom Ride to Jackson, Ruby Doris talked softly, rapidly, and carefully about her ordeal:

"Well, yes, they did put the wrist-breakers on me. You see, I'd had athlete's foot and was scared of the shower and wouldn't go, and the matrons, two big women, put the things on me—they screw, you know, and *can* break your wrist, but they didn't turn them that hard. They didn't give me a chance to walk, but just dragged me with these things—yes, it hurt—and then put me in the shower, with my clothes on, and they scrubbed me all over with wire brushes they scrub the floor with . . . It was all right, but I still have some trouble with my arms.

"No, I don't hate them; they are acting under orders, for one thing. And they got to where they were kind of friendly with us. We have to show them, it's all a demonstration, even with the wrist-breakers, and it shows them our kind of Negro. Yes, I believe in forgiveness and love and nonviolence. We have to live with these people, and we have to teach them, and they do seem to learn."

I first encountered Miss Ella Baker at a conference of uprising students a couple of years ago in Atlanta. After a speech from Martin Luther King, with his stirring call to heroism, suffering, and the nonviolent life, and his promise of Negro redemption of the South, and a round of the glorious singing which booms and rings through the movement, Miss Baker rose to address the meeting, by then nearly drunk with fervor, courage, and aspiration.

She looked beautiful, in a severely elegant hat, her heavy eyes big in her fine brown face and her busty figure chic in a dark dress. (Miss Baker, I understand, pays two and three dollars for her hats, so it must be the face which endows her with such a costly sheen.) Her voice was like a great bronze bell and she pealed out a demand for morality, self criticism, and mission from these excited youngsters which seemed scarcely attainable in this life. They listened to her as children to a beloved and stern maiden aunt, and seemed as moved by her admonitions as by the heat and beat of their tremendous singing.

She enjoined them to "be a real moral movement" and to purge out "hatred, resentment, and self-seeking." Freedom calls for intelligence, real emotions, and "moral stamina," she said. She warned against "headline hunting," vanity, and action without understanding and moral resolve. For the long pull to integration, she urged "a lot of information with your inspiration—on the history of the South, its psychology of human emotions, and its political forces."

My friend and contemporary, Grace, comes from a long line of elegant and protected Negro educators and was, for years, what a witty mutual friend of ours called "Miss Negro Communication with White Atlanta." She still does a great deal of fruitful communication with a white community which is, to put it kindly, still largely ignorant of Negro aspirations, accomplishments, and feelings. Grace was one of my first Negro friends in Atlanta, and greeted me with the generous hospitality and sensitivity at which upper-class Negroes excel and which charms innocent and unaccustomed whites out of their uneasy gaucherie. One night we sat up all night, telling one another our life stories, Grace talking with tart wit and candor, and tenderness for both our sets of children. By three a.m. our autobiographies seemed nearly identical, including sins, punishments, joys, and triumphs and reactions to them. And we thought, "What's it all about, this white-Negro business, anyway?"

The social grace and generosity of such Negroes is inestimable in helping strange and awkward whites over the barriers between us. Cultivated Negroes I know in several Southern states seem to exhibit all the charm and ease of Southern manner which whites have exalted for generations, but which many of them have to learn all over again from Negroes in the adventure of "socializing," or "mixing and mingling."

This social generosity is not, however, universal among militant new Negroes. The Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker, for instance, next man to Martin Luther King, Jr. in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is a tall, slender, dapper young man capable of cool hauteur. Reverend Walker does not exhibit the awesome depth of religious humility and pride which one feels in Dr. King, nor his sweetness of demeanor. You have to wait for Mr. Walker, or court his friendship, which is quite worth the effort. I have often wondered if Mr. Walker, a Virginian, is somewhere along the line kin to Mrs. Airey Sellers, or some haughty President-General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. I feel sure Mr. Walker is completely committed to loving and forgiving nonviolence which will, Dr. King assures us and convinces me, redeem us all in the South through Negro suffering. But I don't think this

loving business comes so easy to Mr. Walker.

I don't know why Mr. Walker reminds me of the Reverend Bascom Anthony, a white Methodist preacher in Macon who died a generation ago. Brother Anthony, as we all called this revered old minister, had none of Mr. Walker's—well, arrogance—but there's something about their preaching which is the same. Brother Anthony preached a sermon, both rousing and intellectual, and would move himself to tears as he stood, a tall, handsome old man with auburn curls about the back of his head, his fine profile raised to God and illumined by rays from the stained glass behind him. Everybody cried with him, and a lot of people hit the sawdust trail, or at least the red carpet in the aisle, to come to Jesus. And, in the course of his rolling sentences, he would lapse into the Middle-Georgia vernacular with corn pone jokes and the double negative-ain't type of ironies on the sins of the congregation.

Young Mr. Walker, when last I heard him, preached a rousing sermon in an Albany, Georgia, church. He was affecting a neat, cropped black mustache and beard trim on his pale-gold, black-eyed face, which made him look like an intense and suffering saint. His sermon began, grave and thoughtfully worked out, about the consecrating drop of blood on Aaron's ear, thumb, and great toe, and its strengthening call to mission. He rose to high demands on the children of God. As usual, in a Negro church, the "Amen's," "Yes, Jesuses" and questioning cries of "We-ell?" punctuated, lifted, and bore his sermon along, until it cracked like a whip as he described the recalcitrance of white Albany, the jailings, the job-firings, and the brutality to little children in county jails. Then he turned to burning satire phrased in pounding Negro colloquialisms, excoriating white oppressions and absurdities, until the high, musical cries and booming "Amen's" and "Well's" rose in ragged rhythm with his sentences. Mr. Walker did not weep, but some of his flock did. His stern call was not to come to Jesus, but to freedom by volunteering for jail the next day.

Brother Anthony was old and white and Methodist, and his style was rollingly grand and colloquially comic by

Herblock in The Washington Post

"You Don't Understand, Boy—You're Supposed to Just Shuffle Along"

turns, stressed, too, with assent from the amen corners. Mr. Walker is young and mulatto and Baptist, and his style is grave and fierce and satirically dialect-shot by turns, fired by congregational ardors. They are preachers of the same school, the one calling the children of God to Jesus and the other to freedom. Brother Anthony was socially delightful in the parlor of a Sunday afternoon, and Mr. Walker is equally so, if he admits you to his favor. Again, one must wonder, what's it all about, black and white preachers, and segregated churches for people who are the same?

As to my proposition, that these Negro Southerners are "superior" to the whites who resist them, it seems evident that people who suffer for what they believe, forgive their oppressors, and persist toward freedom for themselves and those who deny them liberty, are "better" than people who blindly fight so high-minded and human a change.

A trivial and clear example is the little adventure of Fred Powledge, an *Atlanta Journal* reporter, on one of his jaunts to intermittently erupting Albany. Mr. Powledge, a North Carolina boy, fell into a roadside race discussion with a South Georgia white supremacist.

"You think," the white aborigine demanded, pointing to a nearby Negro, "that nigger is as good as I am?"

"Better," replied Mr. Powledge.

"How come?" demanded the dumbfounded redneck.

"Because," Mr. Powledge rejoined, "he's a gentleman."

As James McBride Dabbs has pointed out, the Negro student movement, supported now by nearly all Negroes in the South, embodies and demonstrates the old professed virtues of the South—courage, love of freedom, religious faith, and good manners—virtues which the white Southerners, as masters, could never achieve. Mr. Dabbs said, more recently, that the Negro has the leadership in the South now, to which "the white responds, or more accurately, reacts . . . dragging his feet until he learns to cooperate," and "wherever the South is going, the Negro is taking him."

Already this seems a vastly better destination for which we are headed, led by better people who have ceased to hate, who risk and suffer for liberty, who offer friendship for enmity, and who embody the virtues the white South long proclaimed but could not practice.

A young member of the Indian parliament, Krishna Chandra Pant (son of the late Govindi Ballahh Pant, disciple and intimate of Gandhi, a minister under Nehru, and the deputy leader of the Congress Party), visited us recently and regarded with deep and wondering eyes the phenomenon of our change which the gentle and insistent Negroes impose on us. He reminded us that never in the long, bloody story of mankind have two races lived in the same place without oppression of one by the other, nor has a subject race ever freed itself without long violence. And with the excitement of a man beholding a great new thing, Mr. Pant predicted a grand and bloodless liberation for us.

Even without Mr. Pant's perspective, it is surely not too sanguine for us to believe that despite the fevers and fires of Oxford, the insane intransigence of Albany, and the mean-hearted fears of segregationists all over the South, our Negroes will bring us together in freedom and friendship such as no peoples of different color have had before.

The Miami Herald
MIAMI, FLA.
D. 342,056 S. 394,039

SEP 1 1963

Rights Report Calls State 'Tight, White'

By PETE MANN
Herald Education Writer

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights will release soon a wide-ranging and comprehensive study on the Negro's educational and employment status in the State of Florida.

The report was compiled by the commission's Florida Advisory Committee.

Miami Attorney Tobias Simon, who is the committee's secretary, offered this preview Saturday:

"In essence, the report will say that Florida, for all its vaunted progress, is a tight white state . . . run by a white establishment."

Greater Miami will emerge as "way ahead" of the rest of the state in the number of "cracks around the edges" of segregation, he said, but even here the picture is "muddy."

As an example of the Florida problem Simon cited the dilemma of the Negro who seeks a job with the state government.

"Negroes simply are not employed by the state in other than menial tasks, or in jobs where they deal solely with Negroes . . . They are systematically excluded from employment by the state and from job-training opportunities," he said.

And he alleged that the pattern is perpetuated by the county school systems.

"There are very few vocational courses offered to Negroes," Simon said, "even on a separate-but-equal basis. And those that are offered are not in line with space-age opportunities."

Tailoring, barbering, cosmetology — that's the kind of vocational study available to most of Florida's Negroes, he said.

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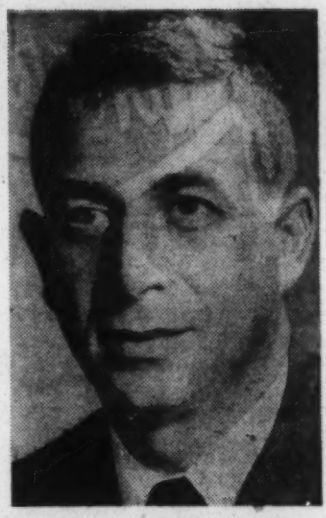
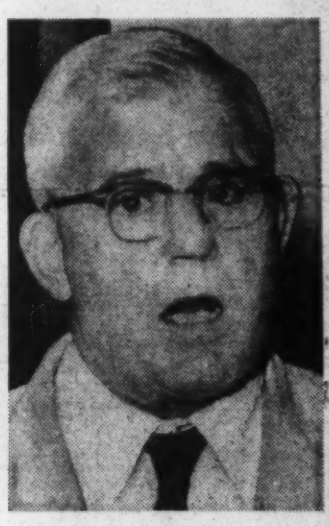


Tobias Simon
. . . spokesman

John Hannah
. . . national chairman

Carlos Fernandez
. . . Miami judge



Stanley Milledge
. . . former judge

see and Florida Councils on Human Relations.

Vice chairman is I. H. Burney II of Jacksonville, vice president and secretary of a life insurance firm. He is one of four Negroes on the committee and is active in the Urban League, state and local human relations councils and the Southern Regional Council.

Simon is a member of the American Jewish Congress

remaining men on the committee.

And there are two other women: Mabel Norris Chesley, associate editor of the Daytona Beach News-Journal, and Mrs. C. D. Johnson of Quincy, a housewife and former teacher, who is chairman of the Florida Children's Commission.

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One Meeting

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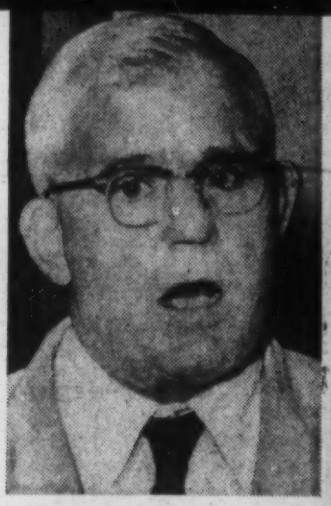

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Simon is a member of the American Jewish Congress and the American Civil Liberties Union. He is one of four Miamians on the committee. The others are:

STANLEY MILLEDGE, former Dade Circuit Court judge, who returned to law practice here this year after serving on the law faculty at Stetson University.

CARLOS B. FERNANDEZ, Miami city judge, who is president of the Miami Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Latin American Democratic Club of Miami, and active in the Dade County Council on Community Relations.

MRS. MAYME WILLIAMS, an assistant principal at Booker T. Washington High School, a Negro, who is affiliated with the National Council of Negro Women, the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Urban League, and is national chairman of the Intergroup Relations Committee.

C. Blythe Andrews, publisher of the Florida Sentinel Bulletin in Tampa, and the Rev. E. C. Tillman, pastor of the Mount Bethel Baptist Church in Daytona Beach, are the other two Negroes.

Episcopal Bishop Henry I. Louttit of Winter Park, Prof. Hal G. Lewis of the University of Florida in Gainesville and the Rev. Robert Caxton Doggett, Methodist minister at Lakeland, are the remaining men on the committee.

And there are two other women: Mabel Norris Chesley, associate editor of the Daytona Beach News-Journal, and Mrs. C. D. Johnson of Quincy, a housewife and former teacher, who is chairman of the Florida Children's Commission.

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One Meeting Each Month

To compile the data it needs, the advisory committee meets "on the average once a month, without pay," Simon said. Meetings are rotated from one Florida city to another.

So far, they have been held in Daytona Beach, Orlando, the Tampa-St. Petersburg area, Tallahassee, Cocoa, Jacksonville, Miami and most recently in St. Augustine.

The next session is scheduled for Ocala in September.

"We have gotten fantastically good cooperation from city officials wherever we have met. They have come to us with problems; they have admitted that they had segregation troubles," Simon said.

"That is, the cooperation has been good everywhere except in Tallahassee and in St. Augustine, where we were completely boycotted by the white establishment.

"More than 200 townspeople sat through the entire proceeding. They were all Negroes."

St. Augustine, Simon said, is the scene of the state's most serious racial problems. A special report on the situation there already has been filed with the federal Commission on Civil Rights.

GREENSBORO, N.C.
NEWS
D. 91,284 S. 103,452

SEP 4 1963

A Footnote On Labor Day

Most of the Labor Day platitudes of 1963, as reflected in the press Monday, had new and urgent themes.

In a special Labor Day message Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz urged a broadened educational program to train skilled workers and a campaign to curb school dropouts. He was shocked by "the lack of any meaningful action or any visible sense of urgency" about the nation's steady unemployment rate of more than 5 per cent.

Other Labor Day messages tied in the threat of automation with the need for greater job opportunities for Negroes and other minorities. Last week's civil rights march on Washington emphasized "jobs" as importantly as "freedom." Indeed, there are growing signs that the whole civil rights movement may be entering a new phase.

"Negroes are just beginning to realize that big demonstrations of the civil disobedience variety are not a magic formula," Paul Anthony, field director of the Southern Regional Council, told the Wall Street Journal. "Demonstrations have been and will continue to be useful where they can trigger community action. But in some communities the trigger is pulled but the gun doesn't go off. White resistance just solidifies."

In still other communities—and we take Greensboro to be a good example—the demonstrations served the purpose of arousing community sentiment to work on unsolved problems of public service and employment. The city's Human Relations Committee has plunged directly into this task, assisted by the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council. Substantial progress can be expected in this field.

Of course, this whole emphasis might well be reversed if crowds of college students returning to campus this month fail to recognize what has happened since last May and June. If further mass demonstrations threaten the city, the climate of co-operation will be set back and individuals on both sides, who have worked to develop co-ordination, will slacken their efforts.

The job problem, of course, is a difficult one. No employer can take jobs away from established workers to make room for new workers. But opportunities are emerging for minority groups, provided they develop necessary skills and aptitudes to meet the competition.

That is the hope of Labor Day, 1963.

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED (N)

SEP 8 1963

Wiley Branton To Spark DeKalb Voter Drive Today

Attorney Wiley A. Branton, Director of the Voter Education project of the Southern Regional Council, will address citizens of Decatur today when Citizenship Sunday is observed by the DeKalb County Citizens Committee.

WILEY BRANTON

Mr. Branton will address a mass meeting, the second of the current voter registration drive, at 3 p. m at Faith Tabernacle Baptist Church, 203 Oliver Street, in Decatur.

Prior to the mass meeting Citizenship Sunday will be observed in the various churches in Dekalb County, Miss Rosetta Williams, Director of the Dekalb Voter Registration Campaign said Friday.

There will be special sermons on the subject of voting, for this program which is designed to step up the voter registration drive in 16 different communities. The drive is in its third week.

SUNDAY PROGRAM

At the mass meeting, Mr. Branton will be introduced by Attorney C. M. Clayton, of Dekalb County.

The speaker, who is spearheading the voter education project in this area, has been working in a cooperative effort with the Congress

ATLANTA, GA.
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SEP 10 1963

Citizenship Sunday In DeKalb

No Escaping Negro Problem.... Branton

By HARMON G. PERRY

"There's no escape from the Negro problem and the people in America must accept the fact they will have to meet it head-on."

This was the opinion of Attorney Wiley Branton, nationally known civil rights fighter from Little Rock, Arkansas, who delivered a voter registration mass meeting address Sunday for Negro citizens of DeKalb County.

The mass meeting was the second of the series designed to stimulate Negro voter registration, particularly during the current campaign which ends September 16.

Attorney Branton spoke in a serious vein on the importance of Negro voter registration, saying it should be one of the most important conversation pieces in DeKalb County and throughout the country. "Registration and voting is going to do more to bring about changes than anything else". he said.

Branton, who now works with the Southern Regional Council as director of that organization's voter education project, also took pot shots at the resulting effects suffered by the Negro in education, employment, and housing because of the seeds sown by segregation and discrimination.

He said in effect these injusticies stimers the Negro child and makes the Negro himself a perpetrator of prejudice. His advice here suggested the Negro rid himself of prejudice and help make possible a better America for the Negro youth.

The speaker told his audience that should become as much comcerned about living together on earth as he is in putting a human on the moon.

In speaking out advice on self elevation Branton said Negro par-

(Continued on Page 6, Col. 5)

No Escaping

(Continued from Page One)

ents should expose their children to the best education possible with a goal of breaking away from the status quo. "The time has come when the Negro child can set his goals in life the same as any other child" "He can aspire to be anything he wants', he said.

Branton suggested each Negro make himself a committee of one in increasing the number of those registered but he said to register and not vote should void ones right to register.

Branton's appearence at the Faith Tabernacle Baptist Church was sponsored by the DeKalb County Citizens Committee in observance of "Citizenship Sunday" The sponsoring organization has launched a registration drive throughout some 16 communities withing the county. The voter registration campaign is directed by Miss Rosetta Williams with the Rev. William Mosley serving as overall chairman.

The mass meeting closed out with special recognition and awards being given the Washington Park and Scottdale communities for having thus far lead in the registration campaign.

BAINBRIDGE, GA.
POST-SEARCHLIGHT
W. 3,250
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
SEP 12 1963

MARVIN GRIFFIN

SOME GEORGIANS HAVE ACTED AS IF CRISSIE KEELER HAD COME

Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, devotees of the Southern Regional Council, Ivan Allen, Mayor of Atlanta, and other members of the liberal element, "token integration" stable have had a buttoned lip, and have had nothing to write or say about the Walter Stovall-Charlayne Hunter mixed-marriage. In fact, these social reformers have been as quiet as King Tutankhamen's tomb. The news release of the mixed-marriage of the Douglas, Georgia, white boy and the first Negro girl to graduate from the University of Georgia, had the same effect on this crowd as would the appearance of Christine Keeler at a House of Lords social tea. They went out the doors, through the windows and over the walls and hedges. They are like the little boy the lion ate. They have nothing to say.

What is the matter with this crowd, I ask? Even the moderate and liberal governor of this state who dares not oppose the caprices of integrationist propaganda for fear of political reprisal, mustered up enough courage to say "it is a shame and a disgrace". This is the doctrine these people have been preaching. This kind of thing is what they have been encouraging. What has happened to the courage of these sophists when a white boy and a Negro girl were gullible enough to believe what they preached and took them at their words?

NO TIME FOR BITTERNESS

This is not the time for bitterness or ugliness. It is a time of pity. Pity for the parents of the white boy. Pity for those misguided people who fall for the words of false prophets. Pity for a half-breed child that will never have a chance. It is a time though for righteous anger toward the misguided leadership in this nation who would do an engineering job on all of us for political gain and expediency. And they are engineers. They are attempting to ditch, drain and damn this country. Why have not Bobby Kennedy, Jake Javits, Hubert Humphrey et al come out of hiding and told the American people in a loud voice "this is what we have been working to accomplish"?

WHAT I HAVE FOUND OUT DOWN THROUGH THE YEARS

I have many good Negro friends. They are long-headed and intelligent. They have made successes in life. We have talked freely about the spirit of brotherly love, and the importance of

(Continued On Page 4)

—Griffin

(Continued from page one)

both the white and the Negro races working together to make our community and our nation a better land for all of us. I have always contended that the Negro race is to be commended and respected for the one hundred years of achievement and accomplishment since the shackles of slavery were removed. The progress of the race has been remarkable.

There is one thing I have never heard one of my Negro friends say and that is "half-caste children would help either race or this country".

On the contrary, they have been positive in their belief and clear in their expression that any Negro who is not proud of his race and yearns to change his color or bring half-breed children into the world is not worth the powder and lead it would take to kill him. "A Negro", they say, "must be big in his own right, and in the color of his own race".

A Negro must be proud of his race for then only does he merit the respect of all men. An American visited Africa not so many years ago, and he said he was impressed by the size and the racial pride of the men in the Watusi tribe. "The men were well over six feet," he said, "and some of them closer to seven feet in height. No one would think of calling these proud warriors, boy". No one would think of belittling the memory of Booker T. Washington or George Washington Carver. They commanded respect because they earned it. There are some truly big Negroes in this country today. They have also earned the respect of all Americans. They have earned it. None of them have advocated mixed marriages and the creation of a mongrel race. They have too much pride in the Negro race.

Walter Stovall says he and Charlayne Hunter dated on the campus of the University of Georgia. They took rides in their automobile. They made trips to Atlanta where the folks have become "sophisticated."

Someone on the campus of the university knew about this. Why wasn't some action taken? The Atlanta Journal knew about it because Stovall was an employee of that newspaper. Why did they not print something about it? The students who had classes with the principals in this mixed marriage knew about it. Students generally knew about it.

Students at the University also state it is general knowledge Stovall always had plenty of money to spend and this money came from the NAACP. They can't prove it, they state, but it is general knowledge.

It appears to me that someone in state government or someone on the campus of the university should concern themselves enough to get at the truth of these statements.

WALL STREET JOURNAL.
CHICAGO, ILL.
D. 254,821
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
SEP 1 2 1963

Negro Voters

Southern Registration Campaigns Encounter Widespread Indifference

White Obstructionism Also Holds Back Gains; Negroes See Help From U.S. Suits

'Nitty-Gritty' in Tennessee

By BURT SCHORR
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Seated on a shady doorstep facing Hernando Street in Memphis, 33-year-old Negro factory worker Clover Miller expresses little interest in a Negro voter registration campaign. "I don't know if I want to register," he says. "I never got around to it before."

Near Plaquemine, La., on a lane of weatherbeaten but tidy Negro residences within sight of the Mississippi River levee, barefooted Mrs. Fellonease Mumphrea takes time from supervising the chores of a dozen children and grandchildren to listen to a teenage registration canvasser. "I'm afraid of messing with voting," she says, confiding a nearly insuperable handicap in a state with difficult registration hurdles: "I can't read or write."

Such attitudes are receiving considerable attention these days as civil rights and Negro civic organizations mount the most concerted voter registration drive ever undertaken in Dixie. For despite a summer of anti-segregation ferment, voting canvassers are discovering there is a deep sociological gulf to cross before they can achieve any significant increases in Southern Negro balloting strength.

Overcoming Inertia

"Inertia in the Negro community is one of our biggest problems," comments the Rev. Andy Young, program director for Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). "Everything controlled by whites from the press on down reinforces that inertia. We're just beginning to get a head of steam."

Statistically, the potential for Negro political effectiveness is greater in the South than in other parts of the nation. Negroes comprise nearly 35% of the total population in 10 former Confederate states (excluding Texas), against 10.5% for the U.S. as a whole.

But the Southern Regional Council, an Atlanta-based biracial organization, recently estimated that only 30% of Dixie's approximately 5 million voting-age Negroes are registered. The figure is rising, and the approach of the 1964 Presidential and Congressional races should increase it further—but hardly enough to match the 60% of the South's 17 million voting-age whites who are registered. And if Negro registration does increase substantially, whites can be expected to register and vote in greater numbers, too.

Nevertheless, "the most important step a

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Nevertheless, "the most important step a Negro can take is in the direction of the ballot box," says Rev. King. Negro voters already have helped elect racially moderate mayors in Atlanta and Birmingham and moderate Congressmen in certain Southern districts. More of them, Negro leaders think, could further weaken resistance of Southern Senators to civil rights bills, make Dixie legislators more inclined to support welfare legislation, and sweep outspoken segregationists from many Southern city halls, county courthouses and state capitols.

Speeding the Drive

So canvassing of unregistered Negroes is expanding rapidly. The Southern Regional Council is coordinating efforts of five Negro rights agencies through a Voter Education Project (VEP), financed with more than $500,000 in grants from several Northern foundations. VEP is supporting 27 local registration campaigns across the South, a dozen more than last year. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), one organization getting VEP help, reports 56 staff members and full-time volunteers at work on Southern voting projects. Last summer it had only four.

The drives face much white resistance. In southwest Georgia, three Negro churches used for registration workshops were burned last winter. In Mississippi, VEP says it counted more than 30 acts of violence and intimidation against Negroes interested in registration between January 1961 and March 1963. Mississippi also publishes names of registration applicants; Negroes say this makes it easy for white employers to find and fire Negro workers who want to vote.

Even in areas where U.S. Justice Department surveillance has made whites wary of flagrant discrimination, subtle intimidation is still prevalent. "Negroes find it difficult to face white officials, especially unfriendly ones who call them 'girl' or 'boy,'" says a young registration leader in Savannah, Ga. "Sometimes, even though they know how to read the words in the literacy test, they stammer and are disqualified."

Deep-Rooted Apathy?

But more difficult to deal with than white obstructionism is the apathy expressed by Mr. Miller, the Memphis Negro factory worker, and the fear registration formalities hold for poorly educated Negroes like Mrs. Mumphrea in Louisiana. Both attitudes are deeply rooted in the traditional position Southern society has reserved for the Negro, believe Donald R. Matthew and James W. Prothro, two University of North Carolina political scientists. In a recently published study on Negro voter registration, they wrote:

"Southern Negroes overwhelmingly possess low social status, relatively small incomes and limited education received in inferior schools. These attitudes are associated with low voter turnout among all populations. The low voting rates of Negroes in the South are, perhaps to a large extent, a result of these factors more than a consequence of direct political discrimination by the white community." Their conclusion: "A large, active and effective Negro electorate in the South may have to await a substantial social and economic change."

Negro strategists unwilling to wait that long increasingly believe there's a swifter chance for a big Negro vote in "good sized centers"

Please Turn to Page 8, Column 3

Negro Voters: Dixie Registration Drives Meet Widespread Apathy

Continued From First Page

where harassment is minimal and education and income higher.

Tennessee, which merely requires the registrant to supply his name, address, occupation and birthday, signing with an "X" if illiterate, certainly would be a state to apply this formula. And, in fact, Negroes in Shelby County (Memphis) currently are registering at the rate of around 250 a week, double the white rate. Stimulating the rush is the Oct. 8 cutoff date for registration of voters for the November mayoral election in which segregationist incumbent Henry Loeb is an anticipated candidate.

But the number of Negroes registered still is likely only to return to the high of 78,000 reached in January. Since then, 6,000 Negroes have been removed from the registration rolls for failing to cast a ballot in any general election in the previous four years.

"There was a time when I could put 10,000 to 14,000 on the books in Memphis without any trouble," says W. C. Patton, field secretary for registration and voting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "Now we're down to the nitty-gritty, the hard core who've never been interested in politics. We have to do a better job."

Indifference in Atlanta

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Impatient with legal delays, some registration leaders are employing militant tactics to stir the voting ambitions of Negroes. During the recent Mississippi governor's primary, an estimated 1,500 unregistered Negroes attempted to vote under an old statute which allows persons who believe they were "illegally denied registration" to cast ballots. The ballots were disregarded, but registration workers were encouraged by the number filled out.

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Negro Voters

Southern Registration Campaigns Encounter Widespread Indifference

White Obstructionism Also Holds Back Gains, Negroes See Help From U.S. Suits

'Nitty-Gritty' in Tennessee

By BURT SCHORR
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Seated on a shady doorstep facing Hernando Street in Memphis, 33-year-old Negro factory worker Clover Miller expresses little interest in a Negro voter registration campaign. "I don't know if I want to register," he says. "I never got around to it before."

Near Plaquemine, La., on a lane of weatherbeaten but tidy Negro residences within sight of the Mississippi River levee, barefooted Mrs. Fellonease Mumphrea takes time from supervising the chores of a dozen children and grandchildren to listen to a teenage registration canvasser. "I'm afraid of messing with voting," she says, confiding a nearly insuperable handicap in a state with difficult registration hurdles: "I can't read or write."

Such attitudes are receiving considerable attention these days as civil rights and Negro civic organizations mount the most concerted voter registration drive ever undertaken in Dixie. For despite a summer of anti-segregation ferment, voting canvassers are discovering there is a deep sociological gulf to cross before they can achieve any significant increases in Southern Negro balloting strength.

Overcoming Inertia

"Inertia in the Negro community is one of our biggest problems," comments the Rev. Andy Young, program director for Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). "Everything controlled by whites from the press on down reinforces that inertia. We're just beginning to get a head of steam."

Statistically, the potential for Negro political effectiveness is greater in the South than in other parts of the nation. Negroes comprise nearly 35% of the total population in 10 former Confederate states (excluding Texas), against 10.5% for the U.S. as a whole.

But the Southern Regional Council, an Atlanta-based biracial organization, recently estimated that only 30% of Dixie's approximately 5 million voting-age Negroes are registered. The figure is rising, and the approach of the 1964 Presidential and Congressional races should increase it further—but hardly enough to match the 60% of the South's 17 million voting-age whites who are registered. And if Negro registration does increase substantially, whites can be expected to register and vote in greater numbers, too.

Nevertheless, "the most important step a Negro can take is in the direction of the ballot box," says Rev. King. Negro voters already have helped elect racially moderate mayors in Atlanta and Birmingham and moderate Congressmen in certain Southern districts. More of them, Negro leaders think, could further

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Nevertheless, "the most important step a Negro can take is in the direction of the ballot box," says Rev. King. Negro voters already have helped elect racially moderate mayors in Atlanta and Birmingham and moderate Congressmen in certain Southern districts. More of them, Negro leaders think, could further weaken resistance of Southern Senators to civil rights bills, make Dixie legislators more inclined to support welfare legislation, and sweep outspoken segregationists from many Southern city halls, county courthouses and state capitols.

Speeding the Drive

So canvassing of unregistered Negroes is expanding rapidly. The Southern Regional Council is coordinating efforts of five Negro rights agencies through a Voter Education Project (VEP), financed with more than $500,000 in grants from several Northern foundations. VEP is supporting 27 local registration campaigns across the South, a dozen more than last year. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), one organization getting VEP help, reports 56 staff members and full-time volunteers at work on Southern voting projects. Last summer it had only four.

The drives face much white resistance. In southwest Georgia, three Negro churches used for registration workshops were burned last winter. In Mississippi, VEP says it counted more than 30 acts of violence and intimidation against Negroes interested in registration between January 1961 and March 1963. Mississippi also publishes names of registration applicants; Negroes say this makes it easy for white employers to find and fire Negro workers who want to vote.

Even in areas where U.S. Justice Department surveillance has made whites wary of flagrant discrimination, subtle intimidation is still prevalent. "Negroes find it difficult to face white officials, especially unfriendly ones who call them 'girl' or 'boy,'" says a young registration leader in Savannah, Ga. "Sometimes, even though they know how to read the words in the literacy test, they stammer and are disqualified."

Deep-Rooted Apathy?

But more difficult to deal with than white obstructionism, is the apathy expressed by Mr. Miller, the Memphis Negro factory worker, and the fear registration formalities hold for poorly educated Negroes like Mrs. Mumphrea in Louisiana. Both attitudes are deeply rooted in the traditional position Southern society has reserved for the Negro, believe Donald R. Matthew and James W. Prothro, two University of North Carolina political scientists. In a recently published study on Negro voter registration, they wrote:

"Southern Negroes overwhelmingly possess low social status, relatively small incomes and limited education received in inferior schools. These attitudes are associated with low voter turnout among all populations. The low voting rates of Negroes in the South are, perhaps to a large extent, a result of these factors more than a consequence of direct political discrimination by the white community." Their conclusion: "A large, active and effective Negro electorate in the South may have to await a substantial social and economic change."

Negro strategists unwilling to wait that long increasingly believe there's a swifter chance for a big Negro vote in "good sized centers" where harassment is minimal and education and income higher.

Tennessee, which merely requires the reg-

Please Turn to Page 6, Column 2

Negro Voters: Dixie Registration Drives Meet Widespread Apathy

Continued From First Page

istrant to supply his name, address, occupation and birthday, signing with an "X" if illiterate, certainly would be a state to apply this formula. And, in fact, Negroes in Shelby County (Memphis) currently are registering at the rate of around 250 a week, double the white rate. Stimulating the rush is the Oct. 8 cutoff date for registration of voters for the November mayoral election in which segregationist incumbent Henry Loeb is an anticipated candidate.

But the number of Negroes registered still is likely only to return to the high of 78,000 reached in January. Since then, 6,000 Negroes have been removed from the registration rolls for failing to cast a ballot in any general election in the previous four years.

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OLEAN, N.Y.
TIMES HERALD
D. 17,589

SEP 16 1963

The Racial Situation At A Glance

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Birmingham, Ala.—Four killed and 23 injured as dynamite blasts Birmingham church Sunday. Within hours, two Negroes killed in shootings and three other persons wounded. Negro leaders and city officials plead against retaliation for the bombing which brought climax of horror to city's first week of school desegregation.

Anniston, Ala.—Angry crowd of white persons assaults two Negro ministers on steps of Anniston Public Library as the Negroes apparently attempted to desegregate the library. Reward of $1,000 offered for arrest of gang leaders who beat ministers.

Tallahassee, Fla.—Congress of Racial Equality discusses how to raise nearly $100,000 to release 214 persons from jail. Only seven of 248 arrested during Saturday night demonstrations have been able to post $500 bond each.

Farmville, Va.—Negro children return to school in Prince Edward County today for the first time since county officials closed public schools four years ago to avoid desegregation.

Albany, Ga. — Negro businessman Slater King seeking office of mayor. King, acting president of the integrationist Albany movement, qualified Saturday for the Oct. 15 election.

Atlanta—Economist Vivian W. Henderson says in study published by the Southern Regional Council that the South loses from $5 to $6 billion a year because of racial discrimination.

The Christian Science Mo
BOSTON, MASS.
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SEP 17 1963

Roundup Of Racial Disputes By States

By the Associated Press

While the focus of racial attention was on Birmingham, there were these other developments:

Alabama

At Anniston, a crowd of angry white persons assaulted two Negro ministers on the steps of the Anniston Public Library as they apparently attempted to desegregate it.

Police said one of the assailants used a chain in the attack on the Rev. Quintus Reynolds and the Rev. W. B. McClain. The ministers were members of a recently organized biracial committee to advise the city commission on social problems.

It was believed, police said, that the clergymen were planning to use the facilities of the white library. A $1,000 reward has been offered for the arrest of the leaders of the gang who beat the ministers.

Both were treated and released from a hospital.

Florida

At Tallahassee, the Congress of Racial Equality was discussing how to raise nearly $100,000 to release 241 persons from jail in the capital city.

Only 7 of 248 arrested during Saturday night demonstrations had been able to post $500 bonds each and gain their freedom.

County officials arrested 157 on charges of contempt of a circuit court injunction against demonstrations. Their bonds were fixed at $500 each.

After they were hauled off to jail, a band of Negroes from Florida A&M University marched to the jail, eight blocks away, to sing and shout. Ordered to disperse, they sat in the middle of the street and refused to move. Police arrested 91 on charges of disturbing the peace and bonds were set at $250 each.

Virginia

Negro children returned to school in Prince Edward County Monday for the first time since county officials closed public schools four years ago to avoid desegregation.

The children are attending a system of free private schools set up only a month ago at the urging of President Kennedy.

Trustees of the Prince Edward Free School Association expect between 1,200 and 1,600 Negro pupils to begin study by the end of the week.

Georgia

A Negro businessman at Albany is seeking the office of Mayor. Slater King, who is also acting president of the integrationist Albany movement, qualified Saturday for the Oct. 15 election.

Mr. King is one of three men seeking the office to be vacated by Mayor Asa D. Kelley Jr. Albany has been the scene of racial unrest, including massive arrests of Negroes during civil-rights demonstrations for the past two years.

An economist says the South loses from $5 to $6 billion a year because of racial discrimination.

In a study published by the Southern Regional Council, Vivian W. Henderson said that the nation was losing between $13 and $17 billion per year in national income through discrimination.

New York

In Malverne, a local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced Monday it will urge an end to the student boycott of predominantly Negro elementary school in nearby Lakeview. Another civil-rights group said it will continue the boycott.

State Education Commissioner James E. Allen Jr. had urged that further demonstrations be called off as "deterimental to the best educational interests of the children."

The Lakeview branch of the NAACP said it had met and decided to urge an end to the school boycott until the racial-imbalance issue in the Malverne School District is settled in court. But the NAACP chapter said it would continue "other forms of protest demonstrations."

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SEP 19 1963

School Lag Binds Southern Negroes

By Bicknell Eubanks
Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Dallas

Efforts by Negroes to get a better education in Southern public schools are entangled inextricably with their lowly economic status as compared with that of white Southerners. In almost every phase, Negro workers find themselves at a disadvantage in competing for jobs because of inadequate training and education.

Southern employers who try to help alleviate the conditions of Negroes by making jobs available often find that there are not enough qualified applicants to fill the jobs. In many cases, these employers will report that they do not get a single Negro applicant. Such jobs as they make available range from semiskilled to white-collar work.

While the incomes of Negro families and individuals have increased more than five times nationally since the end of World War II, it is still only a little more than half of what the white wage earner makes. In the South, there is an even greater disparity. South of the Mason and Dixon Line, Negro income is less than half—only about 46 percent — of what white workers earn.

Why School Drive?

This and other factors are cited by a Fisk University economist as one of the reasons why Negroes have stepped up "their efforts to speed school desegregation, which, in large part, derives from efforts to secure a better break economically."

The economist is Dr. Vivian Henderson, who is chairman of the department of economics and business administration at Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn. The results of Dr. Henderson's study have been published by the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, a bipartisan organization of white and Negro Southerners organized in 1944 to advance equal opportunity for all Southerners.

Dr. Henderson cautions that unless Negroes get a better break on the job market, the South's unprecedented economic expansion may get a major setback.

Basic Question Cited

He concludes that the South "loses from five to six billion dollars annually because of racial discrimination. He warns that if the South expects to make continued economic progress, it must make "rapid racial adjustments."

Dr. Henderson found that Negroes had taken little part in the growth phases of the South's economic advances.

"While it cannot be denied that important change has occurred in the economic status of Negroes during the past 20 years, critical questions must be considered regarding the rapidity of this change," Dr. Henderson said.

"Basically the question facing the nation, the South, and Negroes today is whether Negroes are narrowing the gaps in their economic status. The issue is not whether Negroes have been making progress, but whether it has been rapid enough to enable them to adjust to an economy whose rate of change is cumulative and intense."

Negro leaders across the South point out that the traditional Southern system of "last hired, first fired" still prevails.
vails. This is borne out at state employment offices, where Negroes will be waiting long after white jobless applicants have been given work.

It is pointed out that while employment has increased in general among Negroes, their total unemployment is about twice that of white workers.

Dr. Henderson reports that Negroes are still concentrated in jobs of the lowest categoires, with limited mobility and a high vulnerability to cyclical fluctuations and adverse consequences of technological changes.

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SPECIAL REPORT

Integration North and South

NINE YEARS after the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation, the focus was shifting perceptibly from the South to the North. Though specific incidents in the South were being widely publicized (such as James Meredith's graduation from the Univ. of Mississippi and the re-opening of schools on a privately-financed basis to Negroes in Prince Edward County, Va.), more and more attention was being focused on the *de facto* segregation of schools in the Northeast, the Midwest, and the Far West. In these areas, school superintendents were reconsidering the American institution known as the neighborhood school.

▶**In the South:** Last month, the *Southern School News* reported that 113 public school districts in the Southern and border regions would begin desegregating this fall. This was said to be "the largest number of districts to drop racial barriers in any year since 1956." Of 3,053 districts with both white and Negro students in the area, 1,092 will thus be desegregated.

Of the 113 new districts, 95 are desegregating voluntarily while 18 are under court orders. Forty-seven Texas districts will desegregate; in Virginia, 23; Kentucky, 16; North Carolina, 11; Tennessee, six; Florida, five; Alabama, 2; Arkansas, Georgia, and Louisiana, one apiece. Major cities under orders to desegregate: Birmingham and Mobile, Ala. (This is the first year that Alabama will desegregate below the college level.)

Desegregation methods vary. Many districts will desegregate at the rate of a grade a year, starting at the kindergarten level. Others will start at the high school level and work downward. In some areas, all-Negro schools are being closed down, with Negroes transferred to previously all-white schools. In Virginia, the State's Pupil Placement Board assigned several hundred Negro students to biracial classes in 21 school districts throughout the state.

In Virginia's Prince Edward County, schools will reopen for Negro students. For four years the county's public schools have been closed. (They were shut down in 1959 after receiving court orders to integrate.) Whites have been attending private segregated schools. Negroes have either done without any schooling, or have received makeshift attention from volunteer teachers. Now a private group is being set up in Prince Edward with the support of local, state, and Federal authorities.

It will operate private, integrated schools whose initial task will be remedial education. Public school buildings, now unused, will be leased from the county. Private contributions are being solicited, and the National Education Association has invited its members to contribute.

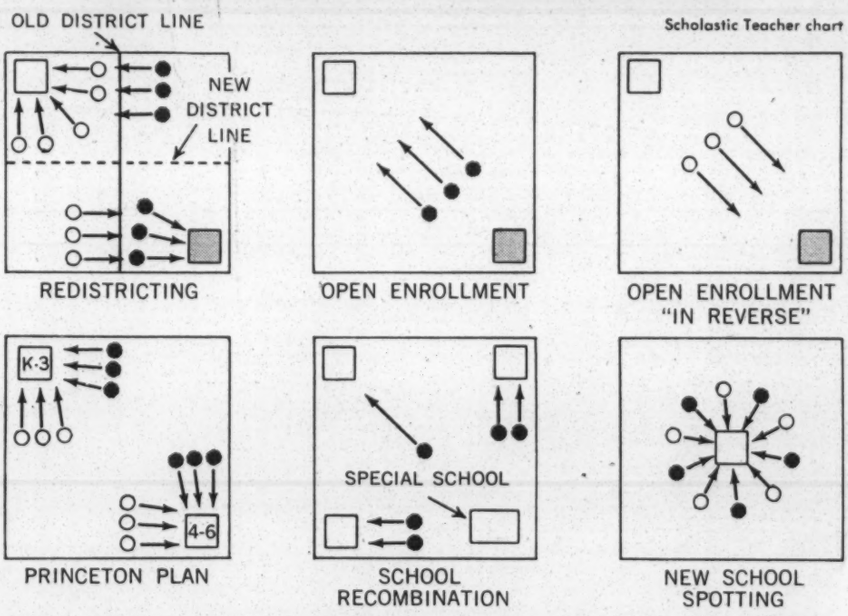
▶**In the North:** The problem of *de facto* segregation is troubling school superintendents in the major cities of the North, and in many of its suburban communities as well.

The problem is basically that a school's population tends to reflect the racial composition of its surrounding neighborhood. A school in a Negro area will tend to have a high proportion of Negroes. Similarly, a school in a white neighborhood will have a high proportion of whites.

School boards have experimented with a number of possible solutions. *[See chart below.]* These include redrawing school district lines, "open enrollment" (allowing Negro pupils to attend white schools in other districts), and setting up schools where both white and Negro pupils attend specific grade levels. One of the most contro-

SIX METHODS OF DESEGREGATION

Scholastic Teacher chart



These are six methods of desegregation currently under development or study in various communities. *Redistricting* involves the redrawing of school district lines to correct racial imbalance. Under *open enrollment,* Negroes are allowed to enroll in formerly white schools. The highly controversial *"open enrollment in reverse"* would assign white pupils to Negro schools. The *Princeton Plan* calls for specified schools to handle both white and Negro pupils in specified grades. *School recombination* may be handled in various ways, but the idea is to convert the Negro school into some special school (perhaps for the retarded) and transfer Negro pupils to other schools. *New school spotting* involves planning to build new schools in areas where housing is already integrated.

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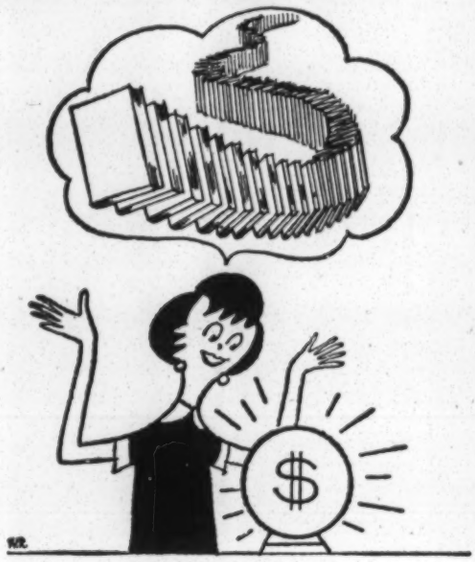

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_____ The Jumbo packet of 50 new book jackets for display purposes; recommended book lists and list of book suppliers @ $1.00.
_____ Manual on how to conduct and promote a Book Bazaar @ 50¢.
_____ "Magic Carpet" wall display poster (43" x 33") @ 25¢.
_____ "Family Book Parade" wall display poster (43" x 33") @ 25¢.
_____ "Put Reading Into Orbit" streamer poster (9½" x 30") @ 25¢.
_____ "Adventures in Bookland" script by Florence Liss (Grades 4-8) @ 25¢.
_____ "Happy Among Books" script by Jean A. Eicks (Jr. Sr. H. S.) @ 25¢.
_____ Cardboard letters spelling Book Bazaar for wall or over-door display @ 50¢.

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School _____
Address _____
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Please accompany orders with check or money orders.

Sept. 20, 1963
Good for 3 months only

versial proposals has been labeled "open enrollment in reverse," where white pupils in white neighborhoods are assigned to Negro schools in Negro areas. This was suggested by a Conference on Integration in the New York City Public Schools last spring. Major civic organizations have disavowed the proposal on the grounds that it would hasten the exodus of the white middle class from the city, as has been happening in Washington, D.C.

Elsewhere, Negro demonstrations against *de facto* segregation go on. In Chicago, demonstrators broke through police lines and hurled themselves in front of bulldozers to prevent the construction of mobile classrooms at Negro school sites. The Chicago school board later voted 8-2 to have the construction proceed.

In Malverne, Long Island, N.Y., the school board was ordered by State Education Commissioner James E. Allen, Jr., to correct racial imbalance in its schools. At the same time Allen asked all school districts in the state to report on racial imbalance and indicate how they plan to end it. He defined racial imbalance "for the purpose of this report" as being 50 per cent or more non-white.

In New Jersey, State Commissioner Frederick M. Raubinger ordered state school aid withheld from the Orange school system until racial imbalance was ended in the Oakwood school. Meanwhile plans were being made to end racial imbalance at the Lincoln School in Englewood, N.J.

In Detroit, a history supplement has been added to give eighth grade students an understanding of the role of the Negro in U.S. history. The supplement was prepared after the NAACP criticized the current text for allegedly presenting the Negro as a "dependent, servile creature."

In Los Angeles, there were a number of demonstrations for (and against) school integration by such organizations as the Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and assorted other groups.

As the desegregation struggle continued, Dr. Robert Coles issued *A Psychiatric Study of the Desegregation of Southern Schools*. In a 25-page report issued by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League, Coles found that integration appeared easier when started in the lower grades:

"Together at six," writes Coles, "is not like being together at 16, regardless of all the other factors. Young children of the two races play together and work together even though they have heard many remarks at home which might discourage this. . .

(Continued on page 4-T)

(Continued from page 2-T)

". . . Adolescents worry deeply about what others think because they are so unsure of what they themselves think, or who they are. Each fears the ostracism of the other, because each trembles at himself and with himself in those uncertain years. . . ."

A plea for equal educational opportunity came from President Kennedy in an address to the nation: ". . . The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section or the state in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby, born in the same place, on the same day; one-third as much chance of completing college; one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man; twice as much chance of becoming unemployed; about one-seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 a year; a life expectancy which is seven years shorter and the prospects of earning only half as much. . . .

". . . Not every child has an equal talent or an equal ability or equal motivation. But they should have the equal right to develop their talent and their ability and their motivation to make something of themselves. . . ."

President Kennedy backed a Civil Rights Bill to eliminate discrimination against citizens based on race, color, or national origin, in voting, education, and public accommodations.

The Federal government has already backed integration in rules governing apprenticeship training programs and in school attendance of children of

KNOXVILLE, TENN.
JOURNAL
D: 64,670

SEP 21 1963

Atlanta U Prexy To Be Speaker At KC Opening

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University since 1937, will be speaker at Knoxville College's opening convocation at 11 a. m. next Wednesday in Griffen - Alumni Auditorium.

DR. CLEMENT

Dr. James A. Colston, KC president, will preside and introduce Dr. Clement. Honor students will be recognized.

Dr. Clement is a native of Salisbury, N.C. He was graduated with highest honors from Livingston College, received his DD from Garrett Bibical Institute and his masters and PhD from Northwestern University in 1930. He has received numerous awards and taught at several colleges and schools.

He has an honorary degree from University of Liberia.

Dr. Clement has been a member of the Atlanta Board of Education since 1954 and is a member of the board of American Association for United Nation, United Negro College Fund, Atlanta Urban League, Southern Regional Council and Citizen's Trust Co. of Atlanta.

TAMPA, FLA.
FLORIDA SENTINEL
BULLETIN (N)
TUES. 11,100 FRI. 6,311
SEP 21 1963

Discrimination Held Costing Dixie Billions

ATLANTA — An economist says that rapid racial adjustments are vitally important to the economic health of the South, a region which is losing from $5 to $6 billion a year because of discrimination.

In a study published Sunday by the Southern Regional Council, Vivian W. Henderson said that "tensions generated by poor race relations are not conducive to economic growth."

"Chaos over school desegregation, boycotts to achieve employment opportunity, sit-in demonstrations, and picket lines all are simply and tragically inimical to the economic life of the region," he said, adding:

"Positive steps toward good race relations, the full obsorption of Negroes into the mainstream of the region—these are imperative to leadership seeking a healthy South."

Henderson is professor and chairman of the department of economics and business administration at Fisk University. At present he is serving as a visiting professor at North Carolina State College in Raleigh.

He said that based on figures provided by the President's Council of Economic Advisers in 1962, " a conservative estimate is that the South loses from $5 to $6 billion annually because of racial discrimination."

The South can no longer afford the luxury of wasting a valuable human resource," said Henderson.

"To achieve full equality with other regions of the nation, the South must achieve full utilization of its manpower," he said.

SATURDAY REVIEW
NEW YORK, N.Y.
W. 298,174

SEP 21 1963

While School Keeps

9649

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION in the South moved a trifle faster this fall as 140 school districts dropped racial barriers for the first time. This is the largest number to desegregate in any year since 1956, according to the *Southern School News,* official publication of the Southern Education Reporting Service. The pace of change is still slow, but appears more clearly inexorable even to the most reluctant Southerner. Districts were desegregated in Alabama and South Carolina for the first time—leaving Mississippi as the only state with its public elementary and secondary schools wholly segregated. And, in other states, desegregation is moving into "hard core" areas of racial sentiment without apparent difficulty.

There are 6,197 school districts in the seventeen-state Southern and border-state region. Of these, about half (3,053) are biracial — having both Negro and white pupils. About 37 per cent of the biracial districts (1,119) have desegregated. But a far smaller percentage of Negro children in these districts is actually in schools with white children.

It may be encouraging that 119 of the 140 districts that desegregated this fall did so voluntarily; only twenty-one were under court order.

Voluntary desegregation does not mean, of course, that a community is willing to drop racial bars any farther than necessary. As court cases have gradually eliminated the possibilities for evasion of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision, the more sophisticated opponents of desegregation have recognized that change is inevitable. They have also seen that communities that indulged in an emotional, last-ditch massive resistance fight to avoid integration finally had to submit to a court-ordered desegregation plan that often went farther and faster than court-approved plans developed by the communities themselves. Therefore, voluntary desegregation has become one means by which local communities can control the pace of change and limit the degree to which racial barriers are lowered.

An instructive analysis of the means that have been proposed to control and limit desegregation is contained in a twenty-eight page pamphlet published jointly by the Southern Regional Council (5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia) and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.). Titled "Token Desegregation and Beyond," by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia, the pamphlet describes the various methods used to slow desegregation, the developing attitudes of federal courts toward these methods, the costs of desegregation, and one point of view on what the future holds. Copies are available from either of the sponsoring organizations for fifty cents.

STATUS OF SOUTHERN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
(As of September 1, 1963)

State	Total Districts	Number Biracial	Desegregating This Fall: Number of Districts	Voluntary	Court-Ordered	Previously Desegregated	Total Desegregated
Alabama	114	114	4	0	4	0	4
Arkansas	416	228	1	1	0	12	13
Delaware	87	87	0	0	0	87	87
Dist. of Columbia	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
Florida	67	67	5	3	2	10	15
Georgia	198	182	3	2	1	1	4
Kentucky	205	166	16	14	2	149	165
Louisiana	67	67	1	0	1	1	2
Maryland	24	23	0	0	0	23	23
Mississippi	150	150	0	0	0	0	0
Missouri	1,607	213	0	0	0	203 (Est.)	203 (Est.)
North Carolina	173	173	21	21	0	18	39
Oklahoma	1,180	241	0	0	0	196	196
South Carolina	108	108	1	0	1	0	1
Tennessee	154	143	10	10	0	26	36
Texas	1,461	919	55	46	9	177	232
Virginia	130	128	23	22	1	32	55
West Virginia	55	43	0	0	0	43	43
TOTALS	6,197	3,053	140	119	21	979	1,119

—Southern Education Reporting Service

Desegregation poses enormous problems—both educational and social—for Negroes and whites alike. And each state is meeting the challenge of change in its own way, within its own cultural traditions. Alabama and Mississippi have been the scenes of bitter violence in the course of the last year as Negroes sought to achieve, in fact, the equality of opportunity that was so dearly won in theory a hundred years ago. But South Carolina, despite its Deep South traditions, has quietly enrolled eleven Negro children in the elementary and secondary schools of Charleston, just as it last year enrolled the first Negro in the state college at Clemson. The men who influence state policy there will allow desegregation to proceed not one whit faster than necessity demands. But neither are they likely to countenance the barbarism of violence.

Change is bound to be slow in many parts of the South. But it may be hopeful that voluntary desegregation is becoming the rule rather than the exception in some areas of the South, whatever the motivation for it, because in almost every case to date, once Negroes have been admitted to white schools, the number admitted has increased year by year.

RECRUITING HIGH SCHOOL SCHOLARS on a nationwide basis through offers of tangible benefits—such as money—is a relatively new departure for colleges and universities. Institutions of higher learning have long competed for high school football stars, each attempting to outdo the other in the "educational" advantages offered. But only very recently has the mental man become as valuable as the muscle man in the contribution he can make to the institution's public and professional image. The movement for academic excellence may be coming of age.

In the course of the past year a number of colleges and universities have turned over some of their own scholarship funds to the National Merit Scholarship Corporation in order to assure themselves of minimum representation from that elite pool of freshman talent, the National Merit Scholars. Institutions using this means to help raise the academic level of their student bodies range from tiny Bennington in Vermont (350 women) to huge Michigan State (21,000 undergraduates), to small Ripon College in Wisconsin (700 men and women). Each will benefit and more schools will probably follow their lead.

Other institutions are seeking the same objective through individual programs of their own. The University of Southern California, for instance, launched a nationwide search last spring "for exceptionally gifted high school

seniors" to become the university's first ten Trustee Scholars. Ten more will be selected each year; those who need financial aid will receive up to $2,500 a year and will retain their designation as long as their academic work holds up. In explaining the new program, USC's president, Dr. Norman Topping said, "The keen minds of Trustee Scholars will be a benefit and an inspiration to all who study here."

New York University, the nation's largest private institution of higher learning, is initiating a similar program this fall with the selection of fifty-five incoming freshmen of outstanding ability to be New York University Scholars. Scholars will attend special seminars, colloquia, and meetings with faculty advisors and distinguished campus guests will be arranged for them. A special effort will also be made to help them become acquainted with the vast cultural resources of New York City. They will receive up to $12,000 in financial aid over the four years of study. NYU is also seeking through this program, which within four years will include 150 to 200 University Scholars, to increase the proportion of students from other areas of the country.

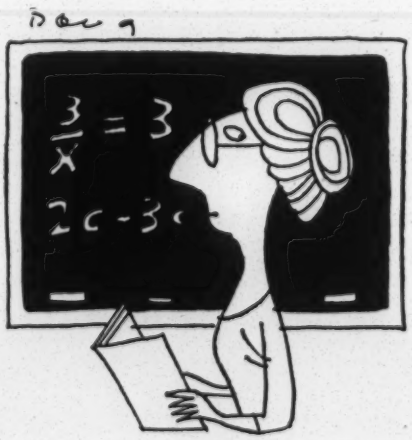
THE NATURAL HISTORY PRESS, a new publishing venture, brings together the resources of one of the nation's great museums and a major publishing house to develop new science materials for students—and adults. A joint undertaking of the American Museum of Natural History and the Doubleday publishing house, the new press is launching this month a new book series, to be known as American Museum Science Books, for students and interested adults, and a new science magazine for upper elementary students in the nine-to-fourteen age group called *Nature and Science*. This collaboration of scholars and publishers promises science materials of unusual quality and interest.

First offerings in the new series of American Museum Science Books, are four paperbacks: *Exploration of the Moon,* by Franklyn M. Branley; *Biology of Birds,* by Wesley E. Lanyon; *Indians of the Northwest Coast,* by Philip Drucker; and *Indians of the Plains,* by Robert H. Lowie; and one cloth-bound volume, *Wasp Farm,* by Howard Ensign Evans. The two volumes on the American Indian were originally published in the Anthropological Handbook Series of the museum; the other volumes are being published for the first time. Prices of the paperbacks range from ninety-five cents to $1.95; *Wasp Farm* is $3.95.

Nature and Science, the new magazine for the elementary grades, is a sixteen-page illustrated periodical that will appear fortnightly during the school year and offer special monthly issues during the summer. It provides articles on the physical and biological sciences, mathematical and scientific games, projects for the young scientist to pursue, and explanations of how common mechanical objects work (in the first issue, for instance, drawings and text show the inner workings of a water faucet). Subscriptions are available from the magazine, Garden City, N.Y., at $2.70 a year (eighteen issues), special prices for quantity orders for classroom use and for the teacher's edition.

AUTOMATION IN EDUCATION takes many forms and serves a variety of purposes. Northeastern University in Boston, for instance, has used new data processing equipment to put alumni giving on an installment basis. Designed to do the usual job of providing fast and accurate handling of student records, examinations, and payrolls, the equipment also makes possible a fund-raising program that allows alumni to pledge as little as $100 to be paid at the rate of $5 a month for twenty months. Many alumni are able to give substantially more each year in this way than when they sent a single, annual check. But keeping track of a large number of monthly gifts over an extended period without data processing equipment, the university notes, "would have required a small army of clerical help."

NEGRO GRADUATE STUDENTS represent a disproportionately small percentage of the total according to Chancellor Franklin D. Murphy of the University of California at Los Angeles. Yet, he says, "If the number of Negroes entering university teaching and research is to be increased, the process must begin by expanding the enrollment of qualified Negroes at the graduate level." Therefore, UCLA has launched a drive to find qualified prospects within the university's undergraduate student body, and plans are being made to extend the search to high schools, junior colleges, and the California state colleges. The effort is complicated by the fact that no records are kept of students by race and no fellowship funds are available specifically for Negroes. However, prospective students will be given the benefit of special counseling about professional career goals and information concerning the opportunities available.



PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS, when they return from their two-year tour of duty overseas, bring with them knowledge and experience that promise to be uniquely valuable in a shrinking world of rapid social change. But only a fraction of the potential benefit that both society and the volunteers themselves might reap from their experience will be realized if the pay-off is left to chance. Therefore, the American Council on Education, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, has set up the Peace Corps Volunteer Career Information Service (700 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.) to seek out employment and educational opportunities for returning volunteers, provide a career-counseling service, and keep a record of what happens to volunteers in the years following their overseas experience.

Some 700 volunteers will have completed their two-year tour of duty by the end of 1963. To date more than forty colleges, universities, and foundations have already offered scholarships and fellowships in a variety of fields. More are needed and will doubtless become available as awareness of the need grows.

Meanwhile, the success of early volunteers in their assignments abroad is indicated by the announcement that the Peace Corps estimates it will need at least 5,000 teachers during the next twelve months to meet the requests coming in from the forty-seven countries throughout Latin America, Africa, and Asia where it now has educational projects. Teachers are needed at every level from elementary school through college—for all subjects usually taught in American schools. Greatest demand, however, is in mathematics, science, English as a second language, vocational subjects, and physical education. Physically fit teachers who are retiring or who are eligible for a leave of absence may apply. Further information is available from the Peace Corps, Division of Recruiting, Washington 25, D.C. Applicants should indicate whether they are retired or plan to take a leave of absence, and should also note their teaching field. —JAMES CASS.

AMERICUS, GA.
TIMES-RECORDER
D. 4,451

SEP 23 1963

Economist Says Dixie Losing $5 Billion Yearly

ATLANTA (AP)—An economist says that rapid racial adjustments are vitally important to the economic health of the South, a region which is losing from $5 to $6 billion a year because of discrimination.

In a study released this week by the Southern Regional Council, Vivian W. Henderson said that "tensions generated by poor race relations are not conducive to economic growth."

"Chaos over school desegregation, boycotts to achieve employment opportunity, sit-in demonstrations, and picket lines, all are simply and tragically inimical to economic life of the region" he said, adding:

"Positive steps toward good race relations, the full absorption of Negroes into the mainstream of the region these are imperative to leadership seeking a healthy South."

Henderson is professor and chairman of the department of economics and business administration at Fisk University. At present he is serving as a visiting professor at North Carolina State College in Raleigh.

He said that based on figures provided by the President's Council of Economic Advisers in 1962, "a conservative estimate is that the South loses from $5 to $6 billion annually because of racial discrimination."

"The South can no longer afford the luxury of wasting a valuable human resource," said Henderson.

"To achieve full equality with other regions of the nation, the South must achieve full utilization of its manpower," he said. "For the nation as a whole, the continuing struggle of the cold war makes the full use of America's human resources imperative."

The Southern Regional Council was formed in 1944 by Negro and white Southerners to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

MONROE, LA.
WORLD
D. 27,587 S. 41,061

SEP 23 1963

DE FACTO SEGREGATION

School Report Notes Low Integration

ATLANTA (UPI) — A new report on the progress of school desegregation said Saturday that fewer than one out of 200 Negro children in 11 Southern states are now in integrated classes.

The report, published by Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League, was prepared by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon woman's college, Lynchburg, Va.

The report said the 11 "resistant" states had adopted token integration plans designed "to meet the demands of the Supreme court by allowing some integration while still keeping the number of Negroes in school with whites at such a low level as to maintain de facto (in fact) segregation."

Morland listed pupil placement laws, local option provisions with their school closing authorizations, transfer plans as the main programs that have kept 99.6 per cent of the Negroes in schools of the 11 states in segregated classes.

Morland singled out as the "resistant" states Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Previously - segregated areas that have "complied" with the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision were listed as Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia and the District of Columbia.

Morland pointed out that overall school desegregation statistics fail to show the slow pace in the deep South and in some cases hide the facts inside the South.

He noted that statistics show Nashville, Tenn., with 810 Negroes in schools with whites but that actually 540 of them were in a school with a single white child and a Chinese-American.

Of the 270 desegregated districts in the "resistant" states last fall, 176 were in Texas alone, he said.

"Racial integratoin in public schools is by any standard at token levels in resistant states, where 98 per cent of the Negro pupils in desegregated districts and 99.6 per cent in all school schools," Morland concluded.

The federal courts "are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools," Morland emphasized. He said de facto segregation would be "futile in the long run" and very costly.

On the basis of a Civil Rights Commission estimate that one racial case costs $15,000, Morland estimated that litigation over the issue already had cost $4,395,000. There have been 223 cases in "resistant" states and 70 in the others.

He said that fear of social troubles and lowering of academic standards governed much of the reluctance to move into integrated programs.

NEGRO DIGEST
CHICAGO, ILL.
MONTHLY - CIRC.N.AVAIL.

SEP 24 1963

Keeping the Record Straight

Mr. Morsell Replies to Mr. Lomax

BY JOHN A. MORSELL

Assistant to the Executive Secretary, NAACP

Editor's Note: *In the December 1962 issue of* NEGRO DIGEST, *we reprinted from The Crisis a review by John A. Morsell, Roy Wilkins' assistant, of Louis E. Lomax's book* The Negro Revolt. *Mr. Lomax later suggested that he be granted space to reply to the article, and the essay, "A Challenge to Negro Leaders: Do Your Job or Get Out of the Way," which appeared in the July 1963* NEGRO DIGEST *was the result. The following article was written by Mr. Morsell in response to the article by Mr. Lomax.*

The fundamental appeal in my review of Lomax's book, *The Negro Revolt,* was for adherence to simple canons of truthfulness and accuracy in reporting. *The Negro Revolt* erred grievously and profusely in this regard, and my review took sharp note of a number of serious misstatements and distortions. It also noted a number of what I called "unnecessary, if minor, errata," which I attributed to editorial laxity on the part of the publishers. I agree with Lomax that his business is writing books, not editing them, and my reference to these errors made this plain.

(I must add, however, that most authors whom I know cannot forbear a final peep at the galleyproofs, in the expectation that some mistakes may have slipped in and in the hope that what comes out over their names will be as near perfect as possible.)

Lomax is quite mistaken, incidentally, in assuming that I was "assigned" to write that review. I had an advance copy of the book and was thus the first person on our staff to read it. It appalled and outraged me, and I wrote the review on my own. The review has evidently appalled and outraged Lomax, but his reaction would be more soundly based if he showed

any sign of having read it with care. He misquotes a reference to himself, for example, as "a self-asserted NAACP board member." But this is not what I wrote: the actual text was "self-assertedly an *active* member," and its purpose was to express surprise that, under those circumstances, he should be so ignorant of what the NAACP does. I am no longer so charitable, however: I think Lomax *does* know, but that for reasons of his own he prefers to ignore it.

Lomax's account of the NAACP's participation in the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project is typically garbled. It was expected and desired that the Association, having the most experience in voter registration work, should contribute heavily to the design and structure of the project. To this end, a careful evaluation of the prospectus was made by several of our staff executives, and many of the suggestions they offered were subsequently incorporated into the VEP plan. No final commitment could be made except by vote of our Board of Directors. The plan was not far enough advanced to permit this at the April, 1961, policy meeting and it was therefore considered at the next policy meeting in September, 1961. There was no delay, intentional or otherwise, and Lomax's fictitious quotation from an unidentified Board member is gratuitous.

Incidentally, Lomax professed at the time to believe that huge sums of money were instantly at hand, and were being kept out of useful circulation only by NAACP procrastination. He was also wrong as to the amounts involved (they were less than he claimed) but, being in honor bound by the sponsors to refrain from any public comment, we could not speak freely about this or other aspects. (The sponsors, be it noted, were perturbed as we were over Lomax's premature radio broadcast, which they regarded as mischievous and irresponsible.) In point of fact, it took from September, 1961 until March, 1962 to obtain a ruling from the Treasury Department which would permit the VEP funds to be channeled to the NAACP and others who do not enjoy the right to receive tax-exempt money.

It would be unfortunate in the extreme if criticism of the NAACP were "frightened off" as Lomax suggests. Continuous criticism is important; one would hope it could be constructive (even from Lomax), but any kind is better than none at all. At the same time, it seems to me, the critics should adopt the same attitude and be prepared for counter-criticism, for correction and for refutation, where these are in order. This is the essence of healthy debate, and it is not helped when give-and-take is interpreted as invidious personal attack. A thick skin is still an important requirement for those who would be involved in controversy.

ST. LOUIS, MO.
DEFENDER
W.-CIRC.N.AVAIL.

SEP 2 4 1963

Political Hot Sheet

by Jim Miller

The big split in the 26th ward between Committeeman Norman Seay and Alderman William L. Clay has hit the daily press as if it was just beginning to be news. The Negro community has known this all along. Adherents of Ald. Clay have accused Seay of joining hands with the Dwyer-led Negro democrats whose chief lieutenants in the mid-town area are Fred Weathers and Senator T. D. McNeal.

Only 55 complaints have been filed under the Missouri fair employment practices law since it became law two years ago. Most people denied employment because of racial bias think the lodging of a complaint with the state agency would be an exercise in futility.

The race for governor of Missouri is taking on the aspects of a free-for-all. This would be made to order for old line Uncle Tom Negro politicians working for the re-election of white committeemen in all-Negro wards in the mid-town district.

Negro voter registration shows widespread gains in the South in spite of the hardcore indifference which the registration campaign has encountered. The Southern Regional Council, an Atlanta-baseed, bi-racial group, recently estimated that only 30% of the South's Negro voting-age population is registered to vote. Extreme apathy on the part of the Negro is matched only by the stubborn opposition of entrenched, Southern white supremacists.

The democratic primary election of 1964 has gotten off to a "fighting start" penmanship style, that is: Bitter partisan followers of the Fred Weathers camp have been accused of writing uncle Tom letters to the daily press sagagely attacking Alderman Wm. Clay.

The Virginian-Pilot
NORFOLK, VA.
D. 119,187

SEP 25 1963

Waste in the South

Much of Dr. Vivian W. Henderson's study of Negro income and employment is a reminder rather than a revelation, but it is not less valuable for that. In fact, his report has a significance broader than the title—*The Economic Status of Negroes in the Nation and in the South*—would indicate.

In his pamphlet, published by the Southern Regional Council, the Fisk University economist surveys not only Negro employment and income, but also the Southern economy in comparison to that of the rest of the nation.

His unsurprising conclusion is that the South, with relation to the rest of the nation, is much like the Negro with relation to the white: better off than ever, but still losing ground. There is a "dollar gap" between Southern and national income, just as there is between Negro and white earnings. And in both cases it is widening, despite the fact that both the South and the Negro have made enormous gains during the last two decades.

Lest it be hastily concluded that the Southern Negro's economic plight is entirely responsible for his region's poor showing, Dr. Henderson cites figures showing that the Southern white is running well behind his Northern and Western counterparts in economic gains. Indeed, Negroes in the Western states rose faster in income during the 'Fifties than did whites in the South, and the median incomes of the two groups are now almost identical.

* * *

Of course personal income is not in itself a conclusive economic indicator. But it measures what people can get out of an economy and is therefore an excellent index of prosperity. The indication from Dr. Henderson's figures is that while the historic poverty of the South has been alleviated, the region has not yet experienced enough economic growth to be a full participant in national prosperity.

Dr. Henderson sees "traditional race relations" in the South as a major barrier to economic progress. He cites the waste of Negro manpower, the exodus of Negro talent to centers of greater opportunity. Failure to rectify the economic inequalities in the South, he suggests, can only mean a continuing tide of Negroes moving from rural shacks to city welfare rolls.

The truism about "many Souths" is pertinent here. Neither the spectacular poverty of the Appalachian fastness nor the glistening prosperity of downtown Houston or Atlanta is wholly representative of the region.

In hamlets and rural counties across much of the South, manpower of *both* races is cruelly wasted, and it is from these places that the greatest exodus of manpower is taking place. It is these places whose stagnation erodes the tax base of their states, putting wholly unfair burdens on the still-germinating prosperity of the metropolitan centers. And it is these places, where inadequate education breeds ignorance and prejudice, that swell the pluralities of the Wallaces and Barnetts who are hobbling the South's steps toward progress.

MEMPHIS, TENN.
TRI-STATE DEFENDER
W 24,000
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED (N)
SEP 28 1963

'South Loses $6 Billion Annually Because of Bias'

The need of Negro Americans, and particularly of Negro Southerners, for more and better jobs is underscored by economist Vivian W. Henderson in a short study, **The Economic Status of the Negro: In the Nation and In the South,** published recently by the Southern Regional Council.

Henderson is professor and chairman of the department of economics and business administration at Fisk university. He is currently serving as a visiting professor at North Carolina State college in Raleigh.

Despite gains made since World War II, Dr. Henderson finds "little cause for optimism regarding rapid change in the status of Negroes in the near future."

"Tensions generated by poor race relations are not conducive to economic growth," Henderson also warns. "Chaos over school desegregation, boycotts to achieve employment opportunity, sit-in demonstrations, and picket lines, all are simply and tragically inimical to the economic life of the region. Positive steps toward good race relations, the full absorption of Negroes into the mainstream of the region—these are imperative to leadership seeking a healthy South," said Henderson.

While the income of Negro families and individuals nationally has grown over five times since 1940, it's still "little more than one-half" that of American white families and individuals.

Moreover, Dr. Henderson points out, "in the South Negro families have an income of less than one-half (46%) that of white families and only one-half the income" of non-southern Negroes.

This fact, says Henderson, explains "why Negroes have stepped up their efforts to speed school segregation, which, in large part, derives from efforts to secure a better break economically."

The proportion of Negro families with incomes between $4,000 and $6,000 tripled between 1941 and 1961, and the number of Negro families with incomes of more than $6,000 grew from 4% to 20% during the same period.

But the Henderson study shows that these gains occurred between 1940 and 1954. Since that time, the income gap between Negroes and whites has widened.

"Negroes are losing ground rapidly in gaining dollar parity with whites," according to Dr. Henderson, and "earnings are increasing for whites at a faster pace than for Negroes."

With unemployment among Negroes today twice that of whites and the duration of unemployment longer for Negroes than for whites, Dr. Henderson notes that the industries which have "a declining rate of employment are the industries which have absorbed Negroes." These include mining, manufacturing, and construction, where Negroes have found unskilled and semi-skilled jobs as laborers and operatives.

"There has not been a large penetration by Negroes into the growth sectors of employment. Those industries and occupations where Negroes have gained in employment represent the slow growth areas of the economy and labor market."

In discussing the losses to the national economy through racial discrimination, Dr. Henderson concludes, extrapolating from government estimates, that "the South loses from $5 to $6 billion annually because of racial discrimination."

Accordingly, the economist warns that "rapid racial adjustments" must be made by the South if it expects to enjoy continued economic progress.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

NEW REPUBLIC
WASHINGTON, D.C.
W. 46,792
SEP 28 1963

Southern Schooling

9649

The South has been struggling to catch up with the rest of the country in education, and slowly and painfully it is making progress – below the college level. But in higher education, particularly in the hot competition for talented graduate students, Southern schools are relatively worse off than they were when the Sixties began.

The Southern Regional Council reports, for example, that among Southern undergraduates who win Woodrow Wilson and National Science fellowships, only about half choose Southern graduate schools. Among Northerners at the same level of promise barely one in 85 goes South for graduate work. Both percentages have declined since 1959.

The South's history of segregation is, of course, a major contributor to this lag. Segregated higher education is expensive. In 1950 Florida spent $360,000 to create a Negro law school which has awarded just 32 degrees in the last eight years. This institution struggles on with 16 students who cost the state $60,000 in salaries alone, even though the integration it was built to forestall long ago came to the University of Florida.

In the meantime Florida finds itself short of the skilled labor needed by the modern industries which have brought so much hope there. Sperry Rand told the United States Civil Rights Commission that its most severe problem in Florida was the shortage of trained workers. "I will take physicists, microwave engineers, and antenna engineers whether they be dark, light or pink," a Sperry executive told the Commission. "I'd be glad to steal them from any company in the area if we can get our hands on them. We have found that the schools that have been teaching electronics are about 10 to 15 years behind modern electronics."

THE CHARLOTTE NEWS
CHARLOTTE, N. C.
D. 62,581

SEP 30 1963

The Disparities

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, writing under the sponsorship of the Southern Regional Council, has again reminded us that the southern Negro has no monopoly on poverty. His plight is but a reflection of the regional average, shared by an increasing number of southern whites and subject to the old patterns of stagnation and waste exemplified in the backward town and the city slum.

It is no surprise to learn that the South — both white and colored — still is trapped in the widening dollar-gap between region and nation, despite the great strides of the past three decades. Already, Negroes living in the western states have median incomes comparable to that of southern whites. And as more and more talented Negroes leave the South for better opportunities, the less-favored continue their short migrations from rural shack to metropolitan slum. The circle is vicious and sustained.

The southern economist sees the South emerging from the old ways and attempting to find its way back into participation in the national prosperity. It is by no means a fruitless struggle, but it will be a long and grim one. Dr. Henderson speaks of the "traditional race relations" in the South as a major barrier—and he is right. Swifter than many southerners care to believe, the choice will have to be made between custom and continued progress, between lip-service to the idea of progress and a concerted regional effort to make it come true.

★ ★ ★

But at this point in the South's journey—and the facts and figures in the Henderson Report bear this out—the southern problem is not so much a need for radical innovation as it is the need for spreading the social and economic gains already made in the region's most progressive areas.

There is little that the South can do about the race situation that is not already being done or attempted in Charlotte, Nashville, Houston, Atlanta, Norfolk and other progressive communities. The great task lies in making sure that the great metropolitan areas don't become repositories for the failures of the countryside.

There is an ugly law now taking shape throughout the South and few cities can escape it: Rural discontent, economic or racial, is driving the discontented into the cities, swelling the slums and lengthening the relief lines. It does no good for Charlotte or Atlanta to become islands of progress and moderation in the midst of a reactionary and backward countryside if this progress does little more than attract new slum material.

Nowhere is this more evident than in Washington, D.C., where southern Negro migrants saw the dream break apart and the slums open wide. Poverty and backwardness, in this case, are not cured—but transferred.

This could be the fate of the great southern cities unless this disparity is examined more deeply by all southerners. Too often, agitation based on such themes as "all, here and now" is aimed at the point of least resistance. Cities with moderate inclinations are "pinpointed" for further pressures and hoped-for gains. And the ensuing belief that Charlotte or Greensboro or Atlanta hold more promise than a small rural farm swells the urban welfare rolls and places the most progressive communities under an inhibiting human burden.

★ ★ ★

This then is the disparity that often is overlooked by those who want to move the South forward through demands and demonstrations and marches. What, in effect, is being created by this lag between the cities and countryside is a wholly new urban problem, the answers to which remain muddled and difficult.

But answers there must be. The South cannot very well progress one part at a time, disjointedly, without any kind of regional design or coordination: The lessons of Washington loom too large to be ignored, and the region has too far to go to be drawn into the belief that progress can live side by side with backwardness —and not be diluted into failure.

LAFATETTE, LA.
SOUTHWEST LOUISIANA
REGISTER
W. 24,953 (C)
OCT 3 1963

Southmission

Still Much Work to Be Done in South

"Just 25 years ago President Roosevelt released with his own endorsement a report by the National Emergency Council that described a region of the world whose potentialities have been neglected and . . . opportunities unrealized." The report told of inadequate housing, education and health facilities, of an agriculture characterized by absentee ownership, single - crop farming, underemployment and per capita incomes under $200 a year. Too poor to accumulate savings, the people had not developed their own industries and lived in a quasi-colonial economy, exporting staple crops and raw materials and importing most of the manufactured products they consumed.

SOUTH

MISSION

"The report dealt not with a region of Asia or Africa or Latin America but with the 13 Southern states of the U.S. In 1938 the U.S. South was an underdeveloped area within the most developed country in the world, 'the nation's economic problem No. 1.' Now, 25 years later, the South is emerging from that state of underdevelopment. It has attained the diversification of agriculture and industry and the potential for self-sustaining growth that characterize a viable modern economy. Although it still lags behind the rest of the U.S., it has essentially achieved the economic goals toward which such countries as Nigeria, India and Brazil are striving. These past 25 years of its 100-year struggle with poverty illustrate the crucial importance of outside assistance to a people attempting to break through the interrelated barriers that bar the way to development." The long quote is taken from the September 1963 issue of **Scientific American** from an article entitled "The Development of the U.S. South." The writer goes on to outline briefly how the South has progressed these past years.

THE DIOCESE OF LAFAYETTE is down in the South, way down in what is known as the Deep South. The point of view of the above quote is economic but the same appraisal (in different words) would hold in regards to education. The Sept. 28 issue of the **New Republic** states quite blandly and with no fear of contradiction: "The South has been struggling to catch up with the rest of the country in education, and slowly and painfully it is making progress —."

And the Southern Regional council reports that among Southern undergraduates who win Woodrow Wilson and National Science fellowships, only about half choose Southern graduate schools. And it is often quoted that Louisiana has more drop-outs than any other state in the union; also, that Louisiana has more illiterates than any other state in the union. It is just simply taken as a matter of fact that the South is behind the rest of the nation in practically all ways, or so it seems.

The point of this article, however, is: There is much work to be done. The facts for this point of view have been given in the current Social Series now running in the **Southwest Louisiana Register.** Although in a certain town or area the situation may look good, the general view of the Diocese of Lafayette shows that the Church has yet much work to do here.

Support **SOUTHMISSION**, P.O. Box 532 U.S.L. Lafayette, La.

HOUSTON, TEXAS
INFORMER
W: 11,193 (N)

OCT 5 1963

Editorials

THE PRICE OF YOUR VOTE

"I believe in the right of every American to stand up for his rights and, when necessary, to sit down for them."

--John F. Kennedy

The only thing needed to give more life to the thought and the expressed belief of the President in the above quotation is in the need for every man to fight for his rights, to win his right and to hold his rights, so that he may vote and may influence the history around him through his vote. In other words, we are trying to say that a man without a vote isn't much of a man, and isn't very helpful or effective in this day and time.

We believe that many of our people have been hurt as much by the fact of being deprived of the right to vote here in the Southland, as they have been hurt, in the places where they could vote, by letting themselves be persuaded to ignore the needs of their own race and community to join with certain sections, usually white exploiters. Seldom do they ferret out true friends in the white group and link their efforts with them, rather they let the demagogues fool them and cause them to waste their vote in a lost group that merely wants to mass the Negro vote behind their personal, limited causes.

The Negro in the Southland must win the right to vote, particularly in the Southland such as Texas where Negroes are still deprived by the use of the poll tax from an honest vote. But when they win the vote it will be no good to them unless they make sure to cast it for a candidate and for issues that will advance themselves and all the community that is committed to constructive development.

Too often in instances where the Negro has had his vote in Texas and some of the other southern states, he has made common caus e with demagogues and exploiters which caused the Negro to lose the effectiveness of his vote. It matters not how small the group will be to begin with, it will grow and be effective, if the Negro leadership will apply it to the principles of right and to the practices of picking out the things that mean progress to their group and to other groups with whom they can ally themselves and their votes for the benefit of the general community.

It is sometimes discouraging to note our so-called leaders "ally themselves and join themselves" to the demagogues that are out there just to exploit them and their votes. It is now, and will always be, the obligation and the real task of Negroes to pick their cause on the basis of truth and on the basis of the best interests of all the people; this is better than it will be to try to insinuate themselves in the ranks of the demagogues.

VOTER EDUCATION

The Southern Regional Council began its campaign somewhere about the early part of 1962 to carry out a program to study the causes of voter registration of the people in the South, coupled with some effective method for increasing the southern electorate. We don't know what became of it, but we think it is the beginning of the right thing and of the right step. As we remember it, the chief aim was "to study the most effective method of bringing more southerners into voting participation." It is possible that a great number of these fights to protect the sit-in people and others who, have been forced in the last year or so to fight for other civil rights, and may have temporarily had to put down. But this is the main thing that we are going to have to grow by, and we might as well be studying and planning now how to put into effect the most effective method of bringing more of our people to the polls.

DADDY OF THEM ALL

The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company of Durham, North Carolina, is the largest Negro Insurance Company in the world. It has over $76 million in assets, and more than $300 million in force as insurance. It is also the oldest insurance company.

The second largest Negro insurance company is no slouch, the Atlanta Life Insurance Company of Georgia, a stock company, which is the next biggest in size and strength. It is true to say that all of the Negro companies together put back something like $43 million in benefits paid to clients, and about $49 million in salaries. It is just good now and then to take a look at the bright side of our experiences, and that's all we are doing here.

The Evening Star
WASHINGTON, D. C.
D. 258,167 S. 313,112

OCT 5 1963

Youths in Rights Fight Found 'Pushing' Adults

By CLARENCE HUNTER
Star Staff Writer

Students and young people in the civil rights movement consider themselves prodders of the Nation's conscience, a Howard University faculty member said yesterday.

Dr. Jacob R. Fishman, co-director of the Howard Center for Youth and Community Studies, said the young actionists believe they have to "push the adults" and "take the risks of starting things" to give the desegregation movement its momentum.

Participation in the struggle to free America of its racial ills has had a "very positive effect" on the youngsters because they feel they are doing something for themselves, Dr. Fishman said. By studying their reasons for involvement in civil rights activities, scientists can perhaps learn more about youth who channel their energies into anti-social behavior, he said.

Tomorrow, Dr. Fishman and 33 other social and behavioral scientists conclude their research conference on "Youth and Social Action."

The conference, sponsored by the university's center for Youth and Community Studies, has been under way on the Howard campus since Thursday.

Youth Manifestations

The scientists have been discussing the youth movement as it pertains to freedom rides, sit-in demonstrations and other direct action techniques employed in the civil rights movement. They met with six Howard students who are experienced civil rights demonstrators and workers.

Commenting on the conflict between young and adult leaders of the civil rights movement, Dr. Fredric Solomon of the Department of Neurology and psychology said youths "look to themselves for models and guidance."

"Ask them who their heroes are and they will say, after an awkward silence, our heroes are ourselves," remarked Dr. Solomon.

Own Momentum

The youngsters participate in the civil rights movement because "they feel something is morally wrong" and their activities "exhibit a natural yearning to make their actions coincide with their beliefs," Dr. Solomon pointed out.

"They furnish their own momentum and are right for the times," added Dr. Robert Coles of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta.

Dr. Arthur Waskow of the Institute of Policy Studies in Washington said young civil rights leaders will have to continue to develop new techniques of nonviolent action if their desegregation activities are to be met with a minimum of violence.

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THE
NATION

October 5, 1963 . . 35c

Unexamined Contradiction

American Plants Abroad

Frank Kowalski

'SNICK'

Southern Regional Council

THE BATTLE-SCARRED YOUNGSTERS

Howard Zinn

PTA: Irrelevant Giant

William C. Kvaraceus

The Aesthetics of Failure (Paris)

Max Kozloff

LETTERS

Model review

Syracuse, N.Y.

Dear Sirs: Hayden Carruth's review (in the June 15 issue) of Evan S. Connell, Jr.'s *Notes from a Bottle Found on the Beach at Carmel* seems to me a truly model review of a book that any reviewer must find next to impossible to say right things about. He says what I take to be *all* the right things; but even did I disagree with him, I think I could only admire the full commitment and thick information which comes through.

Philip Booth

Who's the demon?

Winter Park, Fla.

Dear Sirs: David Cort's assignment of the role of the arch-demon to Arthur A. Houghton, Jr. in a conspiracy to defraud the Cooper Union Museum for the benefit of the Metropolitan Museum (*The Nation*, Sept. 7, 1963) is one of the most absurd canards I have read in a long time. As the former president of the Cooper Union over a period of twenty-two years, I am only too well aware of the problem of supporting the Museum vis-à-vis meeting the overriding demands of the flourishing undergraduate programs, the library and the adult forums. The charter of the Cooper Union, of which your writer seems to be quite ill informed, provided only for tuition-free instruction in technology and in art, a reading room and an associate group that might carry on a lecture program. The Museum for the Arts of Decoration, organized by the granddaughters of Peter Cooper some forty years after the Cooper Union opened its doors, is outside of the basic framework of this charter. . . .

There were many times during my long administration when the problem of what to do about the museum arose. We tried for years to stimulate interest in the community for its support, but to no avail. . . .

The implication that "Edwin S. Burdell was shuffled off to a technical university in Ankara" is a shabby inference. I anticipated my retirement by several years in order to accept the thrilling challenge of the Turkish Government, the UN and the U.S. State Department to help the Turks establish a regional center of learning in the Middle East modeled after American technological universities. . . .

Skipping over other errors, innuendoes and name calling, to the close of your article, a glaring erroneous statement is made that the Cooper Union is given certain funds annually by the City of New York and hence liable to be held to account in court. Like all other private colleges, it enjoys tax exemption. Beyond that, it has never received a dollar from the city, state or federal government.

Finally, it seems to me unfortunate that an internal matter of institutional policy has been handled in your journal, not in terms of accurate and objective news reporting, but in the style of the yellow journalism of the turn of the century. I would expect something better from *The Nation*.

Edwin S. Burdell
Dean, Rollins College

Warren, Conn.

Dear Sirs: My hands are bruised and numb from the loud applause I have given to David Cort's article in the Sept. 7 issue. But that is something that I always do when I read an article by him because he is one of the people who have not been changed by racket and conformity and still can think.

Arthur Upham Pope
The Survey of Persian Art

Voice of The Nation

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sirs: I have appreciated your magazine this past year and generally found myself agreeing with your articles. Nevertheless, I am tired of your pose of being alone against injustice and stupidity. It may be good for the ego to believe that you are the only St. George . . . but it is unrealistic.

Typical of this attitude was the opening sentence of your August 24 editorial, "Where Democracy Ends": "The United States, as every reader of the press is assured almost every day, is an almost perfect democracy. . . ." Both the press in this city and in my home town (in up-state New York, which is hardly a hotbed of liberals) have been busy pointing up the faults of this country. Every magazine, even the more conservative, has contained articles on how our democracy is not perfect. . . . Your reading of the press must be restricted to the far Right—but then, they don't believe in democracy anyway, so they wouldn't be advocating it. . . .

Please discontinue this stance of Lone Crusader.

Dorothy E. Wynne

New York City

Dear Sirs: You defended the teacher's right to strike in your editorial ("Society's Scapegoat") in the Sept. 21 issue.

As a teacher—thank you very much. Your magazine has been the lone voice to defend a basic right for the most basic of professions. *Robert Little*

THE NATION

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Volume 197, No. 10

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Back copies

New York City

Dear Sirs: I should be glad to give the following copies of *The Nation* to anyone who would care to have them. I will pay the postage if they are to go outside the country: Almost all the copies from 1960 through 1963 (to date). *Lucille Cohen*
210 East 26 St.

The Battle-Scarred Youngsters . . . Howard Zinn

Having just spent a little time in Greenwood, Miss., I felt a certain air of unreality about the March on Washington. The grandiose speeches, the array of movie stars, the big names dropped and bounced several times, the sheer impress of numbers—all added up, technically, to an occasion that one describes as "thrilling." And it must have been so to participants and to the millions who watched on television. Still, while swept up in the spirit myself, I wondered if, to the Negro citizen of Greenwood, Itta Bena and Ruleville; of Albany, Americus and Dawson; of Selma, Gadsden and Birmingham; of Danville and other places, it may not have seemed the most Gargantuan and best organized of irrelevancies.

There was one relevant moment in the day's events at Washington: that was when the youngest speaker on the platform, John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, lashed out in anger, not only at the Dixiecrats, but at the Kennedy Administration, which had been successful up to that moment in directing the indignation of 200,000 people at everyone but itself.

The depth of Lewis' feeling and the direction of his attack may have baffled Northern liberals, mollified recently by the Administration's new Civil Rights Bill, by its bold words and by the President's endorsement of the great March. But John Lewis knew, because the young SNCC workers in his organization are on the front lines of the conflict, that while the President and the Attorney General speak loud in Washington, their voices are scarcely whispers in the towns and the hamlets of the Black Belt.

Greenwood, Miss., just before the March, revealed in its own quiet way how the Deep South remains essentially untouched by resonant speeches in the national capital.

Surrounded by cotton plantations, Greenwood overlooks the Delta from a vantage point in west-central Mississippi. It is the headquarters for the Voter Registration Project, in which all the major civil-rights organizations cooperate, and whose working force is supplied mainly by the youngsters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC — affectionately called SNICK). It is the seat of Leflore County, where Negroes are 65 per cent of the population and half the Negro families have an income less than $27 a week. Almost no Negroes vote, and attempts of the past year to register Negroes have been met with torch, shotgun and a dozen varieties of official brutality, intimidation and subterfuge.

The SNICK "office" in Greenwood is like a front company headquarters during wartime. As I came in one evening last August, having driven from Memphis, I was greeted by Annelle Ponder, whose younger sister I taught at Spelman College in Atlanta, and whose path has crossed mine several times in the last few hectic years. The Ponder girls are all tall, black-skinned and beautiful. Annelle has been in Greenwood this past year handling the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's part of the voter registration project. She is quiet and courageous. She has been beaten by police in Winona, Miss. When friends went to the jail one day, they found her sitting there, her face swollen and marked, barely able to speak. She looked up at them, and just managed to whisper one word: "Freedom."

With Annelle at headquarters were a bunch of the SNICK kids. One of them came forward to shake hands and we recognized each other — it was Stokely Carmichael, a tall, slender philosophy student at Howard University, born in the West Indies and reared in the sit-in movement. We had met in Albany, Ga., during the first outburst of trouble there in December, 1961.

What was on for the evening? A mass meeting at one of the Negro churches. And then a party at the home of one of the girls.

They showed my wife and me around the building: on the first floor, a big jumbled room for meetings, with a long table in the center — this was the dining room, too, for whatever voter registration workers were around when mealtime came — and a small kitchen to the side, where Mrs. Johnson cooked the meals. Upstairs were cubicles serving as offices, and a large area with two iron cots in a corner, for travelers in the movement. Cartons of books were on the floor; they had been donated by a Northern college, and were soon to go on new pine bookshelves.

At the church meeting, middle-aged Negroes who had lived forty

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Howard Zinn has been, for the past seven years, chairman of the history department at Spelman College, a Negro college in Atlanta. His Albany (Ga.): A Study in National Responsibility *was published by the Southern Regional Council.*

and fifty years in the Delta without shaking a white person's hand came up to shake hands and say hello. Greenwood has this past year been going through that tense, hopeful process begun recently in many communities of the Deep South — the first contact on an equal basis with white people; an awakening to the possibility of genuine brotherhood. These first white friends have been college students from New England, or ministers from the Middle West, or just interested people passing through — rather than local whites. But it is a start. And among the SNICK youngsters manning battle posts in the Black Belt have been young white Southerners: Bob Zellner from Alabama, Sandra Hayden from Texas. It is a beginning, and credit belongs mostly to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee for blasting open in various parts of the Deep South the first pockets of equal interracial contact.

For Southern whites, watching at the edge of these pockets, it is a painful but inexorable educational process. The first reactions to the sight of Negroes and whites in friendly contact are outrage, fury, often violence. But repetition of the vision dulls the reflex and there begins, not acceptance yet, but at least hesitancy.

Perhaps Greenwood police this past year have begun to move into the second stage. When a police car stopped my wife and me as we were driving away from the SNICK party, they seemed at least a little accustomed to the idea. They flashed their lights again and again into our faces and into the car, and cast looks at the house where the lights were on and the noise of the party could still be heard. They spent some time examining identification papers and then (unlike a previous similar experience in Atlanta, where my companion was a Negro and we were arrested) muttered for us to move on.

The next afternoon, a race against time began among the SNICK workers in the Greenwood office. Thirteen youngsters were in Parchman state prison farm, and had been there for two months. Forty-five other Negroes — men and women of all ages — had been on the county prison farm, also for two months. All of them had been arrested in June on charges of "breach of the peace." After much legal delay, release was at hand. A young lawyer, representing the National Council of Churches, had come to Greenwood with bond money for these fifty-eight people. But it turned out that information supplied him by local officials, and transcribed on the bonds, was full of errors, and the county attorney would not accept the bonds. If the transaction could not be completed by that Friday afternoon, the prisoners would have to spend another weekend in jail.

The proper information was quickly compiled, and all available typewriters and people who could type were assembled in the Voter Registration Project office. The new data were typed in. The papers were taken to the sheriff. Just before dusk on Friday the fifty-eight emerged.

The headquarters that night had the eerie quality of a field hospital after a battle. Youngsters out of jail — sixteen and seventeen years old — were sprawled here and there. Two of them lay on the narrow cots upstairs while a few of the SNICK girls dabbed their eyes with boric acid solutions; some dietary deficiency in jail had affected their eyes. One boy nursed an infected hand. Another boy's foot was swollen; he had started to lose feeling in it while in "the hot box" at Parchman, and had stamped on it desperately again and again to restore circulation. Medical attention was refused them in prison. The cold newspaper reports of the past few years about people arrested in various parts of the Deep South for demonstrating have never conveyed the reality of a Black Belt jail.

Three SNICK youngsters, with a tape recorder on the broken-down table near us, told about their arrest, and about life at Parchman. The first was Willie Rogers:

> . . . it was twenty minutes to one when the chief came out of his car and across the street in front of the courthouse. It was June 25th — Tuesday. The chief said, I'm askin' you-all to move on. We said that we were up there to get our folks registered. So he said, I'm askin' you-all to move on, you're crowdin' the sidewalk — the sidewalk was clear. We walked up to the courthouse steps so as not to block the sidewalk. He said, I'm askin' you to leave now. We said we came to get them registered and soon as they registered we would leave. So he started placing us under arrest — one by one. . . .
>
> We stayed in jail about two hours before trial came off, and the judge sentenced us to four months and $200 fine for refusing to move on, and about an hour later they came and took us to the penal farm, which we stayed out on the penal farm about a week and worked. . . . Tuesday, without us knowin', they had sentenced us to Mississippi State Penitentiary, Parchman, Mississippi. . . . Two boys named John Hanley and Arthur Jackson and I — he put us in the hot box. We stayed in the hot box two nights. It's about five foot nine inches square, which they call it the hot box. Long as they don't turn the heat on — with three in there — you can make it. There's no openings for light or air — there was a little crack under the door, but you couldn't see your hand before your face less you get down on your knees. When they got ready to feed you they hand the tray through a little door which they close — and then you can't eat unless you get down on your knees by the light comin' in the door — then you can see how to eat. And they had a little round hole in the floor which was a commode — about as big around as a six-pound bucket top. After we stayed in there those two nights, the sergeant started pickin' at me: "You're the lyingest nigger in Greenwood, aren't you?" I told him no, I didn't lie, which I had, because I didn't tell him nothing about the movement in Greenwood. . . . The last night he decided to take our T-shirts and things — so we decided not to wear no underwear. So he decided to open all the windows and turn on the fans, and the beds that we were sleepin' on, they didn't have no tick or nothing, just metal, and had round holes in it. So last night I didn't sleep — I stayed up all night and all day today and he came in right after lunch and MacArthur Cotton and I, we weren't saying anything, and the guards came around and handcuffed us to the bar. . . . I'm seventeen.
>
> . . . My name is Jesse James Glover. I live in Itta Bena, Mississippi. I was arrested at the courthouse in Greenwood — charged for likewise, not movin' on. Some of the older people with us, they moved on. But we didn't think it expedient to move, because the courthouse is a public place. So we stayed. . . . We had a trial next morning. We didn't have a lawyer. . . . We stayed at the county farm four days. We dug ditches in the white part of town. We decided among ourselves we

weren't going to work or eat any more because we were afraid of being shot from a car passing the road or by one of the guards, because we were all working with SNICK. We didn't eat for two days, neither worked, then they came to take us to Parchman. There was about 25-30 policemen outside with guns and blackjacks and things standing around the bus when we came out — we all put our hands behind our heads and they searched us all, put us on the bus. So we left. . . . We stayed there a week and then I took sick. He didn't let me see a doctor. That's the man in charge. They call him "sergeant." We ate twice a day. At night they put the fan on and it was cold. We were sleepin' on a steel bunk with forty-four holes in it. . . . A week later I was put in a place called the hot box. I stayed in this hot box two days and a half. I was put in because Freddie Harris and Lawrence Guyot and I was whisperin' to each other. Another week I was put in the hot box again. I stayed there four days. About half a week later he said some lice had gotten in the place, so he cut all our hair and gave us some blue ointment and put fourteen of us in a cell — two beds for fourteen of us. We stayed there all night. About another week, I got put into this hot box again — he said we were talkin'. He put nine of us in this box — it's about six by six. Nine of us — we couldn't lie down. . . . Three or four more days they began to take our T-shirts and cut our food in half — so we gave our shorts back because we said what good are shorts without T-shirts. So they put us back in the cell, without our shorts, and turned of the fan again. We were naked. It was real cold. . . . The next day he put thirteen of us in the hole, this six by six hole. We were making it okay about 30 minutes with the fan off — breathing in this oxygen, lettin' out this carbon dioxide — and the air was evaporating on top of the building, and it got so hot the water was falling off the top of the building all around the sides like it was raining. One boy was taken sick in the box. They took the sick boy out — they didn't take him to a doctor — they put him in a cell for that morning. He let us out of the hot box that morning, back in the cell. We told everyone to keep quiet because we didn't want to get in the hot box again — it might cause a death in the hot box. So we all was quiet for a long time. Then a few fellows were talking to each other. He came down and told Lawrence Guyot, I'm going to put these niggers up to this damn bar if I hear any of this racket — so they hung MacArthur Cotton, Arthur Jackson, and Willie Rogers on the bars — MacArthur was singin' some Freedom songs. . . . Altogether, I was thirteen days in the hot box. . . . How did I get in the movement? I was at a mass meeting in Itta Bena. I'd been walkin' and canvassin' on my own. Bob Moses asked me, did I want to work with SNICK. I told him yes. So from then on I been working. Monday I'm startin' school, but in the evening in Itta Bena I'm going to get young people to work with me canvassing — teach the old people how to fill out the forms — try to get my town moving.

Manchester Guardian

"Well what do you know, it does say something about Race, Color or Creed."

. . . My name is Fred Harris. He came around and said, you gonna move? you gonna move? And he frightened the old people. And when we didn't move he arrested us. . . . I stayed in the hole four days. In all I spent 160 hours in the hole — the hot box that is. He told me next time he found paper on the floor in my cell he would hang me up by my arms and my legs. And about a week after that I asked to see the doctor, and he told me, yes, when I die. I'm seventeen. I'll be starting school Monday. I got involved with the movement back in 1960, when SNICK came up. I was fourteen then. Sam Block was talking to me about the movement. I told him, yes, I'd be glad to help, and I started from there on. . . . At first my mother didn't want me to be in it. Then she realized it would be best for her and for me If I were in the movement, so she told me I could go ahead and work in the movement. . . .

While the returned prisoners took turns lying on the bunks, SNICK workers were being delivered to different parts of the Negro section of Greenwood to announce a mass meeting that night to welcome the prisoners back home. You find, roughly, three kinds of SNICK workers in a place like Greenwood: two or three regular staff members, who make $10 or $20 a week — in those weeks when there is money; ten to fifteen students from various parts of the country who have left school temporarily to work with SNICK, and who subsist on $5 or $10 perhaps every other week; indeterminate numbers of young people from the town and the surrounding countryside, who volunteer their time, risk their lives and their liberty, and get an occasional meal at headquarters.

I sat in on the staff meeting next morning, held in the large main room. In one corner was a boiler, in another a rubbish can. On the walls were a map of the City of Greenwood, newspaper clippings on civil rights, photos of Pete Seeger when he was in Greenwood, photos of Jim Forman (executive secretary of SNICK). Scattered around were two typewriters, some broken chairs, books and newspapers and a big pot for Kool-aid.

But if poverty showed in the material possessions at SNICK headquarters, the human resources were something else. Chairing the meeting was Bob Moses, the quiet fighter in charge of the Voter Registration Project, a veteran by now of Mississippi violence and nonviolence. Here was Sam Block, silent, thin, dark, his home deep in the Delta, who did the early reconnaissance for SNICK in the area and almost lost his life for it. Here was Willie Peacock, also from Mississippi, another SNICK veteran. Annelle Ponder was here, representing SCLC (Martin Luther King's group); Martha Prescod, a slender college student from the North; Stokely Carmichael, the fiery young man from Howard; Jean Wheeler, a smiling coed, also from Howard. Here too was a former star student of mine at Spelman College — her home a little town in South Carolina — now just graduated from Yale Law School: Marian Wright. With her was another graduate from Yale, a young white fellow named Oscar Chase. (Chase recently wrote a valuable legal paper which shows how the federal government, by bold, imaginative use of the injunction, could fulfill its responsibility to protect the constitutional rights of Negroes in the Deep South.) In the room also was

another of the increasing number of white college students in this essentially Negro-led movement — a California sociology major named Mike Miller, who has done impressive research on civil-rights matters. And five of the youngsters just out of Parchman jail were present.

That afternoon we drove in two cars to Itta Bena, a feudal cotton village outside Greenwood, where Negroes came off the land to meet in a dilapidated little church, welcome back the Parchman prisoners, and sing freedom songs with an overpowering spirit. One of the returned prisoners was Mother Perkins, fragile and small, seventy-five years old, who had just spent, like the rest, two months on the county prison farm for wanting to register.

Cars filled with white men rumbled by along the road that passed by the church door, but the meeting and the singing went on. Anyone who felt the urge got up and spoke. An old man rose on his cane and said: "All these years, going along behind my plow, I thought some day things would change. But I never dreamed I'd see it now."

Bob Moses told them that Negroes — and whites — were without jobs in all the big cities of the nation, that they could not run away any more from the Delta to Chicago and Detroit, that they must stay and wrench from the State of Mississippi what they deserved as human beings. Marian Wright told them a fable about an eagle that for a long time was told it was a chicken and believed it. Stokely Carmichael reminded them that while the Lord might be on their side, they would have to secure their rights by their own intense efforts. Meanwhile, the automobiles kept passing on the road outside.

The crushing conclusion that comes out of Greenwood, Miss. — and Selma, Ala., and Danville, Va., and Americus, Ga. — is that the federal government is but a shadow in the hard-rock places of the Deep South. Standing at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial, John Lewis turned his wrath, not at the easy target, the Dixiecrats, but against the Administration. "It is the *federal government* that indicted nine of our people in Albany." The Democratic Party, Lewis made clear, cannot be treated as a savior as long as it lives with Eastland, nor can the Republicans, harboring Goldwater. "What political leader can stand up and say his party is the party of freedom?" And then, the most dangerous question one can ask in a country boasting of its two-party system: "Where is *our* party?"

To many, the March had been presented as a gigantic lobby for the Administration's Civil Rights Bill, but Lewis pointed quickly, unerringly, to the weaknesses in the bill. Furthermore, by sponsoring a new civil-rights bill, the Administration had skillfully turned attention to Congress, and deflected the erratic spotlight of the civil-rights movement from possibly focusing on inadequacies of the Executive.

The straight, crass fact at which John Lewis was aiming is this: the national government, *without any new legislation*, has the power to protect Negro voters and demonstrators from policemen's clubs, hoses and jails — and it has not used that power.

Despite the welcome new words of concern by the Kennedy Administration, despite several dozen suits filed by the Justice Department in voting cases, the Negro in the Deep South still stands alone and unprotected as he tries to eat in a bus terminal, register to vote, or hand out a leaflet on a street corner. The right to vote, and freedom of expression, are not in themselves solutions to the fundamental problem, which is a rearranging of economic and political power in the South. But they are prerequisites to that rearrangement.

There is a constitutional rock to which the Executive branch can tie its lines and then smash, with all the power at its command, every Wallace, every Barnett, every Chief Pritchett, every Commander Lingo, every Bull Connor, who ever begins to lift a billy club at an American citizen exercising his constitutional rights. That is the Supreme Court's statement in the Debs case of 1895: "The entire strength of the nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers and the security of all rights entrusted by the Constitution to its care."

But to act on that dictum calls for certain traits which the Administration has thus far not shown: imaginativeness in the use of the courts; boldness in the exercise of Executive power; the courage to set new precedents in federal relations; the willingness to by-pass Congress on an issue about which Congress spoke its mind in 1866 — when it passed the Fourteenth Amendment.

Above all, it means changing to the offensive. Up to now the Administration has simply *reacted* to every racial crisis. Southern officials have thrown thousands of people into jail, and then put the burden on the civil-rights movement to get them out. The national government needs to *act*, and then put the burden on Southern segregationists to revoke the action; let *them* wrestle with courts, raise money for trial, plead for toleration.

The "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Supreme Court's statement in the Debs case, the declaration of Section 242 of the U.S. penal code that any official who deprives a person of his constitutional rights has committed a federal crime: these are the already-existing legal bases for Executive action. That action requires, first, stationing all over the South hundreds of federal agents (replacing the F.B.I., which is incompetent in the field of civil rights) to protect the constitutional rights of Negroes. These agents would have the specific assignment, and the authority granted by the President, to jail any local official who violates the Constitution.

At the same time, the President must begin filling—as he has failed to do so far — the federal judgeships of the Deep South with persons committed to the principle of equality, regardless of the wishes of the region's Senators. Among the outworn political institutions of this nation is that of "Senatorial courtesy," which requires Kennedy to consult Eastland in the appointment of a federal judge in Mississippi, Talmadge and Russell in Georgia. The shattering of precedent can start here. Then, a combination of quick-acting federal agents and determined judges can begin to rivet into the mind of the Deep South, *and into the mind of the nation*, not that Negroes are equal (that will take time), but that if they are not treated equally the consequences will be swift and harsh.

When ten CORE and SNCC people, white and Negro, walked into Alabama to try to establish what Bill Moore, at the cost of his life, had failed to establish — the right to walk safely on a public highway — a cordon of federal marshals should have surrounded them. And when Alabama Safety Director Al Lingo showed up with his electric prod poles and guns, he should have been taken immediately into federal custody.

The burden of legal proof needs to be borne by the segregationists, and this has not yet been done. Any good lawyer knows that the advantage is in the hands of the man who moves first, that delay and bureaucracy and legal complications all work against those who are trying to *undo* an action. Yet the civil-rights movement, which cannot help it, and the Justice Department, which can, have been on the defensive.

The needed initiative is not likely to come from a government whose dedication to racial equality is as circumspect as that of the Kennedy brothers. It took a series of explosive crises throughout the nation to force from them words of moral concern that became part of the Constitution a hundred years ago. It took something close to a revolution to bring forth a moderate civil-rights bill, which will be further moderated by Congress, and by segregationist federal judges, and by a cautious Justice Department.

Basic changes are needed in the social structure of the nation before meaningful racial equality can be established. But in the Deep South, a prerequisite for such changes is the establishment of the right to vote, to organize, to speak, write and assemble freely and without fear of violence. That requires a radical new use of initiative and power by the national government. And because the Administration — and inherently, any administration — lacks the internal motivation for such a seizure of initiative, it will have to be prodded by the increased use of nonviolent direct action.

Right now, those who see this most clearly, feel it most intensely, and are best prepared to move on it, are the young people in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The Washington Post
WASHINGTON, D.C.
D. 408,701 S. 491,212

OCT 5 1963

Student Role In Protests Is Studied

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

Student participants in sit-ins and other civil rights demstrations see themselves as prodders of the Nation's conscience, a group of social scientists reported yesterday.

The two dozen social scientists are attending a three-day conference at Howard University dealing with the dynamics of the youth movement for desegregation. They talked to reporters at a press conference yesterday.

According to Jacob R. Fishman, student demonstrators feel that the Kennedy Administration has moved too slowly in the civil rights field and that progress would have been even less without their activities.

The students also see the proposed civil rights legislation before Congress as "empty and a farce," said Fishman, co-director of Howard University's Center for Youth and Community Studies.

If the civil rights movement bogs down or fails, said Arthur Waskow of the Institute of Policy Studies, the students will probably invent new techniques for attacking the old system.

One such technique may turn out to be the 25,000-member civil rights "army" proposed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Waskow said.

Dr. Fredric Solomon of Howard's Department of Psychiatry said that student activity in social and political fields has increased greatly over the past five years on campuses throughout America.

In many cases, he said, this has been caused by the yearning of students to coincide their actions with their beliefs.

Fishman told reporters that the study by experts of student involvement in pro-social actions such as civil rights demonstrations may provide information on the causes of anti-social and deliquency.

The intellectual impact of desegregation and the student movement was stressed by Kenneth Kenniston of Yale University's Department of Psychiatry.

He said the impact is widespread on campuses throughout the Nation and may transcend the desegregation issue in importance.

During a discussion of white attitudes in the South, Dr. Robert Coles, psychiatrist with the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, said that white Southerners generally have two contradictory sets of beliefs.

On one hand, he said, they favor segregation but, on the other hand, oppose mob action and favor continued public education.

The problem in the South, Dr. Coles said, is one of leadership which too often has taken advantage of one set of beliefs—the preference for segregation. Such leadership, he said, thus destroys the other set of beliefs.

White Southerners are much more flexible than some of their leaders picture them to be, Dr. Coles said.

DOTHAN, ALA.
EAGLE
D 24,469 S. 25,419

OCT 7 1963

Negro Vote Growing

With a rash of court actions and the continued drive of Negroes for registration of voters, the poll lists are swelling to quite considerable proportions throughout 11 Southern States, according to some recent figures.

Wiley Branton, executive director of the voter education project of the Southern Regional Council, reported that 115,000 Negroes were registered in the first year of a sustained campaign. This was done, he said, "despite apathy on the part of many Southern Negroes, intimidation from segregationists and lack of full cooperation from the federal government."

There are many who will take issue with that statement, particularly about the lack of government cooperation. If the continuing pressures of Bobby Kennedy and his cohorts are not cooperation they'll have to get a new name for the efforts.

Branton said that hundreds of field workers pressed the campaign and that besides the 115,000 registered an additional 25,000 who would have been purged from registration lists retained their voting rights through the project's efforts and other "uncounted thousands" of Negroes registered for the first time without the workers' aid.

However, he estimated that of five million eligible Negroes, only 1.5 million were registered in the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, South and North Carolina, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama and Virginia.

On the other hand, there was some later information in a news story the past few days which stated that the number of Negro voters in Alabama had been nearly doubled.

All of this leads to an inescapable conclusion and it is that it behooves white people, not only in the South, but everywhere, to register and then go to the polls and vote. With the Negro birth rate reportedly increasing rapidly it is not beyond the realm of reality that in years to come diligently organized Negroes could outvote an apathetic white electorate.

The Virginian-Pilot
NORFOLK, VA.
D. 119,187

OCT 8 1963

Council Sets 1st Meeting

NORFOLK — Dr. James McBride Dabbs, president of the Southern Regional Council of Human Relations, will speak Oct. 21 at the first public meeting of the Norfolk Council of Human Relations.

The meeting will be held in the home of Mrs. H. M. Silverman, 419 Hariton Court, at 8 p.m. Mrs. Silverman and Mrs. C. P. Wisoff are cochairmen of the council's Board of Directors.

The council, Mrs. Silverman said, has as its objectives the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in Norfolk through racial cooperation. It is an affiliate of the Virginia Council of Human Relations.

Dr. Dabbs, who will speak on "The South in Transition," is the author of "Our Southern Heritage."

INSIDER'S NEWSLETTER
NEW YORK, N.
W. - CIRC. NOT AVAIL.
PAGE ONE
CERTIFIED
OCT 8 1962

THE NEW RECONSTRUCTION ROAD

Carpetbaggers--'62 style--are moving in on the South again, in the wake of Mississippi's crisis. The modern administrators, cast as professional desegregation consultants, are quietly visiting communities ordered to lift the color curtain. So far, these sages have been chiefly of local origin--a superintendent of schools who has guided his own district to peaceful integration offering advice and counsel to nearby towns--but as integration picks up speed, full-time professional advisors are answering the demand.

In response to scattered calls for help, The Potomac Institute has just surveyed Southern school administrators to find out what aid was needed, or would be accepted. Of those questioned, 88 per cent agreed a central bank of information should be set up; 56 per cent wanted on-the-spot consultants who had dealt directly with holding together a newly-integrated school system; 59 per cent hoped for regional desegregation conferences (said one superintendent, "It's later than we think"). Result of the survey: The U.S. Office of Education is now organizing a desegregation service under Dr. Herbert Conrad--will build a file of information, consultants, and district officers for school boards willing to accept the inevitable and seek aid. Already serving the schools: the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, whose Dr. J. J. Brewbaker (ex-superintendent of schools in Norfolk, Va.) has helped many towns avoid the road to riot.

Biggest problem facing consultants: a citizenry riled by advice from outsiders. The Potomac Institute found superintendents who opined the consultant would have to be sneaked into town, or that school boards wouldn't accept "invading troublemakers." (School boards, in turn, said they wanted help but the superintendents wouldn't allow it.) Other administrators thought they couldn't ask for help, even literature, until a court ordered it--fearing parents protesting voluntary capitulation. Although the Office of Education is dragging its feet in setting up the integration service--wary of ordering in the "feds"--reconstruction is underway. Optimists predict the South may

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BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
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PAGE ONE (N)
CERTIFIED
OCT 9 1963

Civil Rights Conference Slated At Tuskegee Soon

The first of a series of seminar-conferences to analyze, interpret and report to the nation on the compelling implications of the Civil Rights progress and related developments in the elimination of disadvantage for all Americans will be held at Tuskegee Institute October 25-27.

The major areas of focus will be education, economics, and civic participation, with particular concern for the immediate needs of Negroes in the transition to a fully desegregated public life in America.

Results of the conference will be reported to the general public with a special focus on the opportunities which confront leadership at all levels in American society.

About 500 persons in the field of education, the mass media, community leadership and government are expected to attend the general sessions. Sixty especially selected leaders in education, business-labor, and civic affairs have been invited to participate in the workshops sessions.

Among those heading the list of Lawson, District Juvenile Court participants are Georgia State Senator Leroy Johnson, James M. Dabbs, president of the Southern Regional Council, Mrs. Marjorie Judge, Dr. Donald J. Bogue, University of Chicago, Irene B. Taeuber, Princeton University, Ted Posten, New York Post, Dr. Roger D. Heyns, vice president of the University of Michigan, Earl B. Dickerson, president of the Supreme Life Insurance Company, Arthur Chapin, U. S. Labor Department; Dr. Herman Long president-elect of Talladega College, James H. Dumpson Commissioner of Welfare of New York City, Dr. Eli Ginzberg, Columbia University, Frederick H. Jackson, Carnegie Corp; and members of the Tuskegee Institute faculty.

A preliminary report on the conference states: "Tuskegee Institute has an historical commitment to help the advancement of full Democracy in America, and it has always had a particular concern for disadvantaged people." "In addition to its teachings and research responsibilities, Tuskegee has always sought to mobilize leadership to promote constructive public action."

Subsequent conferences have been tentatively scheduled for the Spring and Fall of 1964.

TROY, ALA.
MESSENGER
D. 3,111 S. 3,111

OCT 9 1963

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THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
D. 129,288 S. 208,237
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
OCT 10 1963

Board Decision Due Today on Life Lines

By EUGENE DIETZ
Education News Editor

The Metro Transitional Board of Education, amid growing protests over admission of the controversial Life Lines materials to schools, will decide this afternoon whether to approve the leaflets for school use.

"I've never had any idea of admitting Life Lines to classrooms," Supt. W. H. Oliver of the city system said yesterday.

● See editorial, "Bar Life Lines In the Schools," page 20.

But, he said, the city-county school staff recommendation as to whether the conservative literature should be placed in libraries will not be reached until sometime today when he will confer with Supt. J. E. Moss of the county.

THE TWO superintendents, along with their staffs, will prepare a recommendation for consideration of the school board during a 4 p.m. session today in the county system's offices on Bransford Avenue.

The board asked for the staff recommendation after a request from Neely Coble, local trucking agency executive, for permission

(Turn to Page 3, Column 3)

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PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
OCT 10 1963

Negroes In Need Of More And Better Jobs

ATLANTA (ANP) — The need of Negroes particularly of Negro southerners, for more and better jobs is underscored by economist Vivian W. Henderson in a short study," The Economic Status of the Negro: In the Nation and In the South," published last week by the Southern Regional Council.

Henderson is professor and chairman of the department of economics and business administration at Fisk University. He is currently serving as a visiting professor at North Carolina State College in Raleigh.

Despite gains made since World War II, Dr. Henderson finds "little cause for optimism regarding rapid change in the status of Negroes in the near future."

While the income of Negro families and individuals nationally has grown over five times since 1940, it is still "little more than one-half" that of American white families and individuals.

Moreover, Dr. Henderson points out, "in the South Negro families have an income of less than one-half (46%) that of white families and only one-half the income" of non-southern Negroes.

The proportion of Negro families with incomes between $4,000 and $6,000 tripled between 1941 and 1961, and the number of Negro families with incomes of more than $6,000 grew from 4 per cent to 9 per cent during the same period.

But the Henderson study shows that these gains occurred between 1940 and 1954. Since that time, the income gap between Negroes and whites has widened.

Board Decision

(Continued From Page One)

to put the four-page tabloid into schools here. Coble said he thought it would help teach patriotism.

The tabloid, published three times a week, is one of the major propaganda operations backed by H. L. Hunt, Dallas billionaire who has supported numerous extreme rightists, including the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy.

Coble could not be reached yesterday for further comment. He had said Sept. 29 he did not intend to engage in any "headline controversy" and would have no more to say about his request.

SCHOOL officials told Coble last month that carefully planned programs are in operation here now which teach patriotism.

Numerous Nashvillians said yesterday they fear that admission of Life Lines literature to the public schools here would open the door to similar requests from a wide array of religious, racial, political and economic agencies.

The Rev. Frank P. Grisham, chairman of the Civic Committee for Public Education, said last night:

"I'm opposed to bringing these materials into schools. Just sitting on the doorsteps are worlds of people wanting to distribute materials to students—materials more objectionable than this."

THE LIFE Lines publications call those who disagree with Life Lines views the "Mistaken."

Mrs. Harold Bradley, immediate past president of the Nashville branch of the American Association of University Women, in a reference to this sort of thinking of Life Lines, said:

"We have always believed that true Americanism is promoted by a free discussion of all public issues. Life Lines assumes that true Americanism precludes discussion of issues, and that one must accept a particular point of view.

"Life Lines, therefore, is defeating the very heart of true Americanism — that people can differ in their points of view and still be good citizens."

MRS. MOLLY TODD, active in numerous social and civic movements, said:

"If they are going to have material representing one side of the political spectrum, I see no reason why the "New South" (racial publication published by the Southern Regional Council) and various other publications, including one by the United Church Women, should not be admitted, too."

She said she intends to ask the board to approve several publications, including New South, if the Life Lines request is granted.

Mrs. Arville Wheeler, president of the Nashville chapter of the American Association for the United Nations, said it is "difficult for me to understand why any group" should protest the work of the U.N. as the agency's "sole purpose" is to seek peace.

E. C. CARMAN, vice chairman of the school board, said Sept. 28 that " other special interest groups" will ask school officials to use their materials if the Life Lines request is approved.

"The schools belong to all the people," said Carman.

Dr. Avery Leiserson, chairman of the political science department at Vanderbilt University, appeared before the board Sept. 27 to ask the group to reject the application to make Life Lines materials art of the classroom programs.

The Atlanta Journal
"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"
D. 259,003

OCT 10 1963

Boycott Ruined Store, Albany Grocer Testifies

Anderson Conspiracy Trial Enters 2nd Day

ALBANY, Oct. 10 (UPI)—The government put on more witnesses Thursday in its attempt to prove that civil rights leader Dr. W. G. Anderson conspired to obstruct justice by leading a crippling boycott against a white grocer who served on a jury in a civil rights case.

An all-white, all-male jury is hearing the case in the federal court of Judge J. Robert Elliott.

Anderson, former head of the integrationist Albany Movement, and two others were indicted on charges that they had conspired against Carl Smith, who depended heavily on Negro trade for the success of his thriving grocery business.

Smith voted against Negro Charles Ware in a civil rights suit last April. Ware had sued Sheriff L. Warren Johnson for $125,000 on a contention his civil rights were violated because the sheriff shot him after he was placed under arrest.

The jury in that case found for Johnson and a poll of the jurors showed how Smith stood.

Smith testified Wednesday that what followed included picketing and harassment of customers until his grocery business, which had netted between $30,000 and $35,000 last year on a gross of $295,000, dwindled away to nothing shortly after his jury duty.

He said he was forced to sell the business for $27,000 after first closing his doors.

Other witnesses were Harold Gulliver, a reporter for The Atlanta Constitution; Vernon Jordan Jr., a Negro employed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as a field secretary until last May 30 and now employed by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta; and Police Chief Laurie Pritchett.

Smith testified that the Ware-Johnson suit wound up on April 12 and his troubles began on April 20 when a group of Negro boys and girls paraded in front of his store carrying signs reading: "Justice is dead here" and "Black hands can ring cash registers too."

The grocer said police ran the youngsters off but they returned and officers finally arrested them.

Smith denied, under cross examination by defense attorney D. L. Hollowell of Atlanta, that he ever saw any police dogs in the area of his store or that he had urged police to turn dogs loose on the pickets.

He said that after the picketing incident that Luther Woodall Jr. and Robert William Colbert, both indicted along with Anderson, physically blocked the entrance to his store.

Smith, frequently mopping his brow, testified for more than two hours. He said he had employed two whites and from 14 to 22 Negroes in his store. On cross examination, he said that only four Negroes were employed on a regular basis.

He said he paid parttime school boys $12 a week for afternoon work; a Negro produce boy $35; one Negro butcher $45 a week and another $50, and a white meat market manager $87.

Both Gulliver and Jordan testified about attending a mass meeting of Negroes at the Shiloh Baptist Church at which Anderson spoke.

Gulliver said he heard Anderson say that "any Negro who keeps Carl Smith in business is as guilty as members of the jury" (in the Ware case).

Jordan said he heard Anderson say, "Carl Smith is as guilty as Sheriff Johnson" and quoted Anderson further as saying "if you go in Carl Smith's store you are as guilty as Sheriff Johnson."

On cross examination, Jordan added that he never heard Anderson mention the word "boycott" and that he did not hear Anderson tell anyone not to shop at Smith's store.

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OCT 10 1963

Ruined By Pickets, Grocer Says

By BILL SHIPP
Constitution State News Editor

ALBANY—An unemployed white grocer testified in federal court here Wednesday that "my business went to nothing" when Negroes picketed and blocked the entrance to his grocery store less than two weeks after he served on a federal jury in a civil rights case.

Carl Smith, the former owner of a supermarket in the heart of the Albany Negro district, testified that the pickets and a total boycott forced him to sell his store for $27,000 of which he got only $8,500 in cash. He said the store had been grossing a total of $295,000 a year.

Smith gave testimony as a prosecution witness against Dr. W. G. Anderson, president of the integrationist Albany Movement, on trial on charges of obstructing justice and conspiring to obstruct justice.

Others who testified as the United States opened its case against Dr. Anderson were Vernon E. Jordan Jr. of Atlanta, former state field secretary for the NAACP and now an employe of the Southern Regional Council; Harold Gulliver, reporter for The Atlanta Constitution, and Albany Police Chief Laurie Pritchett.

Grocer Smith, speaking in a low voice and frequently mopping his forehead, testified that pickets showed up at his store at about 1:30 p.m. last April 20.

"I went out and bought them all a drink. They thanked me and they were very polite about it," Smith said. He said the pickets left but later returned carrying signs which read:

"Justice is dead here, justice has never lived here, let black hands ring black money."

The prosecution, led by District Atty. Floyd Buford of Macon, en-

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Pickets Ruined Him, Grocer Says

Continued From Page 1

tered a number of signs into evidence.

Smith testified that Luther Woodall Jr., who is facing trial on the same charges, and Robert William Colbert, led the demonstrations at his store. Colbert has pleaded guilty to the charge in a New York federal district court and has received a suspended sentence.

SAYS ENTRANCE BLOCKED

Smith said Woodall and Colbert physically blocked the entrance into his store and when some Negro customers got by them "They would come in and get them by the hand and lead them out."

He testified that on a normal Tuesday he would do from $275 to $400 in business. On the day of the picketing Smith said he took in between $6 and $7. And on the following day, when he decided to go out of business, he testified that he sold "nothing except maybe a package of cigarets."

Smith said Woodall and Colbert told Negroes outside the store that "I wanted Sheriff Johnson to kill that Negro, and I hated all Negroes."

(Smith served on a jury in a civil rights case, Charlie Ware, a Negro, vs. Baker County Sheriff L. Warren Johnson. The jury found in favor of Sheriff Johnson on April 12, 1963.)

TALKS ABOUT PAYROLL

Smith said he had never been approached about hiring a white cashier in his store, which had a total payroll of 14 Negroes—most of whom were part time — and two white persons.

Smith said he had been on friendly terms with Dr. Anderson and that the year before the picketing started he had heard a rumor that the Albany Movement wanted him to hire a white cashier.

"Dr. Anderson told me everything was all right and I took him at his word," Smith said.

Defense attorney Donald Hollowell of Atlanta questioned Smith about his employment practices and asked him if he had ever seen Dr. Anderson conferring with anyone about the boycott and picketing at his store. Smith said he had not.

Smith told the court that he had realized an annual net profit of from $30,000 to $35,000 from his supermarket before the Negroes forced him to close. Hollowell asked Smith how it was possible for pickets led by two teen-agers to force him out of business after only three days of demonstrations.

"I was already out of business. I just had to close my doors," he testified. He said on one occasion a Negro purchased some turnips from him and that one of the pickets took the turnips away from her, gave her 25 cents and told her to go some place else to buy turnips.

"If I touched one of these boys I'd have been out of business anyway. So I just closed up," he said.

Reporter Gulliver was the prosecution's first witness. Gulliver testified that he attended a mass meeting of the Albany Movement at Shiloh Baptist Church on April 15. Referring to notes he said he made at the meeting, Gulliver testified that Dr. Anderson delivered an address in which he said:

"Sheriff Johnson has been let loose again . . .

"Members of that jury were as guilty as was Sheriff Johnson . . . and every Negro who trades with Carl Smith is just as guilty."

Gulliver said he also heard Dr. Anderson say he was certain Carl Smith favored the innocent verdict for Johnson because "the jury was polled and there was no doubt."

CROSS-EXAMINED

Gulliver, on cross-examination, said he knew that boycotts were being carried out at the time against other Albany merchants.

Vernon Jordan, who said he was to be the principal speaker at the April 15 meeting, testified he heard Dr. Anderson tell the audience:

"If you go into Carl Smith's store you're as guilty as Sheriff Johnson."

Jordan said that he knew boycotts were being carried out in the Albany area to "register indignation" at segregation practices.

Police Chief Laurie Pritchett, questioned by Asst. District Atty. Wilbur Owens of Albany, testified that he phoned Dr. Anderson after learning of his remarks at the April 15 mass meeting.

Pritchett said Dr. Anderson told him that "the jury had given Warren Johnson the right to shoot any Negro . . . he said action would be taken against Carl Smith, but he said he didn't know whether it would be direct action, picketing or word of mouth," Pritchett said.

However, on cross-examination, Pritchett testified that he had heard Dr. Anderson direct no one to picket or boycott Carl Smith.

The trial opened with Federal District Judge J. Robert Elliott examining the prospective jurors in mass from lists of questions submitted by both the prosecution and defense. Attorney Hollowell took exception to the fact that the judge had failed to ask all questions submitted by the defense.

The jury is composed of 12 white men and two alternates — one a white woman and the other a white man.

ALBANY, GA.
HERALD
D: 27,154 S: 26,791
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OCT 10 1963

IN FEDERAL COURT

Anderson Denies 'Control' In Negro Boycott of Store

By JIMMY ROBINSON
Herald Executive Editor

Dr. W. G. Anderson, ex-president of the Albany Movement, told two Federal Bureau of Investigation agents in a May 3 interview that he regretted grocer Carl Smith had been "put out of business," but that a boycott and picketing of his store were "spontaneous" among local Negroes and he had no control over these demonstrations.

This statement was made from the witness stand in U.S. District Court here this morning as the Federal Government continued its case against Anderson, indicted for conspiracy to obstruct justice in connection with economic reprisals against Smith who served on a Federal jury in a civil rights case and voted against a Negro plaintiff.

The testimony came from Marion Cheek, FBI agent stationed here, who said he interviewed Anderson in the presence of a fellow agent, William Bolyard.

He Was Advised

Anderson was fully advised of his legal rights, Cheek testified, and when the interview ended, declined to sign a statement covering the points under discussion in it.

Anderson told the agents he had known Carl Smith a long time, and that Anderson's father had been Smith's friend for many years, Cheek declared. The Negro osteopath, now in surgical residency in a Detroit hospital, said the Albany Movement's position on Smith's store was that a year previous to the events of April, 1963, a boycott had occurred of Smith's store by its largely Negro clientele because of Smith's failure to employ a Negro cashier. Anderson said his father talked to Smith about this issue, Cheek declared, and that later Anderson himself made a purchase at Smith's store to indicate that the boycott was not in effect at that particular time.

Questioned concerning Smith's jury service, Anderson said he was not aware that Smith had been a

Turn to Page 5A, Col 4

Anderson Denies

(Continued From Page 1)

Federal juror until some time later. Anderson, according to Cheek, said he had a discussion with C. B. King, local Negro attorney, concerning the matter between April 12-15, and Anderson said King told him he should not call for any action against Smith because of his jury service. Anderson said he had this legal advice before he addressed a mass meeting of the Albany Movement April 15.

"General Nature"

Anderson said that at the April 15 mass meeting his remarks were of a general nature, according to Cheek, and that while he did not mention Smith by name, he did refer to the "juror in the expensive suit and the Florsheim shoes."

Anderson denied giving Luther Woodall Jr. and Robert William Colbert, indicted with him by a Macon grand jury as conspirators in the Smith case, any instructions to picket or boycott Smith's store, Cheek related.

The osteopath said he regretted Smith had been put out of business, according to Cheek, but added that the boycott and picketing were "spontaneous" and that he had no control over them.

Under cross-examination, Cheek said he had never heard Anderson tell anyone to picket or give verbal directions to picket, but he added that Anderson said he was technically responsible, as head of the Movement, for its actions.

Word of Mouth

He also said, under cross-examination, that the boycott of the Smith store started April 16 "by word of mouth" and that this fact was substantiated by a decline in business.

Other Government witnesses this morning included B. C. Gardner Jr., attorney for Smith and for Baker County Sheriff Warren Johnson, who was involved in the civil rights suit of last April; Jim Fritz, who said he was co-owner with his father-in-law Smith of the Highland Avenue grocery; William Hannah of Albany, local correspondent of the Atlanta Constitution, and Phil Farkas of Albany, marketing director of a local candy company who identified himself as Hannah's assistant on some news stories.

Gardner testified that Colbert and Woodall "grabbed" prospective customers at the Smith store and told them "don't buy segregation" and "don't spend your money here, this man served on the jury last week that freed Sheriff Johnson." He said he told Woodall the information he was giving prospective customers was not true. Gardner said he had told Woodall that Smith had not made a statement that NAACP field secretary Vernon Jordan Jr.

Smith testified flatly that Negroes picketing his business dropped his gross annual revenue from $295,000 to virtually nothing and that he was compelled to sell his store for $27,000, although his business netted him a profit of between $30,000 and $35,000 in the preceding year.

Listing himself as "not employed" at present, he told of his U. S. jury service last April in which, as one of a panel of 12, he voted in favor of a defendant, Baker County Sheriff L. Warren Johnson, in a civil suit brought against him by Charlie Ware, Baker County Negro.

"Black Hands" Posters

Picketing of his Highland Avenue store began April 20, Smith said, when Negro boys and girls began parading carrying signs with such slogans as "Justice Is Dead Here" and "Black Hands Can Ring Cash Registers Too." Smith said he bought the pickets a drink, but that after Luther Woodall Jr., who was indicted by a Macon grand jury with Anderson on conspiracy charges, spoke to the group, they put down the drinks. These pickets left voluntarily when asked to do so by police, but later returned and police arrested them, Smith testified.

The ex-grocer said Woodall and Robert William Colbert, also indicted with Anderson and Woodall, blocked the door of his store, told customers that he was the one who served on the Federal jury, and that both came into the store at different times. He said Woodall took one of his customers outside the store and the latter never returned, and that a woman customer left the store when she was spoken to.

On April 24, Smith testified, he closed the store for good and sold his business later. He said he had employed two whites and 14 to 22 Negroes, not including himself and his son-in-law, Jim Fritz, and had employed the same racial ratio for years.

Under questioning by Judge Elliott, Smith testifeid that Woodall and Colbert not only prevented customers from entering the store but, if they came in, took them by the hand and "pulled them out." He said normal receipts for a Tuesday at the grocery were $300 to $400, but on the last Tuesday of operations they were down to $6 to $7.

Smith was questioned more than an hour under a sifting cross-examination by Hollowell. He said he had four "regular" Negro employes, two schoolboys who worked in the afternoons and an "extra group" for Saturday work. Two cash registers, he said, were handled by himself, his son-in-law and

prospective customers at the Smith store and told them "don't buy segregation" and "don't spend your money here, this man served on the jury last week that freed Sheriff Johnson." He said he told Woodall the information he was giving prospective customers was not true. Gardner said he had told Woodall that Smith had not made a statement that approved of Sheriff Johnson killing a Negro or any Negro. He estimated the value of Smith's business at a minimum of $150,000 and a maximum of $250,000. (Smith testified yesterday he sold it for $27,000).

Under cross-examination, Gardner said he had not seen Anderson on the occasion of any visits to Smith's store.

Fritz testified largely in the same vein as testimony given by Smith yesterday. He said Woodall and Colbert stopped customers from entering the store and told them Smith had said Sheriff Johnson should have killed the Negro plaintiff (Charlie Ware) and that he wished all Negroes were dead. Fritz said one customer, Ernie Lee Johnson of Leesburg, was "literally dragged" from the store by Woodall whom he said was joined by Colbert. He related a steep decline in business receipts from picketing and boycotting and of the eventual sale of the business.

Cross-Exam

Under cross-examination, Fritz said he had never seen Anderson picket or tell anyone not to go into the store, nor did he see pickets talk to Anderson.

Hannah testified he covered an April 29 Albany Movement meeting at Mt. Zion Baptist Church where Anderson spoke. He said he heard him say Smith was not being boycotted because of his service as a Federal juror but because he had asked the year before that Smith hire a Negro cashier. He said Smith had a right to his opinion whether or not he was a Federal juror. Anderson said he still thought Johnson was guilty "even if Kennedy himself turned him loose."

Farkas, who said he covered the same meeting, gave almost the same testimony. Questioned by defense counsel D. L. Hollowell, Farkas, said Anderson never mentioned anything about Smith being picketed because he was a Federal juror, and did not hear Anderson tell anyone to boycott Smith.

Wednesday afternoon, the Government put three more witnesses on the stand, including grocer Carl Smith, Albany Police Chief Laurie Pritchett and former but on the last Tuesday of operations they were down to $6 to $7.

Smith was questioned more than an hour under a sifting cross-examination by Hollowell. He said he had four "regular" Negro employes, two schoolboys who worked in the afternoons and an "extra group" for Saturday work. Two cash registers, he said, were handled by himself, his son-in-law and a white woman cashier. Hollowell queried the witness closely on the matter of salaries, apparently attempting to show a disparity between those paid white and Negro employes.

Denies Dogs Seen

Smith denied he had ever told Albany police to use police dogs on the picketers and said he had not seen any police dogs in the vicinity of his store. He told of Woodall taking a bunch of turnip greens away from a worker in the store who was attempting to serve a customer.

Asked by Hollowell if two teenaged boys had been permitted to shut his business in three days, Smith replied "That's right" and added: "If I had touched one of those boys, I'd have been out of business."

Smith replied, when questioned, that he had filed an income tax return on his $35,000 net profit.

He insisted that no one had ever asked him about changing his policy on employing only a white cashier, and said a year before the incidents his employes had heard a rumor and told him he would be boycotted unless he hired a Negro cashier. Later he testified that J. D. Anderson, father of the defendant, had "addressed the matter" of the cashier policy to him, and that Dr. Anderson "told me everything was all right."

Couldn't Do Business

Woodall and Colbert, Smith testified, made the statement that he "hated Negroes." He said he sold his store because "I couldn't do any business with those two boys there" and that he had no other reason to sell.

Under redirect examination by Asst. U. S. Atty. W. D. Owens Jr., Smith said that on last April 20 he had 16 employes—two whites and 14 Negroes.

Jordan, who said he was employed as an NAACP field secretary until last May 30, then took employment with the Southern Regional Council, said he had been asked to address a mass meeting of the Albany Movement last April 15 in Shiloh Baptist Church. At this session, he said, Anderson made the statement that "Carl Smith is as guilty as Sheriff Johnson" and "if you go in Carl Smith's store you are as guilty as Sheriff Johnson." Under cross - examination, Jordan testified that Anderson did not mention the word boycott and that he did not hear him say not to shop at the Smith store.

Pritchett Testimony

Chief Pritchett said he telephoned Anderson last April 16 to ask about a rumor of "action" to be taken by the Albany Movement following the mass meeting. Anderson told him, Pritchett testified, that when the jury "turned loose" Johnson, they gave him the right to shoot a Negro, but that this would be "harder than it used to be."

Pritchett said he asked Anderson specifically about possible "action" on Carl Smith, and that Anderson's reply was he was "sure" there would be some, but could not say what form it would take.

Under cross-examination, Pritchett said Anderson did not say he would ask anyone to picket or boycott Smith and that Anderson had not been among those arrested for picketing the Smith store.

Judge Elliott explained to the jury, at defense request, that Woodall was not on trial in this case. The jurist said Woodall is a juvenile and that special Federal procedures are provided for handling such cases. These include a chamber hearing without a jury.

Colbert, also not on trial here, has pleaded guilty to the same charge facing Anderson and received a suspended sentence from a Federal court in New York.

MEMPHIS, TENN.
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OCT 12 1963

Civil Rights Conference Slated At Tuskegee Soon

ATLANTA, Ga.—(SNS)—The first of a series of seminar-conferences to analyze, interpret and report to the nation on the compelling implications of the Civil Rights progress and related developments in the elimination of disadvantage for all Americans will be held at Tuskegee Institute October 25-27.

The major areas of focus will be education, economics, and civic participation, with particular concern for the immediate needs of Negroes in the transition to a fully desegregated public life in America.

Results of the conference will be reported to the general public with a special focus on the opportunities which confront leadership at all levels in American society.

About 500 persons in the field of education, the mass media, community leadership and government are expected to attend the general sessions. Sixty especially selected leaders in education, business-labor, and civic affairs have been invited to participate in the workshops sessions.

Among those heading the list of Lawson, District Juvenile Court participants are Georgia State Senator Leroy Johnson, James M. Dabbs, president of the Southern Regional Council, Mrs. Marjorie Judge, Dr. Donald J. Bogue, University of Chicago, Irene B. Taeuber, Princeton University, Ted Poston, New York Post, Dr. Roger D. Heyns, vice president of the University of Michigan, Earl B. Dickerson, president of the Supreme Life Insurance Company, Arthur Chapin, U. S. Labor Department; Dr. Herman Long president-elect of Talladega College, James H. Dumpson Commissioner of Welfare of New York City, Dr. Eli Ginzberg, Columbia University, Frederick H. Jackson, Carnegie Corp; and members of the Tuskegee Institute faculty.

A preliminary report on the conference states: "Tuskegee Institute has an historical commitment to help the advancement of full Democracy in America, and it has always had a particular concern for disadvantaged people." "In addition to its teachings and research responsibilities, Tuskegee has always sought to mobilize leadership to promote constructive public action."

Subsequent conferences have been tentatively scheduled for the Spring and Fall of 1964.

ATLANTA, GA.
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OCT 12 1963

Dr. Pitts, Noted Educator, To Be Men's Day Speaker At Ebenezer Baptist Sunday

DR. LUCIUS H. PITTS

Indications are mounting that the Men's Day Program at the Ebenezer Baptist tomorrow morning, when Dr. Lucius H. Pitts, President of Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama, will be featured speaker, will have a large attendance, it was announced by Dr. M. L. King, Sr. Pastor. Dr. Pitts, formerly Executive Secretary of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association will be introduced by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Dr. Pitts is widely known as an educator and currently serves on numerous boards and committees, including the Advisory Committee of the Federal Civil Rights Commission, the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council and the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.

Deacon Joseph Marshall will preside at the service, which begins at 10:45 A. M., and the organ prelude will be rendered by David C Stills, Jr., organist. Responsive reading will be led by Deacon Jethro English, and prayer will be offered by Deacon C. B. Evans.

Music throughout the service will be rendered by the Men's Chorus, led by David C. Stills, Director.

During the evening service, Deacon Henry Wallace will preside with prayer offered by Deacon Milton C. Cornelius. The Responsive reading will be led by Rev. McWilliams.

Deacon James Kemp will present a "Gospel Song Feast" featuring Mrs. Mary Gurley and Mr. Eugene Harris.

Church news announcements for the Men's Day program are as follows:

SUNDAY MEETINGS:

9:30 A. M. — Sunday School.

4:00 P. M — Crusader's Extension Class — Mr. and Mrs. Enoch Harris 642 Highland Ave., N. E. No. 11.

4:00 P. M. — Mission Circle 2— Mrs. Flossie Hollis — 63 Ashby St. S W.

4:00 P. M. — Mission Circle 3 — Lounge. Christian Ed. Bldg.

4:00 P M — May Club — Dea and Mrs. Ozzie Alexander — 967 Beckwith St. SW.

4:00 P. M. July Club —— Mrs. Janie Lewis — 286 Alaska Ave., NE.

4:00 P. M. — August Club —Mrs. Rachel Ward — 188 Jackson St. NE.

4:00 P. M. — November Club —— Mrs. Eva B. Williams — 80 Morris Brown Dr. SW.

4:30 P. M. Mission Circle 4—— Room 103.

5:00 P. M. — All Men's Day Captains are urged to make your Final Reports to The Finance Committee — Room 200.

Hall — Adult N. W. Crawford Union Harvest Program — Fellowship Hall — Adult N. W. Srawford Union No. 2 in charge — Dea. Jethro English, President. All young people are requested to meet in the Christian Ed. Bldg., with Mesdames Reed, Ingram, Rodgers and Elder.

Immediately following Morning Worship — All Young People born in October are urged to meet Mrs. Sallie Brookins and Shirley Anderson, by the Piano.

Members of Ebenezer and friends in the Atlanta Communty are invited to attend the Atlanta Missionary Baptist Associaion, Rev. M. L. King, Sr., Moderator — which opens on Monday night — Oct. 14 with the Young People's Program— Beulah Baptist Church, Edgewood — Rev. E. D. Thomas, Pastor. This Session will continue through Thursday, Oct. 17

The New York Times
D. 680,265 S. 1,306,418

OCT 13 1963

NEGRO VOTE GAINS IMPORTANCE FOR '64

Both Parties Step Up Efforts to Garner Bloc Vote In the Realization It Could Swing Election

By TOM WICKER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 12 — When President Kennedy at his news conference this week advised Italian-Americans "as Columbus Day comes up" not to be ashamed of the singing mobster, Joseph M. Valachi, he was indulging the oldest established custon of American politics — paying court to a powerful minority group.

The term is tricky. "Minority groups" do not merely include ethnic blocs like Italian and Polish Americans, religious denominations like Jews and Mormons, or racial divisions like Oriental. Almost everyone, in one way or another, belongs to a minority group.

Definition Varies

In New York City, for instance, it is statistically likely that what some minority-minded politicians call "wasps"—white Anglo-Saxon Protestants—are the real minority group. In some states, and in the country as a whole, farmers fit the category. In some cities, persons owning houses valued at more than $35,000 are in a definite minority. Catholics form a minority group in Tulsa, but not in Boston. And if Mr. Kennedy's new Postmaster General, John Gronouski, can be fairly called a member of the Polish-American minority, it is equally true that he also is a representative of Doctors of Philosophy — a minority group if there ever was one.

Thus, the term "minority group" must be handled with care, even when one is talking about the most indentifiable, perhaps the largest of them all —the Negroes. For in some areas of major Northern cities, in many smaller Southern communities, the Negro is not in a minority at all. Nashville, Tenn., for instance, rapidly is becoming a Negro city ringed by white suburbs.

On a national basis, however, Negroes are a definite minority group. Negro voters are even more so. Figures broken down by race are hard to establish, but the Census Bureau estimates the population of voting-age Negroes at about 10,000,000. In 1960, about 3,500,000 of them registered to vote in states outside the Old Confederacy. Within it, another 1,500,000 registered—a total of 50 per cent of potential. All told, that year, about 60,000,000 Americans of all hues and creeds cast a ballot.

Sought-After Group

In the national election, Negroes are perhaps the most sought after minority group of all. Five million Negro voters are worth having in one's corner on any basis. The distribution of Negro voters and their bloc voting make them triply valuable.

This is because in many major cities in major states—New York City in New York State is the prime example—Negroes, if they vote more or less as a bloc and in something like their numbers, often hold the balance of power as between all the other minority groups that make up the electorate. At least theoretically, as Southern politicians never tire of pointing out, Negroes in Harlem can swing the city, the state and the country for one Presidential candidate or another.

The Negro voting power is not always so sweeping, but it was, for instance, a major factor in the defeat of Eugene (Bull) Connor in Birmingham. In many another city — Winston-Salem, N.C., is an example —Negro support can make or break a mayoralty candidate.

'White Revolt'

Thus, as 1964 approaches, amid growing talk of a "white revolt" against President Kennedy's integration policies, the Negro vote assumes ever-greater importance among politicians of both parties. If it goes massively for Mr. Kennedy, it could be a most important factor in re-electing him. If it fails to turn out its potential, it could defeat him. If it deserts him, he might as well run for mayor of Palm Beach.

The outlook, at first glance, seems bright that it will support him massively. No potential Republican candidate can present a better or more publicized record on civil rights. Most Negro voters are of low economic status and, like such voters everywhere, in all races, turn naturally to the enduring New Deal image of the Democrats. Dr. George Gallup's ubiquitous snoopers reported in September that among Negroes sampled, 95 per cent would support Mr. Kennedy against Senator Barry Goldwater, and that Governor Rockefeller would fare little better.

Fear and Apathy

The picture is not really that good. Forty per cent of Negroes in the crucial Northern cities are believed to be unregistered and are known to be hard to register. Poverty-ridden Negroes, like the economically down-trodden of all races generally, care little for voting and have to be dragooned into registering. They are unaware of the importance of the ballot. Many fear entanglement with "the law" (in New York City, registering to vote can lay a man open to low-paid jury duty, for instance), and most have little educational background.

Some entrenched Negro political leaders, like their white counterparts, resist registration drives. Expanding the electorate they believe, could endanger their control of their small empires. This holds down new registration, particularly in Chicago and New York.

In the south, where Mr. Kennedy will badly need every vote he can get, most Negroes live outside the cities. In many black belt counties, they are barred from voting by racist whites. Even where no such barriers exist, poor and uneducated Southern farmland Negroes usually have been too apathetic or afraid to cast a ballot.

Volatile Voters

There is even a hard-core of Negro Republicans. In Atlanta in 1960, Negroes voted heavily for Richard M. Nixon and swung the city. Some of these are like other Americans — they get ahead economically and turn Republican. Others, mindful of American history, stick with the party of Lincoln. No one knows how many Negroes think Mr. Kennedy is moving too slowly in civil rights, but as has been shown in Cambridge, Md., angry Negroes can vote in protest against what appears to be their interest.

Moreover, the Negro vote is highly volatile. If, between 1932 and 1936, the New Deal could swing the mass of Negro voters out of their historic Republicanism and into the party that invented white supremacy, it is at least conceivable that hesitation, inaptitude or some glaring fumble on Mr. Kennedy's part could swing them right back again next year.

In 1964

By and large, however, the President's civil rights and economic policies are believed by both parties to have won the lion's share of the Negro vote for 1964. Former President Eisenhower and Senator Goldwater have virtually conceded that point. And one of the most important of Democratic tactics for 1964 is to register and vote as many Negroes as possible.

This week in Brooklyn, a Democratic team working with the Democratic National Committee, began a well-organized drive to register 10,000 Negroes and Puerto Ricans—out of nearly a half-million unregistered in New York City. It sounds like a massive project, but it was not, for about 125,000 voting age Negroes and Puerto Ricans live in the designated areas.

It was a fairly typical effort. In Indianapolis, a registration drive recently netted over 15,000 Negroes. Negro candidates for local office have just helped Akron and Toledo, Ohio, Democrats to pick up about 5,000 new Negro registrants in each city. A big push in Charlotte, N. C., helped Democrats in that Southern state to gain about 15,000 new Negro voters this year. In Memphis, Tenn., there now are 80,000 Negroes registered to vote—many of them recent additions to the rolls. All told, Democratic officials here estimate they have registered perhaps 200,000 Negroes this year for the first time—virtually all as Democrats.

Propaganda

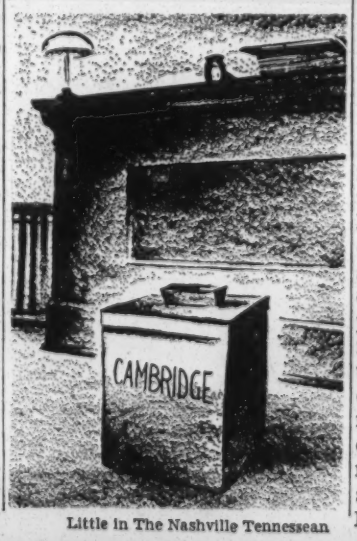
So far, the campaign has consisted mostly of propaganda by the Democratic national committee, Negro organizations, local leaders, the Congress for Racial Equality, the Southern Regional Council, even the African Methodist Episcopal Church —all urging Negroes to register in the party of their choice.

That is usually the Democratic party. But results this year, measured against potential obviously are modest. Next year, Democratic officials say, will be different. The emphasis will shift from propaganda to solid, doorbell-ringing work, in every promising precinct that can be reached, North and South. In the heady political atmosphere of a Presidential campaign that might be fought largely on the civil rights issue, they expect nothing less than a "great upsurge" of new Negro voters—Democrats, naturally.

Hesse in The St. Louis Globe-Democrat
"Now—getting back to the Negro vote."

Conrad in The Denver Post
"Your position on civil rights is killing us in the North and the South."

Long in The Minneapolis Tribune
"Right of way!"



Little in The Nashville Tennessean

MACON, GA.
TELEGRAPH
D. 47,067

PAGE ONE
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OCT 14 1963

GEORGIA PIPELINE

Negroes Lagging In Registering

By GENE BRITTON
Telegraph-News Bureau
1504 Watson Blvd., Warner Robins

ATLANTA — Aside from the "techniques of discrimination" practiced by white registrars as described in the recent report of the United States Civil Rights Commission, organizers of Negro voter registration drives are running into some real impediments.

According to what appear to be the most reliable estimates by experts, the net increase in number of Negroes on the voting roles in Georgia since 1958 has been only about 25,000. In 1958, Georgia had 161,958 registered Negro voters. The current estimate of the Southern Regional Council is 185,899.

This increase appears somewhat minimal in view of the concentrated efforts of the SRC's Voter Education Project and other well organized movements, especially in the South, to bolster Negro political strength.

Even in areas where there is no attempt on the part of white voter registration officials to hold down the number of registered Negro voters, the gain in Negro voter registration generally is less than impressive.

Registration drive organizers say one of the biggest impediments to their work is the difficulty in convincing Negroes themselves that the ballot is a proper and effective lever for securing acknowledgement of their rights to full, first-class citizenship.

Jack Minnis, research director for the Voter Registration Project, contends that "it's a lot easier to get people to take part in demonstrations than to register to vote."

Voting is something of an abstract, he points out, whereas participation in a civil rights demonstration is, or may be, a direct confrontation with a policeman or a police dog or a fire hose.

In one instance, the Negro has the opportunity to feel that he is personally, physically involved in the struggle for his rights and that what he is doing is leading to something direct and concrete. In the other instance, in the case of marking a ballot and putting it in a box or throwing the levers on a voting machine, there is less of a sensation of effectiveness.

Too, Mennis points out, Negroes are sometimes unable to see that it's worth while to register to vote— particularly in cases where their registration may involve harrassment from the registration officials, court battles and/or various forms of intimidation— when, having gone through all it sometimes takes for a Negro to register, they find themselves in the voting booth facing a choice between one white supremist candidate and another white supremist candidate.

Regardless, many vote drive organizers say that more and more Negroes are coming to regard the ballot as an effective—or potentially effective—weapon in the freedom movement. And sometimes the registration drives are given new life by unexpected stimulants. Frequently, attempts to intimidate prospective Negro voters will backfire.

Mennis said there appears to be a direct correlation between acts of violence perpetrated against Negroes and the willingness of Negroes to register.

Recently, he said, in a Middle Georgia county near Macon, a young Negro man was arrested on a minor charge one Saturday night, and, in the course of his confinement in jail, was beaten by the police. Word of what had happened spread swiftly throughout the local Negro community. It was a community which had seen no great movement of Negroes to get on the voter registration rolls. But within one week after the beating, 600 Negroes in that county became new registered voters.

Mennis, who is active in only one of several current voter registration drives, says his group is not "completely satisfied with the results of our work," but he adds, "we are not altogether unhappy either." Voter Education Project claims to have added about 115,000 Negroes to voter rolls in 11 Southern states in the year and a half it has been active. It's still working.

The Virginian-Pilot
NORFOLK, VA.
D. 119,187

OCT 18 1963

Relations Group to Hear Author

NORFOLK — Dr. James McBride Dabbs, president of the Southern Regional Council on Human Relations, will speak to the first monthly meeting of the Norfolk Human Relations Council Oct. 21 at 8 p.m. at 600 Talbot Hall Road.

Dr. Dabbs, author of "Our Southern Heritage," will speak on "The South in Transition." The meeting is open to the public.

The Norfolk Human Relations Council is concerned with the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in Norfolk through racial cooperation, a spokesman said.

Cochairmen of the board of directors are Mrs. C. P. Wisoff and Mrs. H. M. Silverman. People who wish to join the group should contact Mrs. E. A. Green of 1215 Cloncurry Road.

The Norfolk council is one of 23 in Virginia, all affiliated with the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
ALABAMA MIRROR
W. 14,436 (N)
PAGE ONE
OCT 19 1963

Tuskegee Calls Confab On Disadvantaged Americans

Tuskegee Institute, Ala.—Nearly 500 leaders in education, government, industry, labor and community affairs to participate in a major conference sponsored by Tuskegee Inst., it was announced here today by Dr. L. H. Foster, president of the 82 year old institution. To be held here on October 25 and 26, the group will analyze the problems and "report to the nation" on the elimination of disadvantage for all Americans in the areas of edcation, economic development and civic participation.

The Conference will be featured by a convocation at which honorary degrees will be awarded. It is to be held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Institute's Board of Trustees composed of 25 distinguished Americans, headed by Basil O'Connor as Chairman.

Two general meetings and a number of workshop seminars have been organized for the Conference sessions.. These will open with an address by Mr. O'Connor outlining Tuskegee Institute policies to place its full resources in advancing a public life for all Americans, unhampered by discrimination and disadvantage based on race.

Dr. Eli Ginzberg, professor of economic at the Graduate School of business, Columbia University, will read an opening paper on "America and the Negro", describing the current American scene and the position of the disadvantaged Negro.

Included among the participants in the Conference are: Dr. Joseph Douglass of the U. S. Department

(Continued on Page 6)

Tuskegee Calls Confab On Disadvantaged Americans

(Continued From Page 1)

of Health, Education and Welfare; Dr. Roger D. Heyns, vice president of the University of Michigan; James Dumpson, New York City commissioner of welfare; Arthur Chapin of the U. S. Department of Labor; Dr. Hylan Lewis of the Health and Welfare Council of National Capital Area, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Carl Marburger. director, Greater Cities Project, Detroit, Mich.; James Dabbs, president of the Southern Regional Council; Dr. Vivian Henderson, visiting professor at North Carolina College; and Dr. Donald Bogue, professor, University of Chicago.

Also, Maxwell Hahn, executive vice president, the Field Foundation; Ted Poston of the New York Post; P. F. Ayer, Berea College, Kentucky; Frederick W. Jackson, executive associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Senator Leroy Johnson; Judge Marjorie Lawson, District Juvenile Court, Washington, D. C.; and Samuel Z. Westerfield, deputy assistant secretary for economic affairs, Department of State. Others will be Dr. Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, and Dr. Harold Fleming of the Potomac Institute of Washington, D.C.

The Rev. Ralph Sockman, minister of the Church of Christ in New York City, will deliver the sermon at Chapel service, Sunday, October, 27.

A summary of the Conference is to be issued at its conclusion and a full report published early in 1964. Two follow-up conferences are planned for later dates in the academic year.

SATURDAY REVIEW
NEW YORK, N.Y.
W. 298,174

OCT 19 1963

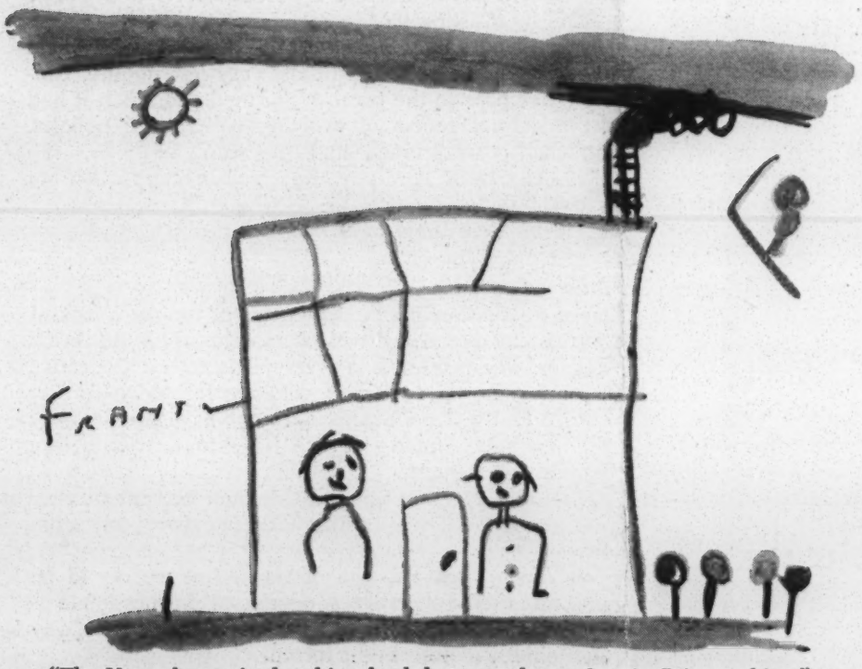
RACIAL IDENTITY IN SCHOOL CHILDREN

Children in the South, both Negro and white, are confronting the normally difficult tasks of education under conditions of unusual social stress. Caught up in an historic moment of social change, they, their parents and their teachers must live and work in a volatile world of tension, hostility and incipient violence. In an effort to learn how these children see themselves and respond to each other, what color means to them, and how they handle the strains of desegregation, Robert Coles, a child psychiatrist, spent two years in the deep South establishing close acquaintanceship with the first Negro children to attend white schools in Atlanta and New Orleans, and with a number of their white classmates. In New Orleans the children were first, second and third graders; in Atlanta they were adolescents in the last two years of high school. Dr. Coles is consultant to the Southern Regional Council, which sponsored the research on which this article is based. The project was carried out with financial support from the New World Foundation and the General Education Board. Dr. Coles is also Research Psychiatrist at the Harvard University Health Services.

By ROBERT COLES

"YOU are a doctor, so you must be clean," the lad told me firmly. Another time he was less emphatic and more curious: "How can you cure niggers if you have to be good and treat whites, too?" At the age of six this neat, rather sturdy boy who wanted to be a doctor knew his racial distinctions as well as his letters and numbers at school. He is exceptionally bright, and after two years we had come to know one another well, through our talks, but also through our games and drawings. Children of his age are not the best conversationalists, but they have much to tell, and in play or with crayons they can be very informative.

His picture (below) with its Negro encircled and obviously excluded helps tell what desegregation means to him; the Negro has arrived at his school, but must be kept cordoned off from whites. It is a child's image of what apartheid means. From his earliest moments of speech his parents had started telling him about the importance of racial differences and separation. They were militant segregationists, and would talk freely about their attitudes—I had always agreed with them that their views must be fairly known in any research study of what happens in desegregation. They had taken their son Jim from the first grade of his school in New Orleans when one Negro girl had been assigned there under federal court order. The events surrounding that crisis in school desegregation in the South are easily recalled because of their very disturbing nature: riots, vandalism, a total boycott of one school by whites and another boycott kept partial only by the presence of a handful of five to ten white children. Jim had missed a half year of schooling because of the boycott, but the next year white parents became increasingly aware that the choices for their children were no schooling, private schooling at considerable cost, or attendance at tokenly desegregated public schools. In the face of such alternatives, the boycott died. "I decided that Frantz School was as much mine as that nigger's, and besides, Jimmie wanted to go back real bad," his mother recalled.



"The Negro has arrived at his school, but must be cordoned off from whites."

After two years Jimmie and his family began to grow accustomed to my visits. Our relationship had become a relaxed and trusting one. They were poor, but proud and ambitious people, anxious for their only son to be educated. Jimmie has his father's Irish quality of light hair and flushed complexon, but the dark brown eyes of his mother's French stock. His father, with two other children and a sick mother, struggles hard on the meagre income of a utility company repairman. They own a small white frame

house in the industrial west of the city. They have no air conditioning to help resist the sieges of clammy heat which can persist for weeks in the city's subtropical climate—bills and bad weather set nerves on edge as powerfully as old memories and dreams. Whites and Negroes live close by in this older section of the once mighty river port. Indeed Jimmie lives a scant four or five blocks from the little girl whose entrance to his school so enraged his parents, and, I think, confused their son.

Jimmie and I one day were walking to a nearby playground for a game of "catch" when he asked me whether I thought his school would be "flooded with them." He had just been telling me that he really didn't mind the colored girl in his class because he generally stayed clear of her. He had played in a game with her one time, but there had been others involved in this misdemeanor too, and "besides, it's when a lot of them come that we'll get dirty with them all around." This well-scrubbed boy knew how annoyed his mother was when he came home with his clothes torn or caked with mud. He pursued the disasters threatened by integration in other talks. Once, as we played with a doctor's kit I had brought for him he said, "They do bad, and make us get sick." He had heard his mother talk about various diseases as typical of Negroes, and knew enough to predict his susceptibility to contamination or disease at their hands.

He represented his little Negro classmate, Ruby, in his drawings not merely encircled as if in jail, but in caricature—with exaggerated teeth and ears and a general appearance resembling a vampire. Asked to imagine her grown, without hesitation he drew her holding a primitive but recognizable vacuum cleaner. When I pointed out to him the obvious irony of unclean people keeping the homes of others tidy, he smiled knowingly and told me that they had *jobs* to do. With that the paradox in his eyes appeared to vanish. I know white children in Atlanta ten years his senior who confront the same paradox with a similar reply. One girl daily eats food prepared by a Negro, lives in a house kept almost uncomfortably spotless by her, yet she has lectured me insistently upon their "poor morality" and lack of "clean standards." She resolves her doubts with thoughts like the following: "It's different when they come out here, because they are influenced by our way of living. But when they go back to their own homes they revert back . . . you know slip into what's natural for them." At least they were flexible! We could agree on that, anyway.

Jimmie did, in fact, play with Ruby occasionally, more times than he felt able to "remember." Ruby told me so, and another white boy, friendly to Ruby, confirmed it. I sometimes watched the children as they played in the school yard. It was hard for any of them to keep out of anyone else's way. The few white children who remained with Ruby during the hardest days of the boycott never *wanted* to keep away from her. For them she was a heroine, communicating excitement. She meant more attention from their teachers than they had ever had before. Even with mobs outside these white children and their one Negro schoolmate somehow pursued their studies.

What of this "heroine," this dark little girl of six whose parents had just come to New Orleans from an impoverished Mississippi farm? What of the three Negro girls who for a while attended an empty school, or those few young children who pioneered desegregation in several other schools in the city the next year? The games they play, the pictures they draw are in forceful counterpoint to Jimmie's, even to those white children who come from homes friendly to the idea of desegregation. I have been struck by how clearly young Negro children foresee the bleak future of their lives. With crayons, a medium of quiet eloquence, one often strikingly expressive, they draw a world of fear and foreboding, of worthlessness, of anticipated uselessness. "That means my daddy can't get a job because he's not right for it." I had asked Ruby to draw a picture of her daddy, and she had replied with one of a coal black man—her father was in fact rather light brown, but she was apparently determined to make her point that a miss is as good as a mile. She drew his arms small, without hands or fingers, and placed him under a rather gloomy and leafless tree.

The point at issue is not her absolute artistic skill, but her comparative feelings being translated into widely different representations of the world. This child *could* draw strong arms and well-proportioned bodies—but for whites only. Whites parade through these drawings with their thin lips and fine noses, blue eyes and blond hair, set in as well-appointed an environment as the child can represent with her budding skills. I asked little Ruby why she always colored white people's eyes and hair as she did (in those coloring books which would never think of admitting a Negro to *their* schools). She smiled and turned her head away without reply. I pointed out to her that my hair was not blond and my eyes were brown. She then answered with, "I don't know the white, except maybe for you, so I can't color their hair anything else." I wondered where she had learned the colors she *could* use, and she quickly listed the sources: her television set, calendars left by salesmen, movies, and those furtive glances which she described when she said, "I catches a look sometimes, real fast like."

In a world where they must peek around corners, these children came to know whites intimately only through their dolls. Yet, I recall a little girl in

(*Continued on page* 68)

"Now one of them was going to the Frantz school and the girl hoped the weather would clear."

Racial Identity

Continued from page 57

New Orleans who did have Negro dolls, but she kept them carefully segregated from her white dolls, and their separate careers were well established in her mind, the white mistress and the Negro servant, the white "bossman" and the Negro employee.

Such knowledge is obviously acquired from many sources, but most particularly and ironically, from the child's own parents. Negro parents are firm and abiding segregationists, and one of their chief tasks—or compulsions—is the necessary communication of a wide range of segregationist convictions to their young children. Yes, the segregationists are right, laws will not by themselves change human attitudes. But laws are extremely influential in determining them, and each of the children I have studied can recall his or her childhood encounter with the law and its meaning. "I just know I can't go there," a girl told me, and how she *came* to know her city's local ordinance involved spankings and threats not from her city or its police or judges, but from her mother, and especially from her father. "I had to drive it into her," he explained to me, "so I just did what you have to do and licked her until she knew." Older Negro youths recall such experiences in fleeting seconds when long hours of "civilizing" events are condensed in particular memories.

The outside world enforces its truths, the hopes and denials implied in its laws, through the sanctions of parents upon children. Or, put more bluntly by a Negro mother, "You have to let them know before they go out of their own backyard." At his peril the Negro child leaves his home for school if he has not learned where he can sit, or what he cannot do when he gets hungry or thirsty. At five, just as surely as at 15 or 25, he must know his "place." In fact, at five his awareness of this "place" is freshest. At fifteen these early perceptions have become reflexes, no longer even noticed, but merely used as the basis for some such formulation as this: "If I am in fact of law and custom restricted and proscribed, my worth is doubtful, my nature suspect."

Shame is not, however, the only response to being set apart and called "special" in a critical or condescending manner. Anger and a secret or open desire for vengeance may also develop. It takes a long time for some of this concealed rage to unfold itself with consistent lack of guarding. For instance, a boy of seven whom I had known for almost two years, himself a Negro, always drew Negroes without eyes or a mouth. Whites were carefully drawn. They were portrayed as capable of seeing and speaking. Negroes were defective, not free to use whatever inheritance nature had foolishly squandered upon them. One day the boy crossed out with a random stroke of the black crayon a white man he'd drawn just a moment before. He looked quickly and nervously at me, then he told me he didn't "mean" it. Of course he did, and of course it was necessary for him and me to have this matter out, so that he could learn that at least in this case it was possible for his feelings to be understood without fear or punishment; and, just as important, so that I could learn that he was not a placid child, unconcerned with matters of race, unafraid and satisfied with his lot. I suspect that our relationship, his and mine, had a wider educational relevance than either of us may have imagined. In our last meeting, the boy's voice recorded on tape this question, "Do you think the colored would be wiped out if we fought the white or can we beat them?" He saw me hesitate. The only reply I could make was my conviction that if it came to a physical fight there would be no winners or losers. Our chief hope, I went on to say, was that in place of a fight both whites and Negroes might grope toward an understanding of one another's feelings, in sketches, in quiet talks, and in play.

EASIER to find than deeper, prohibited hates are fears—though the two are closely connected. We hate what we fear, and our irrational fears bespeak a variety of hates. All our young Negro children studied have realized and expressed their sense of isolation, loneliness and vulnerability. Little Ruby will not only draw, but talk about her productions, and it is very important to hear from the mouth of this child what is *happening* in those pictures which represent her world. The drawing (page 57) is only the beginning of communication with her. She had been asked to picture her school, and she followed her work with the explanation that it was true that it was cloudy outside today, but she wanted it to be sunny the next day; and so she had tried hard to make it a pleasant day on paper. "It's so good out that the birds have come and one of them is even getting some crumbs from the school children." She had no more to add, but I knew she liked to draw birds, and I remembered other drawings in which she had pictured blue jays and cardinals, with a few blackbirds or larger crows interspersed, though they were always shown closer to the ground, lower in height or elevation. Now one of them was going to the Frantz School and the girl hoped the weather would clear.

With older children it is different: They do not draw their impulsive moments of truth, but in anticipation of growing up respond to the world with a whole set of postures and "roles" which tell us something of what they feel. Moreover their responses are more directly their own. When a white boy of sixteen says, "I don't like them" he is not simply obeying his parents, or accepting their feelings as his. Instead, he is making his own commitment. Six months later the same boy found the one Negro at his school "a good fellow." It was clearly his own life and experience which enabled him to make this exception. Eighteen months later he saw Negroes on his city's streets with compassion and he was troubled by how careful they had to be in doing many things he took for granted. That year and a half was a period when he himself was in the midst of growing, of feeling self-conscious and shy, uncertain about himself and what others thought of him. Out of his own life he could feel what a fellow student suffered, even if the fellow student was a Negro. His parents had given him his inheritance of their segregationist sentiments, but the very process of growing up was also his inheritance, and each generation has its own troubles and pleasures, and its own intense and newly discovered reality.

We see then that events in desegregation faithfully echo the various stages of human development. A Negro will often be a playmate to a white child of six because of the age they share with one another and in spite of the white child's knowledge of what his parents think about integration. Similarly, a Negro of seventeen will often emerge in the mind of a white classmate as a companion in trial and confusion despite the white youth's past opinions on race. Their age has generated its own feelings and convictions.

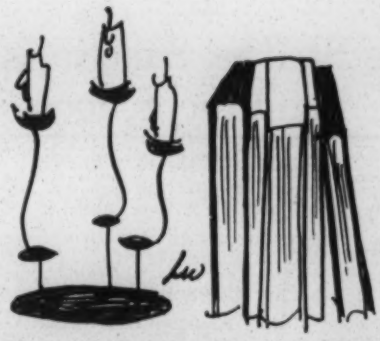
IT IS also very important to see how these private concerns merge imperceptibly into public ones. We are what we think and feel, and what we have been reared to think and feel. Yet, not just our families and their traditions affect us, but the whole world and its timely questions. School children share our dreams of landing on distant planets, or defying an assortment of assumptions about time and distance once conceived to be permanent. What were priorities of belief to our parents seem quaint to us today, or, in a white boy's comment to me: "Atlanta and Boston probably used to be the ends of the earth for people in the Civil War

days, but when you're in orbit they look so close they could be in the same sandwich." We may know such facts, but we often forget the fact of their emotional significance in the lives of our children.

Negro children, too, must face the conflict of generations, the differences between their own possibilities and those hitherto known by their elders. Children who have learned to fear an oppressive white world are unlikely to receive consistent encouragement to see its changing nature from those very adults who taught them what they themselves all too accurately knew out of their own past experiences. Many older Negro children have fought not only reluctant school boards and brooding white classmates for their new recognition, but their own parents' fears and prohibitions as well. Many younger Negro children have been sent to white schools by parents who were determined and angry, but far from hopeful that their child would have an easy time of it. These parents have frequently learned to their own surpirse that the segregationists are indeed right: it is dangerous to allow young children to study and play close to one another. Such a policy leads to flagrant friendships, to letters and numbers learned and rehearsed together, to ropes jumped and tag played and color forgotten. "It's hard for me to believe," said a Negro mother to me, and she went on to say, "we sent her there because we felt someone had to do it, and it couldn't be worse than the way it is already for us; but we never expected for our Leona to have frineds from those kids." Such expressions were virtually repeated word for word to me by an Atlanta mother whose adolescent boy had defied her wishes: "His daddy and I both opposed his going through this, because we know what it's like to be a Negro, and the one thing we hoped for was to spare him the worst of it. But he's getting through it, and I suppose it's his life." In saying this she could scarcely have known how much her son's life had become part of our history.

The lives of many of the most passionate segregationists are also part of our nation's history. A majority of the white South would vote to oppose desegregation—they would also vote to oppose disorder on the streets—but only a few would give as much of their emotional energy and, ironically, their constant attention to the Negro and his containment as has a certain young lady of fifteen who lives in Atlanta. She is a bright, fair haired girl with a beautiful voice who sings regularly in church. In her heart she despises Negroes as lawless, reckless people whose promiscuity threatens her clear virtue. Their bodies, infected and soiled in her various fantasies, condition her actions—she always had to keep her distance from them—but also in a strange way they command her continual interest. ("They can't keep their eyes off us," one Negro girl said to describe the dedicated preoccupation of some of her classmates.)

AFTER two years with a Negro girl whose interest in music and religion were remarkably similar to her own, this white girl had not changed her convictions one bit. But if her racial beliefs were unaltered, she could not wipe away the persuasive influence of countless hours spent in the Negro girl's company at school. "It's coming, I know, and we can take a few of them like we did, but it can't get massive. One or two are like an innoculation, don't you think?" Replying to her medical imagery, I told her that by her own descriptions she had survived fairly well. I knew that she still was telling me that she disliked "them," even though she could hardly fear a girl who had clearly done her no harm. In short, she felt in some fashion healthier now. Negroes might still represent a disease for her, but she was now immune, or somewhat immune to its infection, or



to whatever dangers this dark affliction evoked in her thinking.

While these children, white and Negro alike, have walked with their past lives to those embattled schools, they have in a sense begun to construct a future for themselves and for their generation. They have studied one another as well as their books, and they have not always learned the right answers from either. We send our young to school in some old and idealistic hope that they will learn the laws of the universe, learn to distinguish between facts and illusions, and thus become more able to comprehend the world honestly, openly and above all with no deadening sense of finality. These children have made a beginning in realizing part of this hope, and that, I suppose, is what education is about.

Los Angeles Times
LARGEST CIRCULATION IN THE WEST
D. 772,439 S. 1,120,153

OCT 20 1963

REPORT CARD

Survey to Study Link of Integration, Ability

By Dick Turpin, Times Education Editor

During the current school year, a study is planned to determine, if possible, the differences in achievement ability of students enrolled in an integrated school compared with those at a segregated school.

This is an area where little research exists and when it was suggested by J. C. Chambers, member of the Board of Education, it was received gingerly by the board. However, Dr. Hugh C. Willett, senior member, agreed that such a study, conducted carefully, would have great national significance.

In his recent "state of the schools" message, Jack P. Crowther, superintendent, gave the proposal high priority for the current school year, giving heed at the same time to complexities involved in carrying out such a unique survey. Selection of control group students, areas of examination and numbers of students to be included, for instance, would have to figure in criteria for the study.

Into this sensitive picture have come results of a two-year study of the effects of desegregation on participating Negro and white students in eight Southern cities.

A summary report, published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, shows these major findings in "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study," conducted by Dr. Robert Coles, an Atlanta, Ga., child psychiatrist:

1 — Some "segregationist" children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

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1 — Some "segregationist" children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

2—Negro children find attendance in white schools "stressful but not incapacitating."

3—White children in desegregated southern schools suffer no "medical or psychiatric damage" and no "breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends."

4—Children of both races continue their studies "without impairment."

5 — From an academic viewpoint, desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools.

Copies of the study are available from the League, 515 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y., or from the council, 5 Forsyth St. N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Parents for Better Education, volunteer educational organization, was cast in a false role in a Times account last week of a State Board of Education meeting.

A spokesman for the PBE was denied permission to speak by Tom Braden, board president, on grounds that the PBE subject for discussion—Braden himself—was "not pertinent to the board's agenda." He explained that he also had turned away two other persons who wished to address the board,

One person wanted to duscuss Braden's "bad influence" on schools, Braden said, while the other wanted to warn against the 'bad influence" the American Legion had upon schools. Neither person was from the PBE but in the printed version, both were inadvertently identified with the PBE.

Braden and the PBE have been at odds since recent allegations by the organization that the state board is lax in its procedures governing restoration of credentials to teachers with criminal records. The board has denied any laxity.

The PBE, after being denied permission to address the board, issued a statement challenging recent remarks by Braden that the PBE wanted to bring about "a state of censorship in the public schools," a charge denied by PBE.

The Greensboro Record
GREENSBORO, N, C.
D. 31,743

OCT 21 1963

Grant of $1,500 Earmarked

Voter Education Project In City Given Support From NAACP

Greensboro chapter of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has received a grant of $1,500 from Southern Regional Council of Atlanta to conduct a voter education project in the city, Dr. George Simkins Jr., president of the chapter, said today.

The funds will be used in a 90-day voter registration campaign to be launched Sunday in connection with the fall rally of the chapter at 8 p.m. at St. James Presbyterian Church on Ross Avenue.

Speaker for the event will be Dr. Edwin R. Edmonds, pastor of Dixwell Congregational Church in New Haven, Conn. Dr. Edmonds, former sociology professor at Bennett College, served as president of the local chapter of NAACP when he was in Greensboro.

Dr. Simkins said that cochairman for the voter registration campaign will be Charles I. Brown and B. J. Battle. The fund of the Southern Regional Council, from which the $1,500 allocation was made to the local NAACP chapter, is made up from contributions from philanthropic organizations and from individuals interested in human relations problems. The funds are to be granted to groups working in areas of human relations.

Dr. Simkins said that the local NAACP chapter made application for a grant to conduct the voter registration campaign here and was awarded the funds. The money will be used to circulate voter education material, provide secretarial help in assembling information on and results of the project and carrying on the campaign.

Members of the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality will assist with the project, Dr. Simkins said.

The NAACP chapter has conducted a number of voter registration campaigns in the past.

At Sunday's NAACP meeting, Rev. A. Knighton Stanley, director of the United Southern Christian Fellowship Foundation, will discuss "Implications of the Social Revolution in Greensboro."

Awards will be presented to NAACP members who registered the largest number of members in a recent membership campaign. Dr. Simkins said membership of the local chapter now stands at 2,000, of which 500 are new members.

Joseph Mitchell was chairman of the membership committee. Members of St. James choir will furnish music for the event.

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800 (N)

OCT 23 1963

ELEANOR

A Men's Day To Remember
(Dr. Lucius H. Pitts, Featured Speaker)

Members and friends of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, co-pastored by two illustrious leaders, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr. and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., will long remember Men's Day, October 13, 1963. For the noted minister-educator Dr. Lucius H. Pitts, President of Miles College was the featured speaker.

Dr. Pitts, beloved, well-prepared and widely known as a great educator currently serving as President of Miles College, Birmingham, Ala., and as a member of numerous boards and committees including the Advisory Committee of the Federal Civil Rights Commission, the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council and the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. was introduced to the over-flowing audience by the now famous Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. As we all remember, Dr. Pitts for several years served very efficiently as Executive Secretary of the Georgia Teachers Education Association. He has made his influence felt by thousands and especially in the city of Birmingham. He has served as a negotiator and supporter of every effort for justice and freedom for all citizens. With the aid of many citizens (both white and colored) Dr. Pitts as president of Miles College is working wonders to build a greater Miles College.

Dr. Pitts chose as his subject "What Is Man?"

As an answer to this question the impressive prelate quoted from many great thinkers—philosophers, poets, sociologists, biologists, chemists, teachers and then ultimately from the Bible. "Man is but a little lower than the angels, etc." Dr. Pitts reviewed briefly the Birmingham story, lamenting recent occurrances there. But he lifted his huge audience (including white citizens also) to optimistic heights when he reviewed the long, rugged road traveled by not only the courageous American Negroes but great-hearted white people who can and do embrace the fullest moral and spiritual concept for American Democracy. "This is the kind of a spiritual order to build a world as God intended; Man must be measured not solely by degrees, I.Q. tests, etc., but principally by highest moral standards and by his ability to follow the truth," emphasized the great educator. Being a little lower than the angels, man is given power to create the atmosphere and strength to change the universe. Angels will guide his feet if he will only believe, keep the faith, pray, work and strive fervently to do God's will." The New Breed Man (both black and white) is catching on!

OTHER COMMENTS ON MEN'S DAY

Music for Men's Day at the 10:45 a.m. services was rendered by the Men's Chorus under the auspices of efficient Mr. David C. Stills, Jr., director. Among the beautiful and thrilling numbers rendered were Milner's Diathyramb, Dupre's Antiphon No. 5, Ezekiel Saw The Wheel and Ward's All Hail The Power of Jesus' Name. The latter number was most uniquely rendered in that the voices of three young boys blended so intriguingly with the older voices—thus producing the effect of a mixed choral number. The 8 p.m. services at which Deacon Henry Wallace presided proved to be quite a treat. A gospel song feast was highlighted by the impressive and enjoyable voices of Mrs. Mary Gurley and her brother, Mr. Eugene Harris.

Thus ended one of the finest Men's Days ever observed.

The Virginian-Pilot
NORFOLK, VA.
D. 119,187

OCT 22 1963

No Hope For Segregation

Race Walls Tumble in South

NORFOLK — Dr. James McBride Dabbs, president of the Southern Regional Council on Human Relations, said Monday the South is on the verge of "integrating its society in a deeper sense than has yet appeared in this country."

Speaking at the first meeting of the newly reorganized Norfolk Human Relations Council in Talbot Hall, Dr. Dabbs said the South has always been interested in "people as people and in the individual," and the job of Southerners now is to "take the age-old interest of the South and purify it, extend it across racial lines."

To do this, he said, whites and Negroes must meet as people, before the Negroes are forced to direct action and demonstration through apathy on the part of whites, he said.

BASIC WEAKNESS

The normal procedure, he said, is for whites to meet with Negroes after demonstrations.

"The weakness of this confrontation is its antagonistic, unfriendly nature: it's our crowd against your crowd," he said.

"It is true that in such conflicts purely worldly justice is hammered out: they are necesary to the attainment of justice. But there is possible a happier confrontation before the crisis arises," he added.

Dr. Dabbs, author of many articles on the racial situation in the South, and of "Our Southern Heritage," said the cause of segregationists is almost dead.

NO HOPE

"These men cannot really hope (to maintain segregation); and no man deeply wants what he cannot hope for," he said.

"Segregation may have had some negotiability when it was first issued, but the institution now is bankrupt."

Human relations councils, he said, try to "formalize and extend the southerner's deep sense of human beings, of human relationships."

In the past the South has trusted "too much to one-to-one personal relationships, and too little to the social structure in which those relationships occur," he said. "The white has often wished the Negro well . . . but the white has not been concerned to structure a social order in which the Negro has an equal chance of meeting the hardships and winning the awards of earth."

NOT EASY

Dr. Dabbs said establishing such a social order would not be easy. "I do not predict the early coming of the Kingdom of Heaven," he said.

But human relations councils "are one of the important organs of this movement," he said; "they are attempting to bring people together on the human level, regardless of race or religion."

About 60 people attended the meeting Monday night. Mrs. H. M. Silverman and Mrs. C. P. Wisoff were elected cochairmen of the Norfolk Human Relations Council. The group was organized in 1959 but became inactive about three years ago.

Mrs. Wisoff told members the newly reorganized council that a full program of speakers is scheduled for monthly meetings throughout the winter.

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.
BLACK DISPATCH
W. 9,000 (N)
OCT 25 1963

JIMMY Says

by Jimmy Stewart

Mummers Theatre will present its classic production of the season, "Antigone," comes Wednesday, October 30. It is the Jean Anouilh version, translated from the French, of the Sophocles play of early Greek drama. Performances are nightly at 8:30 through Nov. 24, with two Sunday shows running earlier at 2:30 and 7:30 p.m. Tickets may be purchased through mail by writing the theatre at 1108 West Main, or calling for reservations after 10 a.m. at CE 5-3359.

Mr. Marshall Gamble was elected president and Mr. Theodore McCormick, vice president, of the Boley branch NAACP Sunday. The revived Boley branch has a county-wide membership campaign on, and to date has nearly 100 members. Branch officials plan to hold public meetings in various communities within Okfuskee county in order to take the program of NAACP to the people. The next meeting will be held at 4 p.m. Sunday, Nov. 3.

Today we would call him a teenager, this North Carolina boy who joined the King's Royal Rifles to fight in World War I . . . and today as we read of his reactions, and the viewpoint with which he emerged from that holocaust, we find that we still have much to learn of Righteous Causes, of synthetic hatreds, and of compassion for our fellowman.

He is Col. Benjamin Muse, a Tarheel who has served his country in the capacity of soldier and civilian and for the past five years has served as director of the Southern Leadership Project of the Southern Regional Council (SRC). His recent book, "Tarheel Tommy Atkins," is a moving profile of the calamity that is war. Written with vigor, factual accuracy and an immediacy that gives it dramatic impact, it is a story filled with surprises which we recommend for your reading pleasure. Vantage Press, 120 West 31st St., New York 1, N. Y.

Funeral services were held at Idabel recently for Jimmy Mehardy, a longtime driver and employee of Dr. H. W. Williamston. He passed in Oklahoma City where he had made his home the past five years. . . . The State Baptist Convention is meeting at Muskogee through Sunday afternoon . . . Friends of Sen. Fred R. Harris of Lawton are sponsoring an Appreciation Birthday Dinner for the Sage of Comanche county here at the Homebuilders Building comes Nov. 14. Senator Harris was the author of the bill in the last legislature which established the State Commission on Human Relations.

Beta Eta Lambda chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity will sponsor the annual trek to our city of Ebony's fabulous fashion show comes Friday, Nov. 22. There are 18 persons involved in the production this year and we're told the publisher's wife was active in select-

factual accuracy and an immediacy that gives it dramatic impact, it is a story filled with surprises which we recommend for your reading pleasure. Vantage Press, 120 West 31st St., New York 1, N. Y.

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One never knows what the sense of values of others are. This week, Henry Hailey, one of my churchmen and a veteran bellman at the Skirvin Tower Hotel, sent me a reprint of a column by Eugene Patterson, "A Flower for the Graves," from the Sept. 16, 1963 Atlanta Constitution newspaper. Fortunately I had received a copy earlier through the Southern Regional Council which gave it wide distribution. Mr. Patterson is editor of this great Southern newspaper, and in this article places the guilt for the bombing of a Baptist church in Birmingham which caused the death of four little innocent Negro girls where he thinks it belongs.

I hope you will take the time to look elsewhere on this page and read a reprint of this article. It is reassuring to many who think or say "All is bad in Dixie," to know that good is, and may come from Nazareth. Thank you, Mr. Hailey, for a reminder of an obligation which we of the Fourth Estate should always abide by and cherish—to give light rather than heat on all issues of public interest. Also on the question of sense of values, this writer must admit we've never chosen to hear Negro bandleader Sam Cooke during his numerous appearances in our city. However, last week his actions in Shreveport, La., while attempting to register at a so-called white motel and subsequent arrest on charges of "disturbing the peace" added one more member to his fan club, and we're proud of him.

There won't be much "cutting up" around local hospitals next week because our Drs. Charles A. Tollett and Louis J. Bernard will attend the annual session of the American College of Surgeons at San Francisco, Oct. 28-Nov. 1 . . . The Langston Lions gave Northeastern a run for the money during the first half of their encounter at Guthrie Saturday night, but freshman inexperience and questionable judgment told off on us in the last two quarters. I never will be able to understand that pass play called on the 6-yard line with first and goal to go for a touchdown which would have put the Lions ahead in the third quarter. However, I'm only a drug store quarterback and will travel down to Ft. Worth, Saturday, to see if the Lions can twist the tail of Bishop's Bears. This is a day game at Farthington Field, so don't show up at 6:00 p.m. and expect to cheer for Langston . . . The Douglass Trojans play Northwest Classen at Douglass Stadium Friday night. Game time is 8:00 p.m. . . . The caucus of city organizations had a very interesting meeting with representatives of the Civil Service Commission of this district from Dallas, Texas, this week. We hope the results of this frank discussion of problems in employment will be beneficial and have meaningful results in the months and years ahead.

And so until next week, Jimmy Says the Citizens' Chamber of Commerce, after hearing all of the issues in a public forum with our mayor and other officials of the Advance Oklahoma City Committee, voted to endorse the earnings tax measure which citizens of our city will be asked to vote on next Tuesday, Octobber 29.

There are many reasons why we should favor this proposal to raise revenue for our city primarily because we think it is the most equitable, in that it affords an opportunity for the banker to drop his load as well as the widow to give her mite toward the general welfare of all. Prices of bread and milk go up periodically and although none of us relish the thought of paying more, we do it. Why not assume the responsibility for increased city expenses, which should be our common duty? Vote "Yes" Tuesday.

MONTGOMERY, ALA.
ADVERTISER
D. 66,623 S. 87,189

OCT 25 1963

Tuskegee Institute To Honor Farley, Four Others During 2-Day Convocation

TUSKEGEE — Five Americans including one of the major political figures in Democratic politics will be given honorary degrees Saturday during a convocation at Tuskegee Institute slated Friday and Saturday.

Leading the delegation of five to be honored is James A. Farley, chairman of the Coca Cola Export Corp., and postmaster general during the Roosevelt administration. He is from New York City.

Others are Whitney Young, executive director of the Urban League; Gerald Piel, publisher of Scientific American; Dr. Buell Gallagher, president of City College of New York; and George Warren, member of the Tuskegee Institute board of trustees.

Lucius D. Battle, assistant secretary of state for cultural affairs, will address the convocation.

In all, nearly 500 leaders in education, government, industry, labor and community affairs will participate in the two-day conference.

The group will analyze the problems and report to the nation on the elimination of disadvantage for all Americans in the areas of education, economic development and civic participation.

A summary of the conference and full report will be published early next year.

L. H. Foster, president of Tuskegee Institute, said the conference will be held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the institute's board of trustees.

Dr. Eli Ginzberg, professor of economics, graduate school of business, Columbia University, will read an opening paper on "American and the Negro."

Included among the participants in the conference are Dr. Joseph Douglass of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Dr. Roger D. Heyns, vice president of the University of Michigan; James Dumpson, New York City Commissioner of Welfare; Arthur Chapin of the U.S. Departmnet of Labor; Dr. Hylan Lewis of the Health and Welfare Council of Washington, D.C.; Dr. Carl Marburger, director, Greater Cities Project, Detroit, Mich.; Professor Donald Bogue of the University of Chicago; and James M. Dabbs, president of the Souhern Regional Council.

ATLANTA, GA.
CONSTITUTION
D. 202,635

OCT 29 1963

Pat Watters Takes Post with Region Council

Atlanta Journal columnist Pat Watters has resigned to become information director for the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

Watters, who has written a column for The Journal since July 1961, began his new job at council headquarters Monday.

Before he started his column, Watters was city editor of The Journal for two years, and a staff reporter before that. A native of Spartanburg, S.C., he attended public schools in Albany, Brunswick and Atlanta and received degrees from Emory University and the State University of Iowa.

ATLANTA, GA.
JOURNAL
D. 259,003

OCT 28 1963

Watters Takes Information Post Here

Pat Watters, columnist for The Atlanta Journal, has resigned to become information director for the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

Pat Watters

Mr. Watters assumed his new duties at council headquarters Monday.

He had written a column for The Atlanta Journal since July, 1961.

Before becoming a newspaper columnist, Mr. Watters was city editor of The Atlanta Journal for two years, and before that he was a staff reporter.

A native of Spartanburg. S.C., he attended public school in Albany, Brunswick and Atlanta.

He received an A.B. in journalism degree from Emory University in 1951. While at Emory, he was editor of the Emory Wheel and a member of Chi Phi social fraternity, Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Delta Chi, ODK, and the senior honor society.

He later took a masters degree in journalism from the State University of Iowa.

While an Atlanta Journal reporter, he covered a variety of assignments — DeKalb County, Fulton County, and the State Capitol among them. His reporting won a number of awards.

Mr. Watters, who is 36, is married to the former Miss Cecile Rhinehart, and they have two children.

The Miami Herald
MIAMI, FLA.
D. 342,056 S. 394,039

OCT 31 1963

The Town Crier

BY Jack Bell

United Fund's residential campaign opens officially Sunday, Nov. 10. But two nights earlier there'll be a huge kick-off pa[illegible] at Miami Springs Villas plus a 30-minute simulcast starting at 11:15 p.m. Nov. 8 and featuring Miami's three top TV newscasters, Ralph Renick, WTVJ; Wayne Fariss, WCKT, and Paul Frank, WLBW.

BELL

The three newscasters will work up their big show prior to the time it appears on the air. They'll film Gen. E. A. Evans, campaign chairman; Gladys Washington (Miss Torch) and her court; 16-month-old Christine Foster, the '63 poster girl, and several other leaders of various other UF activities. The goal, to serve 40 agencies, is $3,008,838. The broadcast will be shown on all three TV stations.

★ ★ ★

'Crisis' Topic

"Crisis around the Corner" will be the topic at the annual dinner of the Council on Human Relations at Biscayne Terrace Hotel Wednesday evening. Mrs. H. Franklin Williams, executive director, has obtained Paul Anthony, field director of the Southern Regional Council, to speak on integrated housing. The Rev. Theodore Gibson, president of Miami NAACP, also will speak.

Miami's record for quiet tolerance during the widespread string of riots in other cities is exemplary. But still, there may be a crisis around the corner.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA.
FLORIDA STAR
W. 22,391 (N)
NOV 2 1963

Politics As Usual

BY ERIC O. SIMPSON

Racial Tensions Unscored In Negroes Jobs - Scarcity

The need of Negro Americans, and particularly of Negro Southerners, for more and better jobs is underscored by economist Vivian W. Henderson in a short study, The Economic Status of the Negro: In The Nation and In the South, published recently by the Southern Regional Council.

Vivian Henderson is professor and chairman of the Department of Economics and Business Administration at Fisk University. He is currently serving as a visiting professor at North Carolina State College in Raleigh.

SIMPSON

Despite gains made since World War II, Dr. Henderson finds "little cause for optimism regarding rapid change in the status of Negroes in the near future."

"Tensions generated by poor race relations are not conductive to economic growth," Henderson also warns. "Chaos over school desegregation, boycotts to achieve employment opportunity, sit-in demonstrations, and picket lines, all are simply and tragically inimical to the economic life of the region. Positive steps toward good race relations, the full absorption of Negroes into the mainstream of the region -- these are imperative to leadership seeking a healthy South."

While the income of Negro families and individuals nationally has grown over five times since 1940, it is still "little more than one-half" that of American white families and individuals.

Moreover, Dr. Henderson points out, "in the South Negro families have an income of less than one-half (46%) that of white families and only one-half the income" of non-southern negroes.

This fact, says Henderson, explains "why Negroes have stepped up their efforts to

for optimism regarding rapid change in the status of Negroes in the near future.''

''Tensions generated by poor race relations are not conductive to economic growth,'' Henderson also warns. ''Chaos over school desegregation, boycotts to achieve employment opportunity, sit-in demonstrations, and picket lines, all are simply and tragically inimical to the economic life of the region. Positive steps toward good race relations, the full absorption of Negroes into the mainstream of the region -- these are imperative to leadership seeking a healthy South.''

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This fact, says Henderson, explains ''why Negroes have stepped up their efforts to speed school desegregation, which, in large part, derives from efforts to secure a better break economically.''

The proportion of Negro families with incomes between $4,000 and $6,000 tripled between 1941 and 1961, and the number of Negro families with incomes of more than $6,000 grew from 4% to 20% during the same period.

But the Henderson study shows that these gains occurred between 1940 and 1954. Since that time, the income gap between Negroes and whites has widened.

''Negroes are losing ground rapidly in gaining dollar parity with whites,'' according to Dr. Henderson, and ''earnings are increasing for whites at a faster pace than for Negroes.''

With employment among Negroes today twice that of whites and the duration of unemployment longer for Negroes than for whites, Dr. Henderson notes that the industries which have ''a declining rate of employment are the industries which have absorbed Negroes.'' These include mining, manufacturing, and construction, where Negroes have found unskilled and semi-skilled jobs as laborers and operatives.

''There has not been a large penetration by Negroes into the growth sectors of employment. These industries and occupations where Negroes have gained in employment represent the slow growth areas of the economy and labor market.''

In discussing the losses to the national economy through racial discrimination, Dr. Henderson concluded, extrapolating from government estimates, that ''the South loses from $5 to $6 billion annually because of racial discrimination.''

Accordingly, the economist warns that ''rapid adjustments'' must be made by the South if it expects to enjoy continued economic progress.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance ''equal opportunity for all the South's people.''

The Miami Herald
MIAMI, FLA.
D. 342,056 S. 394,039

NOV 1 1963

Discrimination Dinner Topic

A discussion of discrimination still existing in Dade County will highlight Wednesday the annual banquet of the Greater Miami chapter, Florida Council on Human Relations. It will begin at 7 p.m. at the Biscayne Terrace Hotel.

Speakers will be Rev. Theodore Gibson, local president of the NAACP, and Paul Anthony, field director of the Southern Regional Council.

DAILY
Chicago Defender
WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY
D. 22,249

NOV 5 1963

Equality Next Hurdle For Negro: Professor

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala.—"Even when full political rights have been achieved, most Negroes will still be unable to cope successfully with the better educated, more socially stable white population with higher income," a Columbia University Professor of Economics said here last week.

One of six distinguished American scholars addressing the opening session of the Tuskegee Conference on Disadvantage," Dr. Eli Ginzberg state: "The Negroes search for equality will be difficult. Political power, legal redress, and civil agitation are likely to speed the Negro toward this goal, but equality will still be far off.

He urged an audience of Leaders in education, government, industry, labor and community affairs to "stop thinking of 20 million Negroes as one large uneducated, poverty-stricken, disadvantaged mass," indicating that more white men and women than Negroes are handicapped by an impoverished background.

He outlined a five-point program to help those who need help through improved education and training programs; expanded employment; establishment of new health and welfare programs and better housing.

Earlier at the conference, Tuskegee Board of Trustees Chairman Basil O'Connor said that the United States needs a "Marshall Plan for Negroes" to help equip them for life in a totally integrated society.

Other papers presented at the two-day conference were those of: James M. Dabbs, president of the Southern Regional Council; Dr. Donald J. Bogue, professor at the University of Chicago; Dr. Vivian Henderson, visiting professor at North Carolina State College; Dr. Carl Marburger, director of the Great Cities Project, Detroit, Mich.; and Dr. L. H. Foster, president Tuskegee Institute.

The Washington Post
WASHINGTON, D.C.
D. 408,701 S. 491,212

NOV 6 1963

Defense Dept. Tied To 'Biased' Agency On Equal Job Study

By Mike Causey

A member of a House subcommittee yesterday charged the Defense Department with awarding more than $100,000 in contracts to a "biased" organization to study equal employment opportunity.

Rep. Albert W. Watson (D-S.C.), said the Potomac Institute of Washington, a group dedicated to eliminate discrimination, couldn't be expected to give an unbiased report on the implementation of President Kennedy's Executive Order barring racial discrimination in firms under contract from the Defense Department.

He said the organization's president, Stephen Currier, "is a fund raising coordinator for CORE, the NAACP and other civil rights groups."

Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) said the progress of the hearing "disturbs me—maybe there are some evil implications here, but I haven't seen any." He asked members to reserve judgment until the hearings are completed.

Harold C. Fleming, executive vice president of the Institute, said later that the study was made entirely within the framework of the President's Executive Order. "We weren't asked to advise about policy, we were only asked to deliver recommendations on means by which this policy could be implemented," he said.

Fleming, a former director of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, said he felt the Institute "was capable of and did give impartial recommendations to the Defense Department."

He said it was incorporated in March, 1961, to "work

within the framework of the President's Executive Order. "We weren't asked to advise about policy, we were only asked to deliver recommendations on means by which this policy could be implemented," he said.

Fleming, a former director of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, said he felt the Institute "was capable of and did give impartial recommendations to the Defense Department."

He said it was incorporated in March, 1961, to "work through educational methods for the elimination of prejudice and discrimination and the securing of human and civil rights."

It engages in various research and fact-finding programs and consultative services. It has been used by Federal agencies, including the Civil Rights Commission, and private organizations to develop programs to assure equal treatment of minority groups.

The Institute recommended that Army, Navy and Air Force hire outside specialists in intergroup relations to help implement the equal employment program in the Defense Department.

Rep. Watson, along with Reps. H. R. Gross (R-Iowa) and August E. Johansen (R-Mich.) repeatedly asked Norman S. Paul, assistant secretary of Defense for manpower, why the study was not conducted "in house" by Defense people.

Paul said it was first concluded "that qualified persons outside the Air Force should conduct the study because the necessary expertise was not available within the Department." He said Philip Hammer, a part-time consultant with the Air Force, who is now a non-salaried member of the Institute's board of directors, recommended Potomac Institute for the study.

Later, the Army and Navy also concluded they did not have "the necessary expertise" to conduct the survey and they also contracted with the Institute.

Rep. Gross said it is a "sad commentary on the Defense Department" that it could not find the necessary expertise among its millions of military and civilian people.

Rep. Charles H. Wilson (D-Calif.) asked that representatives of the Potomac Institute be brought before the subcommittee. Chairman David Henderson (D-N.C.) said the matter would be discussed in closed session, probably sometime this week.

The subcommittee probing manpower utilization plans to quiz Defense officials again today. Thursday it will hear witnesses from the Post Office Department regarding the controversial promotion of three Negro clerks to supervisory jobs in Dallas.

The Atlanta Journal
"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"
D. 259,003

NOV 6 1963

GOP Solon Hits Civil Rights Group

By MARGARET SHANNON
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Nov. 6—A Republican congressman said Wednesday a civil rights research group that got $106,000 in Defense Department contracts seemed to have been set up to cash in on President Kennedy's antidiscrimination drive.

But a Democratic congressman protested that there is "not one shred of evidence" that the group, the Potomac Institute, Inc., was trying to "ride a gravy train."

The institute, which is run by a former Atlantan, was under scrutiny for the second straight day of a House subcommittee inquiring into "reverse" racial discrimination.

REP. August E. Johansen, R-Mich., suggested what he called a "hypothesis" about the Potomac Institute, which testimony has shown was set up about five weeks before it was recommended for a trouble-shooting job for the Defense Department, growing out of complaints of racial discrimination at the Lockheed plant in Marietta.

Rep. Johansen said it appeared that Potomac Institute officials might have known that a field was opening up for race relations work for the federal government. He said the institute looked to him like "a product of planned parenthood."

But Rep. Morris Udall, D-Ariz., protested that the institute could not be making much money because it is a nonprofit corporation that under the law can't legally make a profit.

HE SAID that some people don't think the President's program of equal employment opportunity is a good idea. But he said it seemed proper to him that persons sympathetic with the President's program ought to undertake the sort of work the Potomac Institute did for the Defense Department.

The institute has had three contracts. Two related to recommendations for implementing the equal employment program among defense contractors in private industry.

The third concerned ending job bias within the Defense Department itself.

THE POTOMAC Institute was set up in the spring of 1961 for the purpose of working "to eliminate discrimination and advance equal opportunity for all Americans.

Harold C. Fleming, former director of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, as its executive vice president.

Asst. Defense Sec. Norman S. Paul told the manpower utilization subcommittee of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee that he considers the work of the institute for the Defense Department "worth while."

Ralph Horton Jr., director of the department's equal employment program, said the Potomac Institute reports were "of great help" in implementing the president's program.

REP. Albert W. Watson, D-S.C., charged that the institute was "a paper corporation" with no staff, except Mr. Fleming, when it received its first contract from the Defense Department.

He charged that it got the job because a former Atlantan friend of Mr. Fleming's, Philip Hammer, an economics consultant, recommended the institute. Mr. Hammer, according to previous testimony, was hired as a consultant on a daily basis by the Defense Department in the spring of 1961, when the problems at Lockheed came up.

Mr. Paul said Mr. Hammer received fees totaling about $650, plus $435 in travel expenses, for advising the Air Force as to what to do about the Lockheed situation.

Mr. Paul said the Air Force acted after receiving 32 complaints of discriminatory practices at Lockheed.

MONCKS CORNER, S.C.
BERKELEY DEMOCRAT
W. 2,000

NOV 6 1963

Jenkins Reports 144 Negroes Registered Monday

Esau Jenkins, President of the Citizens Committee of Charleston County, and the Coordinator of South Wide Voter Education program of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Georgia, announced Monday that 144 Negroes had registered in Berkeley County on that date. Two duplicates and three corrected address registration blanks were issued.

The persons registering represented the following areas: Huger, Pineville, Wando, Cross, Cordesville, Moncks Corner, Russellville, St. Stephen, Honey Hill, Shulerville, Bonneau, and Eutawville.

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800 (N)

NOV 6 1963

New Registrants Of DeKalb County To Be Feted Nov. 17

Sunday, November 17, has been declared as appreciation day for the more than 1,500 new registrants of DeKalb County. The highlight of the program will be the address, Mr. Randolph Blackwell, Director of Field Activities for Voter Education Projects of Southern Regional Council.

The appreciation program will take place at the Thankful Baptist Church 427 Atlanta Ave., Decatur, Rev. Leon Tucker pastor. W. C. Patton, NAACP Field Secretary of Voter Registration, will present the awards. Music will be furnished by the DeKalb County Youth Council Choir.

After 10 successful weeks of work in the County, accroding to the director the Office at 307 Marshall Street, Deecatur, will be open in the evening for special transportation to persons registering. Time for the Appreciation program is 6:30 p.m. Miss Rosetta William is Director, and Rev. W. Moseley General Chairman.

LAFATETTE, LA.
SOUTHWEST LOUISIANA
REGISTER
W. 24,953 (C)
NOV 7 1963

Leaders Air Farm, Emplo

By Peggy Siegmund

Baton Rouge — "Leaders of today face the frustration of a rapidly changing world," began Dr. T. T. Williams, agricultural economist at Southern university, Baton Rouge, in his keynote address at the Social Leadership course, Oct. 25-27, sponsored by Southern Consumers cooperative.

Dr. Williams cited the two major problems to economic progress in our time as unemployment and rural deterioration.

Part of the unemployment problem stems from change in the labor market, Dr. Williams said, with automation requiring more and more skilled laborers. He explained that 5½ per cent of the working population was unemployed according to general averages of the past five years. The trend of school dropouts Dr. Williams traced to lack of motivation because of the unemployment problem among young people.

"One out of ten people on the farms will stay there," he explained, referring to the second major economic problem of rural deterioration. "Farm employment dropped a half million last year," he continued. "Four million people in the rural areas are unemployed all or part of the year. The cooperative approach can help to revitalize our rural areas."

Held at Southern university, the social leadership course was sponsored by the Southern Consumers cooperative, and aimed at developing leadership and helping members acquire a basic knowledge of economics as related to cooperatives. South-

At Leadership Course

Looking over national co-op literature at a recent social leadership course are (left to right) Dr. Robert A. Rennie, vice president of research for Nationwide Insurance company; Lester Scurlock, New Iberia, board of directors member of Southern Consumers cooperative; Una Mae Hargrave, Lafayette, educational committee of SCC; Ocie Smith, Sr., field representative for National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.

Employment Problems

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eld at Southern university, social leadership course was nsored by the Southern Conners cooperative, and aimed developing leadership and ping members acquire a basknowledge of economics as ted to cooperatives. Southern Consumers co-op is a statewide cooperative movement to help Negro families raise their economic standard of living.

Over twenty leaders in the co-op attended the weekend, including board of director members and chairmen from various towns throughout Louisiana.

Besides Dr. Williams, speakers for the weekend course included Dr. Jessie Gloster, economics professor, Texas Southern university, Houston, and Dr. Robert A. Rennie, vice president of research for Nationwide Insurance company.

Dr. Rennie conducted several sessions on social leadership as well as the basic economics of cooperation. He stressed the quality of understanding people, their similarities and differences, as basic to a good leader.

"The old concept of authority and leadership," Dr. Rennie said, "involved fear, force and authority. The new ideas on leadership now emphasize persuasion, satisfaction and reward."

In the old concept, Dr. Rennie explained, the leader said "I have a right to lead," while the new leader says, "I have a responsibility to guide."

Since Southern Consumers co-op plans to begin a finance company in the near future, as their first cooperative venture, Dr. Gloster spoke on basic principles and ideas for beginning a finance company. He stressed the need for dedicated organizers to make it succeed.

Southern Regional Council, Inc., awarded a $700 grant to help finance the cost of the leadership course.

Southern Consumers cooperative traces its source back to **1950 when Father Albert J. McKnight, C.S.Sp., assistant at Our Lady of Lourdes, Abbeville, organized a credit union in the mission parish in Kaplan.**

Once established, Father began to reach out for other ways of making an impact on raising the economic level of the Negro. It had been proved that "little business" was not the answer. "Big business" had to be the goal, with many people pooling their resources.

Thus, in 1961, through ideas from an already existing Investment club and study courses in the Antigonish (Nova Scotia) cooperative movement, Father McKnight began plans for forming some kind of cooperative business. In September, 1961, the first meeting of the Southern Consumers cooperative was held to lay the groundwork for this cooperative effort.

Executive, educational, membership and by-laws committees were formed. A monthly congressional meeting was formulated to keep members informed so that each could take active part in the work of the co-op.

In the following months, the co-op took on a more definitive shape. Leaders came forward; the cooperative spread to surrounding areas until, at present, it has expanded to 20 towns in Louisiana with 850 members.

For the past few summers, leaders in the co-op have studied cooperative principles at Coady International institute in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, as well as visiting national cooperative headquarters in the United States.

The social leadership course held at Baton Rouge was the first weekend attempt at holding local courses to enable a larger number of people to attend and benefit from national experts in the field of cooperatives and economics.

Chattanooga Daily Times
CHATTANOOGA, TENN.
D. 52,218 S. 82,245

NOV 8 1963 Bufkeller

Aide of Regional Council To Visit Vote Committee

Randolph T. Blackwell, field director for the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, will be guest speaker at a meeting of the Metropolitan Registration Committee Wednesday night at 8 at the Henry Branch YMCA.

Blackwell is active in voter education projects for the council. He will speak on the general picture of voter registration in the South.

The Metropolitan Committee is active in a campaign to register an additional 5,000 Negroes in Chattanooga.

The Detroit News
D. 710,775 S. 913,648

NOV 8 1963 Bufkeller

Race Relations Worker Hired by Grand Rapids

GRAND RAPIDS, Nov. 8. — (AP) — Roland E. Blanding, 24, an intergroup relations research worker from Atlanta, Ga., has been hired by this city as an assistant to Human Relations Commission Director Alfred E. Cowles.

Blanding will assume his duties Dec. 2.

Blanding is a native of Sum-

The New York Times
D. 680,265 S. 1,306,418
NOV 10 1963

High-school students protesting desegregation in Birmingham, Ala.
"Many attractive and voluble youngsters are eager to proclaim white superiority."

A Southern Teen-Ager Speaks His Mind

Disturbed by the militancy of young white Southerners in resisting school integration, a Southern writer and editor interviews an 18-year-old Mississippian.

1 Southern Reg. Council

By MARGARET LONG

OXFORD, MISS.

THE harsh and hating faces of young Southerners photographed in troubled scenes of the desegregating Deep South have shocked and baffled most other Americans, among them, indeed, many rational and peaceable people in Dixie. To investigate the ideas and feelings that fire many of these boys and girls I made a mission to Mississippi, the state where segregationist sentiment is most intense. Here I found many attractive and voluble youngsters eager to proclaim white superiority, Southern culture and Negro contentment. These high-school and college boys and girls exhibited a common innocence of the Negro movement, which they believe is fomented by outsiders and Communists. (The N.A.A.C.P., the only civil-rights organization most of them know, seems to them a blend of both.) They also showed intense emotions of both affection and revulsion toward Negroes.

The sweetly mannered young people I talked to seemed most of all gripped by a poignant loyalty to the precarious present and the easy past of the white South, a fealty uncorrupted by alien facts and ideas from beyond the tight and turbulent little world of Mississippi.

From here, the common ground fell away into varying attitudes, ranging from the valiant "Never!" of one Delta boy who would "die for" segregation, to the "It's coming" of several others and the pained confusion of a 17-year-old girl who thought, "It's *awful* Nigras can't come to our *churches*."

The Confederate dedication of one 18-year-old probably best expressed the adamant segregationist mood typical of many young people of the Deep South. He was Don Barrett, a Phi Delta Theta pledge at the University of Mississippi at Oxford, who answered questions at word-tumbling length, his replies replete with nice, old-fashioned "Yes'ms" and "No'ms." His forebears came to Mississippi from Virginia and South Carolina, and his great-grandmother, he said, gave $80,000 that she had hidden away to the Confederate Army after her plantation, Newstead, was used by Grant as headquarters during the Vicksburg campaign and then was sacked and ruined.

"She turned it over, lock, stock and barrel," he said, his round, rosy face glowing and his eyes dark with love. "That's the kind of heritage I come from—and I'm proud of it."

YOUNG Barrett's more immediate heritage includes a pleasant childhood of play in backyard pecan treehouses, fishing and hunting, adoration of a beautiful mother (she was beauty queen in high school, at Millsaps College in Jackson, and at Ole Miss) and a trusting attachment to his energetic and commanding father. ("He's got more sense in a minute than I've got in three weeks. He's the wisdom I draw on.") He also exhibits the usual masculine pleasure in two little sisters and pride tinged perhaps with rivalry, in an older brother, Pat Jr., who is taking psychology at Millsaps and planning to study law at Ole Miss.

"Yes, of course, I used to play with Negro children," he said. "We quit, well, we quit when . . . when we both realized the difference, and they went their way and I went mine. You may be surprised that our next-door neighbors were Nigras. They lived catty-corner across the street from us . . . the nearest neighbors."

Mr. Barrett spoke ardently of the good Negroes and his affection for them and their (*Continued on Page* 114)

MARGARET LONG is a novelist ("Louisville Saturday") and former columnist for The Atlanta Journal who two years ago received the Florina Lasker Civil Liberties Award. She is at present the editor of the Southern Regional Council's magazine New South, in Atlanta.

A Southern Teen-Ager

(Continued from Page 15)

profound loyalty to him and his. He smiled quickly and radiantly at the memory of these ancient felicities. Dora, who cooks and cleans up, is "a young 43"—like his mother. They were born on the same day and exchange birthday presents. Allie Mae, a registered nurse by correspondence course, "respected by the white community and venerated by the Negro community," nursed Don when he was born and promised his grandmother "she'd always take care of Sara," his mother. Allie Mae visits frequently in Miss Sara's bedroom and on the phone. Amelia, older, cooks on Sunday, and Pecolia, he confided with a flash of delight, "is making me a quilt." There are several Negro hands on his father's cattle farms who are also life-long familiars at the Barrett house in Lexington.

LEXINGTON is the seat of Holmes County, seven miles in the hills at the edge of the Delta, "the heart of Mississippi and the citadel of Southern rights," with "stark nekkid bluffs looking out to the Mississippi River." It is to him the most beautiful place in the world, a rich center of farming which produces the best crops and "the best people, too." The citadel of Holmes County has 19,600 Negro citizens and 7,000 whites.

"I feel, as do most of the white population of the South, that the Negro is inherently unequal," Barrett said. "Now they say it's lack of opportunity, cause and result, the reason men first took the fire and light of learning, that the Nigras never had the need in Africa because they could just pluck the fruit of the woods and all, and sustain life on that. But you can't say they didn't get learning and civilization because of the easy climate, because they've got a range of all climates and mountains and jungles. They came into contact with the Saracens in North Africa. And Alexander the Great and they never did catch the light of learning, nobody in the region. If they hadn't been taken over by the white man . . .

"Well, where they're not, they're still eating each other," he said, his voice vibrant with triumph and disgust.

"BUT the white South has taken the Neegra, fed, clothed, taught them how to speak and wear clothes and taught him Christianity. Still, look at 'em, their illegitimacy rate!"

Mr. Barrett was at such polite pains to say the respectful Southern "Nigra" and never to lapse into the easy and offensive "nigger," and I was so vigilant with my proper and hard-learned "Negro," that we quite rattled one another. Once, in the heat of exchange, he said "Neegra" and, again, "Neeger," and I once wildly pronounced it "Nigroo," to our mutual dismay. But we both behaved well upon these lapses, quite as if they had not occurred, and proceeded as nice as you please.

"In my opinion," he said, "the South made its biggest mistake—because they hated to do it out of our love and affection for the Nigras—but our mistake is in talking states' rights instead of anthropology."

"THE moderates" (and here Barrett used the term as it is widely understood in Mississippi, as equivalent to Communists or other enemies of order and freedom), "prophets of gloom and doom, say it's coming—we gotta accept it. I think if the Nigra is able to live on an equal footing after the troops leave, then we are wrong—wrong when we say the Nigra is not capable.

"Yes'm, I expect there'll have to be an occupation before there'll be integration in Mississippi, and the Kennedy twins are ruthless enough to do it without batting an eye if they're re-elected. It would probably be the most tragic thing that could happen to our beloved state. But afterward, when the troops leave . . ." Here he explained that white resistance to the troops would be so adamant that upon their despairing withdrawal, "everything would be just like before, only the poor Nigras would lose all the friendship and goodwill they had."

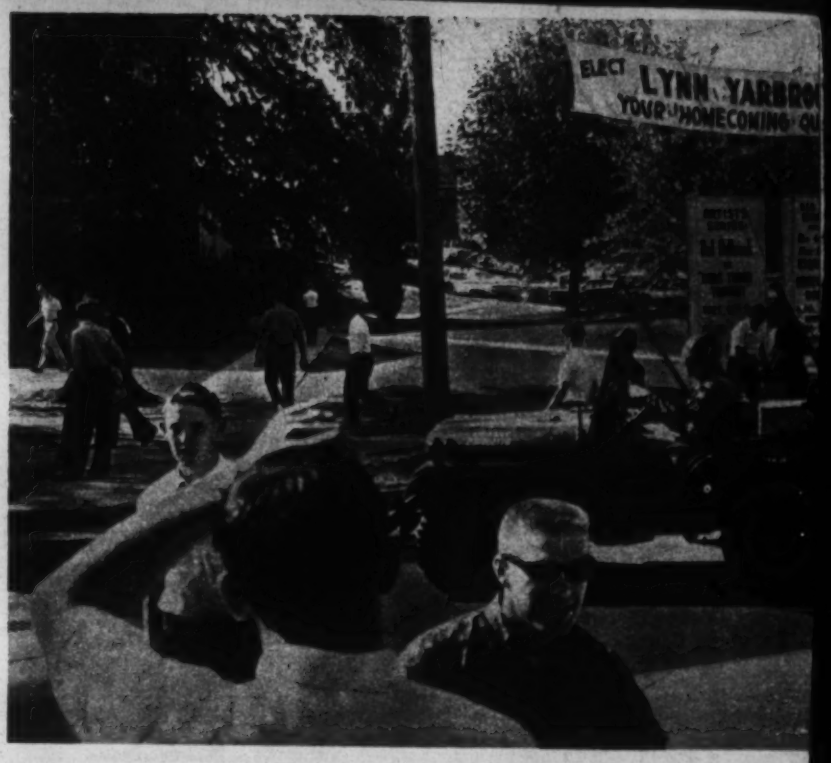
Barrett's uncle is a cotton planter and head of the Citizens' Council in Lexington and his father is a founder. Don himself is "a sort of honorary member" because he "wanted to give my $5," though he is under the usually accepted age. Contemplating the possibility of Negro political control in the Delta through its 65 to 70 per cent Negro majority—"although it would *never* happen" — Barrett said such a regime "without white man's control would be chaos."

"If we turned politics over to them, we'd have another Congo. It's not wild like that under the patient, restraining hand of the white man, when they behave reasonably well.

"Do anything to us? I don't think so, no'm. I don't believe the Nigras, if they got control, would have any reason to hurt people who have nurtured and cared for them, but it would be chaos. Yes, out of their incompetence. The economy would collapse, and it would be like Reconstruction. You remember the Nigras in power in Reconstruction were voting themselves carriages and all kind of luxuries. It wouldn't be out of malice—they're a kindly people—but out of inability to run things. The Southern code of hospitality, gentleness, kindness—they've learned it and accepted it. . . .

"IF the majority of Nigras with the vote there"—this was in reference to Charles City County, Va.—"haven't taken over, it's because they haven't got the initiative. But look at Memphis. Nigras are 32 per cent of the electorate. They're beginning to control politics, and Memphis is beginning to look like a dirty Northern city," he said in another spurt of disgust.

Barrett is also apprehensive about treatment of white women under black domination. "If the social system is thrown out of kilter, as moderates would do, there would be more danger than there is now under the patient hand of white leadership. I would certainly take up arms to protect our women. To me there is nothing more wonderful than a Southern lady. Gosh! It's



PATROL—Military police on duty on the University of Mississippi campus during the racial tension there a year ago.

really undefinable. But she's cultured, genteel, intelligent, beautiful — usually beautiful, anyway."

In defense of the social and economic system, Barrett would not eat with a Negro, or call one Mr. or Mrs. or Miss, because "it's not socially acceptable, it's not done—anymore than I'd cut more than one piece of steak at a time or tuck my napkin under my chin."

NOR would he betray his manners for distinguished Negroes or for different customs in other places. In Milwaukee, where he visited an aunt and "a wonderful Yankee uncle—the only good Yankee I know," he did not desist from giving his bus seat to standing ladies, in the Mississippi way, just because it was not the usual practice in Wisconsin.

As for celebrated and accomplished Negroes, Barrett says, "more power to 'em." He cited "Gaston in Birmingham"—a millionaire Negro banker and property owner. "You can see he obviously has a very high I. Q., is well-mannered and a fine man, I'm sure. Well, it's just a combination of genes that worked out that way. But the chances are 1 in 5,000 that his children would be like that."

There are "exceptional" Negroes in Lexington, who own stores, cafes and funeral businesses, but no professionals. "We are courteous and treat them with the respect due their education," he explained. "There's none of this pushing around or 'Get outa my way' for them in stores or anywhere —or for the lowest field hand either."

Barrett scoffs at the outsiders' notion that it's deprivation and "brutality" which makes Negroes migrate from the South.

"That's ridiculous. It's economic. The Negro definitely was necessary to farming 20 years ago. My uncle owns a plantation where he had 60 families chopping cotton, borrowing money, depending on him — you know, old-style sharecropping. Ten of the 15 left live there now because they love my uncle and they depend on him, although he just needs five of 'em. But he gives them Saturday-night spending money and everything and he could say, 'Fred, go up the hill and kill me a big snake,' or 'Go cut off your head,' and Fred would do it.

"They don't help *him*. They're an economic liability. He supports 10 families out of love and loyalty. He's a fine fellow, president of the Tchula Citizens' Council. The others left because they had to sell their small farms—with mechanization, the Nigras can't make a profit on a little farm —and had no place to live. Now you just see old grandfathers and little bitty children, pickaninnies. The young ones have gone to Chicago.

"My girl, I talked to her on the phone and this horrible thing had happened. Houston was dead. Houston drove their tractor and she just loved him. Mr. Foose's father —that's his name, Mary's father, Mr. Foose—and Houston's father were always on the place together. Houston's father had worked for Mr. Foose's father all that time, and they loved him.

"THE Citizens' Council, Mr. Foose is a leader in it, is not like the Ku Klux Klan. We hate violence. But we are determined to keep our way of life," he declared with rapidly rising fervor. "Nobody can take it away from us, and I would die for it. I wouldn't do anything foolish, but we will not give up.

"People say Nigras are catching up—that's wonderful —but that's no justification for social change in 1963 for what might happen in 500 or 1,000 years."

Barrett is not much disturbed by the current Mississippi Negro drive to write in

(Continued on Following Page)

(Continued from Preceding Page)

15,000 or 20,000 Negro protest votes for Aaron Henry, state N.A.A.C.P. president, for governor, and the Rev. Ed King, a young, white civil-rights devotee, for lieutenant-governor, and to draw 200,000 disfranchised Negro votes in a straw election for Henry. Nor does he share outside dismay at intimidation of Negro voting aspirants — random violence, arrests of demonstrators, eviction of would-be voters from jobs and property, and a few killings.

"FEDERAL right to vote? No, the Constitution gives the states the right to say who shall vote and who shall not. There's no such thing as the right to vote. It's a privilege, earned only after qualifications set up by the state have been met. Instead of reducing voting requirements, we ought to make them more strict. I believe in the poll tax. Our $2 poll tax goes straight to the schools, white and colored.

"I don't think there's any harm in a few qualified Negroes voting. But you can't open the floodgates. I don't condone violence, but the state has the right of police power to protect the health, morals and general welfare of the people. And when feelings are running high and the spark is there, they could set off a riot.

"I think the police were right in Greenwood and Jackson [scenes of summer disorders and mass arrests of Negroes seeking the vote and other civil rights]. And about these peaceful grievances, they should not trespass on private property."

BARRETT went—"defending my state; no, not that, either, as an observer"—to the University of Mississippi upon the entrance of James Meredith to the university. He drove to Oxford with a friend, without his father's permission.

"I was close enough to the marshals to see what was happening," he related. "Some of the boys were armed, and one man was standing by the Y Building shooting out street lights with a .22 rifle. The students were jeering and sneering and occasionally tossing a cigarette butt at the marshals. All of a sudden, McShane [Chief U. S. Marshal James Joseph McShane] said, 'Gas 'em!' and from a clear blue sky, a patrolman got hit in the head, from behind, and knocked down by a marshal throwing tear gas—that metal case hit him.

"Barnett [Gov. Ross Barnett] made a mistake. That Sunday, if he'd issued a call to white males of Mississippi to stand firm at the gate, why, you'd have seen 600,000 men mustered at the gate. I know all of Holmes County would have come, except a couple of scalawags.

"I didn't attack the marshals, and I was not armed, it was not my place to. But if Governor Barnett had called the Citizens' Councils and other responsible citizens, and had said, 'Come, it is Armageddon, get your gun'—well, I certainly *would*. Yes, *ma'am!*

"Oxford seemed to me a nightmare. I felt I was not in the United States, but in Budapest or a Warsaw ghetto. If that was American action, then God save us."

If whites and Negroes attend schools together, he wonders "what's to keep little white Mary from bringing home little black Johnny from school some day, and that leads to mixed dating and mixed marriages."

Would either of his sisters grow up to choose a Negro husband? "Heavenly days, no! But girls who haven't had the upbringing would if we change the social order."

He considers Cleve McDowell, the Negro recently expelled from the University of Mississippi for carrying a gun, as "more dangerous than Meredith. The way he behaved, like I've heard people say, 'he's a good Nigra, he just wants an education.' And that would lead to acceptance. He behaved like a nigger, he would open doors, he had good manners and he scuffed his feet and held his head down. So, he could be the leak in the dike, and then the dams burst.

"Of course, Meredith was the most segregated Nigra in the United States. He was ignored. Yes." (He laughed in appreciation of the placard rhymes which appeared on the campus: "Ignore the Nigger with Vigor" and "Nigger-free in '63.") "Ole Miss has never really been integrated."

BARRETT was "not much impressed" by the Negro March on Washington. "It wasn't any different from what I see Saturday night in Lexington when they come to town to get drunk and cut up, except they're happier in Lexington." He smiled here at the remembered spectacle of Lexington police warning the tipsy Fred, "Now, Fred, how many times I got to tell you?" and at Fred's shuffling, laughing promise to stay sober.

He described Negro pleasure in Government "'mo[illegible] the surplus foods t[illegible]ey get on welfare—and [illegible] willingness of "many, many, many" simply to collect relief and "'modities" rather than work. All the Negroes on the Barrett place "get real butter and cheese" from the welfare, and "we use oleo."

Barrett, a 96-average student in high school and on a scholarship at Ole Miss, would vote for Governor Barnett, "the most courageous leader of our time," for "dictator or anything." He is now more proud of being a Mississippian than an American, and laments our "Federal power, a crushing force, a rampage," under which we're "no longer the land of the free." He also deplores foreign policy which, with the United Nations, "is destroying the only pro-West governments in Africa. Katanga and the Union of South Africa, we stab them in the back."

He takes a grisly view of Federal aid to states and localities. His story is "not original," but he compares Federal aid to the starving hunter who whacked off part of his famished dog's tail, ate off the meat, and threw the bone to the beast. Whereupon the "whimpering dog," like recipients of Federal aid, gratefully "licked the hunter's hand."

SPOKESMAN—Don Barrett in his room at home in Lexington, Miss.

FOR all his lordly and loving attachment to Negro friends, Barrett sees an eventual solution in the departure of all Negroes for the North "to live on welfare," since the planters and automated land no longer need them. He also believes the Delta will be "forever agrarian," though partly industrialized with small, imported industries employing whites in a prosperous blend of his beloved old way of life and new Yankee paychecks.

This, then, is the romantic tradition and reactionary passion with which the young segregationists of a dwindling old South face the nonviolent Negro revolution. In love with the life long gone, they stand embattled, fighting change with talk of old times, planter-rulers and good servants happy in subjection.

ATLANTA, GA.
METROPOLITAN HERALD
W. 5,021

NOV 13 1963

FORMER ATLANTANS INVOLVED

Republican Congressman Charges Interracial Organization Set Up To Get Defense Dept. Contracts

A Republican Congressman from Michigan has charged that a civil rights research group, whose executive vice president is a former Atlanta integration leader, seems to have been set up to cash in on President Kennedy's antidiscrimination drive and five weeks after its formation was awarded a $106,000 contract from the Defense Department.

The Congressman, A. E. Johansen, R-Mich., made the charge before a House subcommittee inquiring into "reverse" racial discrimination.

The organization under scrutiny is the Potomic Institute whose executive vice president is Harold C. Fleming, former director of the interracial Southern Regional Council. Mr. Fleming resigned the post to go to Washington as the active executive of the Patomic Institute when it was formed.

According to testimony given before the sub-committee, Mr. Fleming's organization was recommended to the Defense Department by Philip Hammer, an economics consultant. Mr. Hammer is well known here in Atlanta as the father of the "Plan of Improvement." He came to Atlanta from Washington in the mid-1940's and resided here until last year when he returned to Washington.

Representative Albert W. Watson, of South Carolina, charged that the Potomic Institute was "a paper corporation" with no staff, except Mr. Fleming when is received its first contract from the Defense Department.

He charged that the institute obtained the contract because of Mr. Fleming's friendship with Mr. Hammer.

Earlier testimony revealtd that Mr. Hammer had been hired as a consultant on a daily basis by the Defense Department in the Spring of 1961 when racial employment problems came up at Lockheed with 32 complaints receied.
ceived.

In his charge against the Potomic Institute, the Michigan Congressman said that it (the organization) was set up about fie weeks before it was rtcommended for the $106,000 job. He said it appeared that Potomic officials might have known that a field was opening up for race relations work for the federal government and that the insititute looked to hime like "a product of planned parenthood."

The institute has had three contracts. Two related to recommendations for implementing the equal employment program among defense contractors in private industry. The third concerned ending job bias within the Defense Department.

The Potomic Institute, according to public records, was set up as a nonprofit organization working "to eliminate discrimination and to advance equal opportunity for all Americans."

The Southern Regional Council, which Fleming headed for a number of years, has long been a controersial organization for its race-mixing policies. It has largely been supported by grants from the Fund of the Republic, a Ford Foundation offshoot. The SRC staff is recognized as containing a number of ultra-liberals. Its work has been highly praised by many interracial groups.

THE MIAMI NEWS
MIAMI, FLA.
D. 154,397 S. 137,140
NOV 15 1963

ASHMORE

'RACIAL' - - ASHMORE

Our No. 1 Problem

BAGGS

By LOUISE BLANCHARD
Reporter of The Miami News

The problem of race relations is not a separate one but "wrapped up in everything else," Harry S. Ashmore, former executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette, said here today.

"We can't decide the problems of urban renewal 'til we solve those of race," Ashmore told members of the Adult Education Association at the closing session of its convention at the Deauville Hotel.

Other panelists on civil rights were William C. Baggs, editor of The Miami News; Harold C. Fleming, executive vice president of the Potomac Institute and former director of the Southern Regional Council, and chairman John A. Griffin, of Florida State University.

"We can't solve the problems of race 'til we solve those of unemployment," Ashmore said. "And we can't solve those of unemployment 'til we deal with the problems of automation and the computer."

Baggs said the racial crisis has changed in the last 15 years and that the most important aspect of the change is the recognition that the South "does not have a franchise on racial discrimination — it's a national product."

The Washington Post
WASHINGTON, D.C.
D. 408,701 S. 491,212
NOV 15 1963

600 Atlanta Women Write Off Prejudice

MORE THAN 600 Atlanta area women have united under the banner of Women for Progress to support the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce's efforts to open that city's commercial facilities to all citizens.

A scroll signed by the women, who are leaders in more than 100 civic and religious organizations, was presented to the Chamber's board of directors Wednesday by Mrs. Edward M. Vinson, former president of the Georgia League of Women Voters.

Women for Progress was organized this fall, Mrs. Vinson told the board, "as a coordinating effort by leaders of key community women's organizations who feel that Atlanta's hard-won reputation for progress in race relations may be threatened unless all segments of the community respond to (your) appeal for all businesses to serve the public without regard to race, creed or color."

Among the organizers of Women for Progress were five women who attended the July 9 conference of 300 women leaders which President Kennedy called to ask for cooperation in furthering the civil rights movement.

Mrs. Vinson said Women for Progress "pledge our economic support to those businessmen who make their goods and services available to everyone."

Scroll signers included members of several church groups, the YMCA, the Girl Scouts, the Atlanta University Women's Clubs, the alumnae clubs of Wellesley and Smith colleges, the Atlanta Association for the United Nations, Southern Regional Council, AFL-CIO and the Atlanta School Board.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.
CLARION HERALD
W. - CIRC.N.AVAIL.

NOV 21 1963

Constant advance is favored

Essays in Our Day

By DONALD McDONALD

Although President Kennedy's proposed civil rights legislation seems to be permanently stalled at this session of Congress, there is much that the executive branch of government can do to continue to improve the social and economic condition of the American Negro.

An excellent analysis of the opportunities for executive action is contained in a report published about a year ago by the Southern Regional council of Atlanta, entitled "Executive Support of Civil Rights."

The Southern Regional council is totally committed to the goal of equal opportunity for all American citizens. But it goes about its fact-finding, fact-analyzing work in a calm, objective way. Its recommendations and criticisms are invariably hard-headed and realistic. It fully realizes that instant integration is impossible, whether such is offered as a counsel or a "program."

But the council also feels that there is a great deal more that can be done to speed the day when racism will be only a fading memory in American life.

ALTHOUGH praising Mr. Kennedy for the vigor and initiative of his executive action in behalf of civil rights the first year and half of his administration, the council finds "latent weaknesses."

On the positive side, the council says that the "numerous executive decisions" made by the Kennedy administration "represent a development of importance comparable to that of the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954 . . ."

The administration "has built momentum for civil rights into the structure and the policies of the government," says the council, "and if it has not acted with more determination than public opinion requires, it has acted with more originality."

Since the council's statement, the administration has, of course, acted with considerable determination in the Alabama university case as well as in the introduction of the present civil rights bill, so much so that public opinion apparently has recoiled a bit.

But, aside from legislative action, there are, "under statutory authority," says the council, "spacious opportunities for creative executive policies."

THE COUNCIL reviews some of the special advantages of executive action: it is immediate; it can be pinpointed to meet particular circumstances; it tends to be accepted more readily by citizens because they are accustomed to the executive branches of government much more than with the legislative or judicial.

Here are some of the "areas of little action" by the federal government, according to the council:

Federal aid to research; the Hill-Burton hospital projects; the National Guard; housing.

Though the federal government has begun to move on housing, apparently it has done little or nothing to discourage segregation in hospitals built with federal money, in the National Guard substantially supported with federal funds, or in universities which depend in large part on the federal government for their research money.

The President has said that "federal money should not be spent in any way which encourages discrimination." But a segregated Southern school, such as Emory university, had, at the time of the council's report, research grants and contracts totaling $3.25 million, of which $2.5 million came from the federal government.

HOSPITALS built with Hill-Burton federal money continue to discriminate and segregate, and the National Guard in 11 Southern States is all-White.

The Southern Regional council recognizes, though it does not condone, the fact that a department or agency in Washington, say Defense, or Health, Education and Welfare, or any other, when it is "sponsoring controversial legislation in a non-civil rights area, "may be irresistibly tempted to court marginal Congressional votes by leaving civil rights alone."

But this again forces one to look to the President to seize those "spacious opportunities for creative executive policies."

AT THE TIME that Mr. Kennedy took office, the council made some carefully reasoned proposals concerning the use of both the office and the powers of the Presidency in the interest of interracial justice. The history of Mr. Kennedy's first three years in office reveals that he has, in fact, accomplished a great deal, much of it "forc'd by the occasion," it is true, but much also of the President's own initiative.

Now, when all are predicting campaign trouble for Mr. Kennedy in 1964 because of his forthright civil rights position, he will be tempted to "ease up" on federal executive actions. But the rights of Negroes are too important to be shelved even for a year. The administration must continue to move steadily and purposefully ahead.

ST. LOUIS, MO.
REVIEW
W. 118,294 (C)

NOV 22 1963

Donald

M'Donald

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MILWAUKEE, WIS.
CATHOLIC HERALD
CITIZEN
W. 168,172
NOV 23 1963

Essays in our day

By Donald McDonald

Southern Group Praises, Criticizes JFK on Civil Rights

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The New York Times
D. 680,265 S. 1,306,418
NOV 24 1963

NEGRO GAIN SLOW IN WINNING VOTE

Registration Is Up in South, but Stands at 12%

ATLANTA, Nov. 30 (AP) — More than half a million Negroes have registered as voters in 11 southern states during the last five years. But this increase of 43 per cent has brought scant improvement in the ratio of Negro to white voters.

A survey shows approximately 1.7 million Negroes among the 14 million voters in this 11-state region. There were 1.2 million Negro voters in the South in 1958.

Comprising a fifth of the region's population, Negroes represent a potentially powerful force in politics. Their leaders have been bearing down on voter registration in recent years.

Percentage Is Up

The percentage of Negroes among the total number of registered voters moved up to 12 per cent from 10 in the five-year period.

These are the estimates:

In 1958—White voters 10,329,-120; Negro 1,172,369.

In 1963—White voters 12,285,-779; Negro 1,677,706.

These figures represent registration in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

While complete official data are not available for each state, the Associated Press gathered estimates from state officials, Negro leaders, records where available and the Southern Regional Council, which makes a continuing study of Negro registration.

Negro voting now is concentrating in urban areas and reflects steps toward desegregation and more liberal political attitudes on racial issues in many cities.

The 12 per cent of Negroes among total registered voters may well become decisive in some states in the Presidential election if the white vote splits evenly. The Negro vote apparently swung South Carolina to John F. Kennedy in 1960, for example.

Rural Areas

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Rural Areas

The rural areas of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia remain the toughest hurdles in the Negro drive for voting rights.

The widest disparity in Negro population and voting is found in Mississippi, where Negroes comprise 42 per cent of the population and 5.3 per cent of the voters.

In Alabama, 30 per cent of the population is Negro and 8 per cent of the voters are Negro.

Only Texas has a larger percentage of Negro voters (14.9) than Negro residents (12 per cent). Of all the 11 states, Tennessee's figures are most nearly proportionate. Its population is 16 per cent Negro; its voters 13.3 per cent Negro.

The disparity of greatest concern to Negro leaders is found not on the state level but in the rural areas where Negroes often outnumber white residents and have little voting strength.

In Dallas County, Ala., 55 per cent of the population is Negro, but Negroes comprise only 2.3 per cent of the voters.

East Feliciana Parish, La., has about 2,600 white voters and about 120 Negro voters. The white population is the minority.

Efforts to register more Negroes as voters have been intensified in the last three years. Mass rallies at churches, door-to-door canvassing and distribution of printed material are some of the methods used.

White Volunteers

Volunteer workers from other states, often white persons, help teach reading and writing and other qualifications. They escort Negro voter registration has voting requirements is backed by some Negro groups, including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Removal of literacy tests as voting requirements is backed b some Negro groups, including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

"One man, one vote," said Worth Long, a Negro student worker for S.N.C.C. at Selma, Ala.

An example of what Negro voting power can do is provided byb Georgia's state government, which turned moderate only this year under the obvious influence of nearly 200,000 Negro voters who helped carry the election for Gov. Carl E. Sanders over a segregationist, Marvin Griffin.

The Negro vote, nearly 14 per cent of the electorate, could be decisive in Mr. Sanders' determined effort to keep Georgia in the Democratic ranks next year.

CUNNINGHAM & WALSH INC.
260 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-4900

November 27, 1963

Mr. Harold J. Gerberg
General Manager
Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau
165 Church Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Gerberg:

As your records will show, we contracted with you on November 1 to commence clipping services for us on behalf of our client, Johns-Manville. Shortly afterward I left on an extended business trip, from which I returned just the other day. On my desk I found such a pile of Burrelle envelopes containing J-M clippings that contrary to my usual practices, I was forced to take them home and spend the entire evening examining them and breaking them down into proper groupings as to products and divisions.

I would like to congratulate you on the efficient and effective way that you have moved into this assignment for us, and to thank you for the extra time and effort it must have required to do so.

Compared with other clipping services with which I have initiated work in the past, I am extremely pleased with your performance.

Sincerely,

Louis Kasdan

Louis Kasdan, Manager
Public Relations Department

LK/jl

The Virginian-Pilot
NORKOLK, VA.
D. 119,187

NOV 29 1963

Panel to Discuss Job Pros, Cons

NORFOLK — A panel discussion on "Employment in Norfolk: Opportunities and Obstacles" will be part of the monthly meeting of the Norfolk Human Relations Council, Tuesday at 8 p.m. in the Central YWCA.

The public is invited.

Representing the State of Virginia on the panel will be Gregory E. Shinert, director of the Virginia Equal Job Opportunities Bureau.

LOCAL MEN

Local representatives will be Robert E. McGlaughon, Civil Service officer here, and Dr. William P. Robinson, chairman of the Political Science Department at Virginia State College.

The panel will be moderated by Dr. Leland E. Peterson of the English Department at Old Dominion College.

The Norfolk Council is an affiliate of the Virginia Council of Human Relations which is, in turn, affiliated with the Southern Regional Council of Human Relations.

The Southern Council, an organization of white and Negro Southerners, aims for "the achievement of equal opportunity for all the South's people." The objective of the Norfolk Council is the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions here through racial cooperation.

NATION
NEW YORK, N.Y.
W. 25,103

NOV 30 1963

Silver of Ole Miss

9649

One of the splendors of a democracy is that if even a measure of freedom of inquiry and expression can be kept open, the right man will say the right thing at the right time in the right accent. In Mississippi the man is James Wesley Silver, professor of history at the University, where he has taught for twenty-seven years. The White Citizens Council of the state has labeled him "Public Enemy No. 1," an honor in itself. Last year he was further honored by election to the presidency of the Southern Historical Association — the first Mississippian so designated. When his term ended two weeks ago, Silver spoke his mind. He called Mississippi a totalitarian society that cannot tolerate freedom of inquiry or "error of opinion," and which in consequence "imposes on all its people acceptance of obedience to an official orthodoxy almost identical with the pro-slavery philosophy. . . ." *All* its people, Silver said — and that goes to the heart of the matter. The Negro has made some gains, even in Mississippi, and will make more; but the spiritual victim is the well-intentioned white man who "no longer has freedom of choice in the realm of ideas because they must first be harmonized with the orthodoxy."

It takes courage even for a Northerner to go to a state like Mississippi, speak his mind and return, his duty done. To live in Mississippi, to teach at a school that has lost more than fifty of its best teachers in the past year, and still speak one's mind — this calls for real heroism and not only moral but physical courage. When Silver ate with James Meredith on the campus, played golf with him and invited him to his home, rumors spread around Oxford that the Citizens Council was out to "get" the traitor to his race. Thereupon Silver moved his thirteen-year-old daughter to a less exposed bedroom and sat up all night with a shotgun across his knees. The Citizens Council, if it had any thought of violence, seems to have abandoned it in this case.

At least for the present. Silver is fifty-six and has nine years to go before retirement; it is scarcely likely that he will serve out his time. He would like to. "Why should I be run out of my home?" he asks. "I've contributed as much to this state as Ross Barnett." It is the understatement of the year.

How right Silver is about the closed society was revealed in *The New York Times Magazine* (November 10) in an article by Margaret Long: "A Southern Teen-Ager Speaks His Mind." Miss Long, the editor of the Southern Regional Council's magazine *New South*, went to Oxford and spoke to the students, including an eighteen-year-old named Don Barrett. Barrett seems to have been attractive in the way of a young man of good family, i.e., of the privileged class, and he had only kindly thoughts about the good "Nigras" whom he has known. But, "I feel," he said, "as do most of the white population of the South, that the Negro is inherently unequal." He cited Africa. Where the African Negroes haven't been taken over by the whites, he said, "they're still eating each other."

For the stark ignorance and crazy rationalizations of its young people, the older citizens of the Confederacy are to blame. The Negro will take care of himself; he has already emanicipated himself spiritually and he will emancipate himself economically and socially. The longest-lasting crime of the unregenerate Confederates has been committed, not against the Negro, but against their own young. If they had hated their children, they could not have given them a more terrible preparation for the world in which they must live. Whatever happens to Professor Silver, he can console himself with the thought that he not only had no part in that miscarriage of education but did all he could to prevent it.

CURRENT
NEW YORK, N. Y.
MONTHLY—CIRC. N. AVAIL.

NOV 1963

4 The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study, Robert Coles, M.D., Southern Regional Council, 25 pages. A child psychiatrist reports on the effects of integration upon selected groups of Southern white and Negro schoolchildren.

Current Reading Service

5 Final Report on 1963 Civil Rights Legislation, American Jewish Committee, 10 pages. A summary of state and municipal enactments.

6 What Our Cities Need Most: Brains, William Carpenter, ACTION, Inc., 24 pages. A plea for voluntary support of graduate education in urban planning, renewal and development.

7 Cities and Space, Resources for the Future, 4 pages. Extracts from papers delivered at a conference on the use of urban space as a resource.

8 Science, Scientists, and Politics, Center for the study of Democratic Institutions, 16 pages. Robert M. Hutchins, Scott Buchanan, Donald N. Michael, Chalmers Sherwin, James Real and Lynn White, Jr. on the role of science executives in government service. (Current, November 1963, page 61)

ELMIRA, N. Y.
TELEGRAM
SUN. 52,500

DEC 1 1963

Pace Is Slow

Few Negroes appear in the long line of Jefferson County citizens queued up at the courthouse in Birmingham, Ala., recently to register to vote. A five-year drive to increase Negro registration in 11 Southern states has added half a million Negroes to the lists but has had little effect on the ratio of Negro to white voters.

But Many Still Unregistered

Negro Voting Gains Strength

By DON MCKEE

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — More than half a million Negroes have registered as voters in 11 Southern states during the past five years but this increase, representing a 43 per cent boost, has brought scant improvement in the ratio of Negro to white voters.

An Associated Press survey shows approximately 1.7 million Negroes among the 14 million voters in this 11-state region. There were an estimated 1.2 million Negro voters in the South in 1958.

Comprising one-fifth of the region's population, Negroes represent a potentially powerful force in politics. Their leaders have been bearing down on voter registration in recent years.

The percentage of Negroes among the total number of registered voters moved up from 10 to 12 per cent in the five-year period.

These are the AP estimates:

1958—White voters 10,329,120; Negro 1,172,369.

1963—White voters 12,285,779; Negro 1,677,706.

These figures represent registration in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

While complete official data are not available for each state, the AP gathered estimates from state officials, Negro leaders, records where available and the Southern Regional Council which makes a continuing study of Negro registration.

Negro voting now is concentrating in urban areas and reflects steps toward desegregation and more liberal political attitudes on racial issues in many cities.

The 12 per cent of Negroes among total registered voters may well become decisive in some states in the presidential election if the white vote splits nearly even. The Negro vote apparently swung South Carolina to President Kennedy in 1960, for example.

The rural areas of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia remain the toughest hurdles in the Negro drive for voting rights.

The widest disparity in Negro population and voting is found in Mississippi where Negroes comprise 42 per cent of the population and 5.3 per cent of the voters.

In Alabama, 30 per cent of the population is Negro and 8 per cent of the voters are Negro.

Only Texas has a larger percentage of Negro voters (14.9) than Negro residents (12 per cent). Of all the 11 states, Tennessee's figures are most nearly proportionate. Its population is 16 per cent Negro; its voters 13.3 per cent Negro.

In Texas, intensive "pay your poll tax" campaigns by Negro groups in recent years have resulted in the higher percentage of the Negro population quafilying as voters.

The disparity of greatest concern to Negro leaders is found not on the state level but in the rural areas where Negroes often outnumber white residents and have little voting strength.

In Dallas County, Alabama, 55 per cent of the population is Negro, but Negroes comprise only 2.3 per cent of the voters.

East Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, has about 2,600 white voters and about 120 Negro voters. The white population is the minority.

Efforts to register more Negroes as voters have been intensified in the past three years. Mass rallies at churches, door-to-door canvassing and distribution of printed material are some of the methods used.

Volunteer workers from other states, often white persons, help teach reading and writing and other qualifications. They escort Negroes to the registrar's office.

Federal action in the field of Negro voter registration has not approached the demands of Negro leaders.

Removal of literacy tests as voting requirement 1 backed by some Negro groups, including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

"One man, one vote," said Worth Long, a Negro student worker for SNCC at Selma, Ala.

An example of what Negro voting power can do is provided by Georgia's state government, which turned moderate only this year under the obvious influence of nearly 200,000 Negro voters who helped carry the election for Gov. Carl E. Sanders over segregationist Marvin Griffin.

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EXPRESS and NEWS
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS
SAT. 107,787 SUN. 111,361

DEC 1 1963

PACE IS SLOW, NEGRO-WHITE REGISTRATION RATIO GAP IS WIDE
. . . few Negroes appear in long line of Birmingham, Ala., citizens queued up at courthouse to register

Negro Drive To Add Votes Has Small Effect on Ratio

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Negro Voting Record in Southern States

STATE	PER CENT NEGRO POPULATION	TOTAL VOTERS	NEGRO VOTERS	PER CENT NEGRO
Alabama	29.9	1,014,368	84,368	8
Arkansas	21.7	633,665	75,000	11.8
Florida	17	1,919,801	218,000	11.4
Georgia	28	1,402,000	192,075	13.7
Louisiana	30	1,125,614	153,655	13.7
Mississippi	42	525,000	28,000	5.3
North Carolina	24	2,090,270	217,816	10.4
South Carolina	34	700,000	100,000	14.3
Tennessee	16	1,500,000	200,000	13.3
Texas	12	2,020,183	300,000	14.9
Virginia	20	1,032,584	108,792	10.5
TOTALS	22.6	13,963,485	1,677,706	12

THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
D. 129,288 S. 208,237

DEC 1 1963

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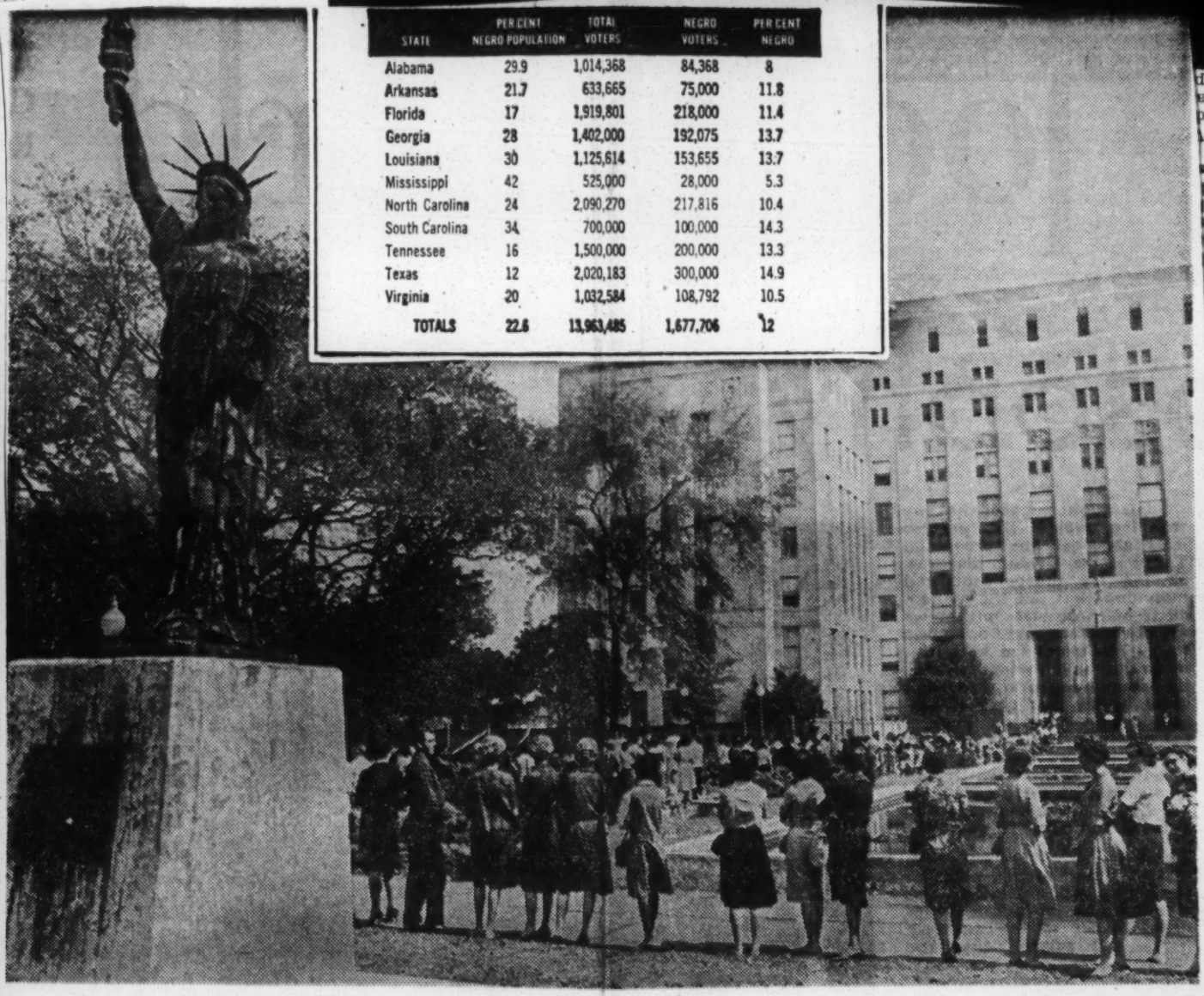
Mississippi	42	525,000	28,000	5.3
North Carolina	24	2,090,270	217,816	10.4
South Carolina	34	700,000	100,000	14.3
Tennessee	16	1,500,000	200,000	13.3
Texas	12	2,020,183	300,000	14.9
Virginia	20	1,032,584	108,792	10.5
TOTALS	22.6	13,963,485	1,677,706	12



—AP Newsfeatures photo

BIRMINGHAM—Few Negroes appear in the long line of Jefferson County citizens queued up at the Alabama courthouse recently to register to vote—despite the foreground copy of the famous statue. Chart inset shows how far Negroes have to go.

Negro Dixie Vote Drive Still Short of Real Gain

—AP Newsfeatures photo

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Negro Dixie Vote Drive Still Short of Real Gain

By DON McKEE

ATLANTA — More than half a million Negroes have registered as voters in 11 Southern states during the past five years but this increase, representing a 43 per cent boost, has brought scant improvement in the ratio of Negro to white voters.

An Associated Press survey shows approximately 1.7 million Negroes among the 14 million voters in this 11-state region. There were an estimated 1.2 million Negro voters in the South in 1958.

Comprising one-fifth of the region's population, Negroes represent a potentially powerful force in politics. Their leaders have been bearing down on voter registration in recent years.

The percentage of Negroes among the total number of registered voters moved up from 10 to 12 per cent in the five-year period.

These are the AP estimates:

- 1958—white voters 10,329,-120; Negro 1,172,369.
- 1963—white voters 12,285,-779; Negro 1,677,706.

These figures represent registration in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Urban Concentration

While complete official data are not available for each state, the AP gathered estimates from state officials, Negro leaders, records where available and the Southern Regional Council which makes a continuing study of Negro registration.

Negro voting now is concentrating in urban areas and reflects steps toward desegregation and more liberal political attitudes on racial issues in many cities.

The 12 per cent of Negroes among total registered voters may well become decisive in some states in the Presidential election if the white vote splits nearly even. The Negro vote apparently swung South Carolina to President Kennedy in 1960, for example.

The rural areas of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia remain the toughest hurdles in the Negro drive for voting rights.

Widest Disparity

The widest disparity in Negro population and voting is found in Mississippi where Negroes comprise 42 per cent of the population and 5.3 per cent of the voters.

In Alabama, 30 per cent of the population is Negro and 8 per cent of the voters are Negro.

Only Texas has a larger percentage of Negro voters (14.9) than Negro residents (12 per cent). Of all the 11 states, Tennessee's figures are most nearly proportionate. Its population is 16 per cent Negro; its voters 13.3 per cent Negro.

The disparity of greatest concern to Negro leaders is found not on the state level but in the rural areas where Negroes often outnumber white residents and have litle votin gstrength.

In Dallas County, Alabama, 55 per cent of the population is Negro, but Negroes comprise only 2.3 per cent of the voters.

Negro Majority

East Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, has about 2,600 white voters and about 120 Negroe voters. The white population is the minority.

Efforts to register more Negroes as voters have been intensified in the past three years. Mass rallies at churches, door-to-door canvassing and distribution of printed material are some of the methods used.

Volunteer workers from other states, often white persons, help teach reading and writing and other qualifications. They escort Negroes to the registrar's office.

Federal Action

Federal action in the field of Negro voter registration have not approached the demands of Negro leaders.

Removal of literacy tests as voting requirements is backed by some Negro groups, including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

"One man, one vote," said Worth Long, a Negro student worker for SNCC at Selma, Ala.

An example of what Negro voting power can do is provided by Georgia's state government, which turned moderate only this year under the obvious influence of nearly 200,000 Negro voters who helped carry the election for Gov. Carl E. Sanders over segregationist Marvin Griffin.

The Negro vote, nearly 14 per cent of the electorate, could be decisive in Sanders' determined effort to keep Georgia in the Democratic ranks next year.

Herald American
SYRACUSE, N. Y.
SUN. 210,836

DEC 1 1963

43 Per Cent More Negroes Register to Vo

By DON MCKEE

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — More than half a million Negroes have registered as voters in 11 Southern states during the past five years but this increase, representing a 43 per cent boost, has brought scant improvement in the ratio of Negro to white voters.

An Associated Press survey shows approximately 1.7 million Negroes among the 14 million voters in this 11-state region. There were an estimated 1.2 million Negro voters in the South in 1958.

Comprising one-fifth of the region's population, Negroes represent a potentially powerful force in politics. Their leaders have been bearing down on voter registration in recent years.

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While complete official data are not avaiable for each state, the AP gathered estimates from state officiaisl, Negro leaders, records where available and the Southern Regional Council which makes a continuing study of Negro registration.

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The rural areas of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia remain the toughest hurldes in the Negro drive for voting rights.

The widest disparity in Negro population and voting is found in Mississippi where Negroes comprise 42 per cent of the population and 5.3 per cent of the voters.

In Alabama, 30 per cent of the population is Negro and 8 per cent of the voters are Negro.

Only Texas has a larger percentage of Negro voters (14.9) than Negro residents (12 per cent). Of all the 11 states, Tennessee's figures are most nearly proportionate. Its populatio is 16 per cent Negro; its voters 13.3 per cent Negro.

In Texas, intensive "pay your poll tax" campaigns by Negro groups in recent years have resulted in the higher percentage of the Negro population qualifying as voters.

The disparity of greatest concern to Negro leaders is found not on the state level but in the rural areas where Negroes often outnumber white residents and have little voting strength.

In Dallas County, Alabama, 55 per cent of the population is Negro, but Negroes comprise only 2.3 per cent of the voters.

East Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, has about 2,600 white voters and about 120 Negro voters. The white population is the minority.

Register to Vote in 11 States in Last 5 Years

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Volunteer workers from other states, often white persons, help teach reading and writing and other qualifications. They escort Negroes to the registrar's office.

Federal action the field of Negro voter registration has not approached the demands of Negro leaders.

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"One man, one vote," said Worth Long, a Negro student worker for SNCC at Selma, Ala.

An example of what Negro voting power can do is provided by Georgia's state government, which turned moderate only this year under the obvious influence of nearly 200,000 Negro voters who helped carry the election for Gov. Carl E. Sanders over segregationist Marvin Griffin.

The Negro vote, nearly 14 per cent of the electorate, could be decisive in Sanders' determined effort to keep Georgia in the Democratic ranks next year.

SAVANNAH, GA.
NEWS
D. 55,202 S. 60,313
DEC 1 1963

Throughout the South

Negro Voting Lists Show Healthy Rise

ATLANTA (AP) — More than half a million Negroes have registered as voters in 11 Southern states during the past five years but this increase, representing a 43 per cent boost, has brought scant improvement in the ratio of Negro to white voters.

An Associated Press survey shows approximately 1.7 million Negroes among the 14 million voters in this 11-state region. There were an estimated 1.2 million Negro voters in the South in 1958.

Comprising one-fifth of the region's population, Negroes represent a potentially powerful force in politics. Their leaders have been bearing down on voter registration in recent years.

The percentage of Negroes among the total number of registered voters moved up from 10 to 12 per cent in the five-year period.

These are the AP estimates:

1958—White voters 1,329,120; Negro 1,172,369.

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Eleven States

These figures represent registration in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississppi, North Carolina, South Carolna, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

While complete official data are not avaiable for each state, the AP gathered estimates from state officials, Negro leaders, records where available and the Southern Regional Council which makes a continuing study of Negro registration.

Negro voting now is concentrating in urban areas and reflects steps toward desegregation and more liberal political attitudes on racial issues in many cities.

The 12 per cent of Negroes among total registered voters may well become decisive in some states in the presidential election if the white vote splits nearly even. The Negro vote apparently swung South Carolna to President Kennedy in 1960, for example.

The rural areas of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia remain the toughest hurdles in the Negro drive for voting rights.

The widest disparity in Negro population and voting is found in Missssippi where Negroes comprise 42 per cent of the population and 5.3 per cent of the voters.

In Alabama, 30 per cent of the population is Negro and 8 per cent of the voters are Negro.

Only Texas Larger

Only Texas has a larger percentage of Negro voters (14.9) than Negro residents (12 per cent). Of all the 11 states, Tennessee's figures are most nearly proportionate. Its population is 16 per cent Negro; its voters 13.3 per cent Negro.

The disparity of greatest concern to Negro leaders is found not on the state level but in the rural areas where Negroes often outnumber white residents and have little voting strength.

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ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD (N)
D. 29,800
DEC 1 1963

Dunbar Speaks At A. U. Town Hall

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, will participate in the Atlanta University Town Meeting panel, "The Changing Mind of the South," on Thursday, December 5, at 8:00 p. m. in Dean Sage Auditorium. His partner in the discussion will be Mr. James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Town Meeting are sponsored by the Department of Political Science of Atlanta University and are moderated by Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook, chairman of the Department. The public is invited to attend.

Dr. Dunbar, a former Guggenheim Fellow, obtained his doctoral degree in political science from Cornell University. He taught at Mount Holyoke College and Emory University and worked for a time with the Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. Forman is a graduate of Roosevelt University and has done advanced study at Boston University. A short time ago, he received the Alumni Award from Roosevelt University. He has been active in the student movement since 1961.

RIVERSIDE, CALIF.
ENTERPRISE
D. 26,649

DEC 1 1963

Southern Negro voting ratio

By DON McKEE

ATLANTA (AP) — More than half a million Negroes have registered as voters in 11 Southern states during the past five years but this increase, representing a 43 per cent boost, has brought scant improvement in the ratio of Negro to white voters.

An Associated Press survey shows approximately 1.7 million Negroes among the 14 million voters in this 11-state region. There were an estimated 1.2 million Negro voters in the South in 1958.

Comprising one-fifth of the region's population, Negroes represent a potentially powerful force in politics. Their leaders have been bearing down on voter registration in recent years.

THE PERCENTAGE of Negroes among the total number of registered voters moved up from 10 to 12 per cent in the five-year period.

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WHILE complete official data are not available for each state, the AP gathered estimates from state officials, Negro leaders, records where available and the Southern Regional Council which makes a continuing study of Negro registration.

Negro voting now is concentrating in urban areas and reflects steps toward desegregation and more liberal political attitudes on racial issues in many cities.

The 12 per cent of Negroes among total registered voters may well become decisive in some states in the presidential election if the white vote splits nearly even. The Negro vote apparently swung South Carolina to President Kennedy in 1960, for example.

THE RURAL areas of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia remain the toughest hurdles in the Negro drive for voting rights.

The widest disparity in Negro population and voting is found in Mississippi where Negroes comprise 42 per cent of the population and 5.3 per cent of the voters.

In Alabama, 30 per cent of the population is Negro and 8 per cent of the voters are Negro.

Only Texas has a larger percentage of Negro voters (14.9) than Negro residents (12 per cent). Of all the 1 states, Tennessee's figures are most nearly proportionate. Its population is 16 per cent Negro; its voters 13.3 per cent Negro.

THE DISPARITY of greatest concern to Negro leaders is found not on the state level but in the rural areas where Negroes often outnumber white residents and have little voting strength.

In Dallas County, Alabama, 55 per cent of the population is Negro, but Negroes comprise only 2.3 per cent of the voters.

East Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, has about 2,600 white voters and about 120 Negro voters. The white population is the minority.

Efforts to register more Negroes as voters have been inetnsified in the past three years. Mass rallies at churches, door - to - door canvassing and distribution of printed material are some of the methods used.

VOLUNTEER workers from other states, often white persons, help teach reading and writing and other qualifications. They escort Negroes to the registrar's office.

Federal actions in the field of Negro voter registration have not approached the demands of Negro leaders.

Removal of literacy tests as voting requirements is backed by some Negro groups, including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

"One man, one vote," said Worth Long, a Negro student worker for SNCC at Selma, Ala.

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The Negro vote, nearly 14 per cent of the electorate, could be decisive in Sanders' determined effort to keep Georgia in the Democratic ranks next year.

(AP Newsfeatures Photo)

THE PACE IS SLOW — Few Negroes appear in the long line of Jefferson County citizens queued up at the courthouse in Birmingham, Ala., recently to register to vote. Liberty's lamp is held high, in a copy of the famous statue, but her back is turned toward the line.

The Christian Science Monitor
BOSTON, MASS.
WESTERN EDITION
D. 174,850

DEC 2 1963

Negro Vote Drives In South Assessed

By the Associated Press

Atlanta

More than half a million Negroes have registered as voters in 11 Southern states during the past five years but this increase, representing a 43 percent boost, has brought scant improvement in the ratio of Negro to white voters.

A survey shows approximately 1.7 million Negroes among the 14 million voters in this 11-state region. There were an estimated 1.2 million Negro voters in the South in 1958.

Comprising one-fifth of the region's population, Negroes represent a potentially powerful force in politics. Their leaders have been bearing down on voter registration in recent years.

The percentage of Negroes among the total number of registered voters moved up from 10 to 12 percent in the five-year period.

These are the survey's estimates:

1958—white voters 10,329,-120; Negro 1,172,369.

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States Checked

These figures represent registration in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

While complete official data are not available for each state, the survey gathered estimates from state officials, Negro leaders, records where available, and the Southern Regional Council, which makes a continuing study of Nergo registration.

Negro voting now is concentrating in urban areas and reflects steps toward desegregation and more liberal political attitudes on racial issues in many cities.

Decisive Role Seen

The 12 percent of Negroes among total registered voters may well become decisive in some states in the presidential election if the white vote splits nearly evenly. The Negro vote apparently swung South Carolina to President Kennedy in 1960, for example.

The rural areas of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Georgia remain the toughest hurdles in the Negro drive for voting rights.

The widest disparity in Negro population and voting is found in Mississippi where Negroes comprise 42 percent of the population and 5.3 percent of the voters.

In Alabama, 30 percent of the population is Negro and 8 percent of the voters are Negro.

Only Texas has a larger percentage of Negro voters (14.9) than Negro residents (12 percent). Of all the 11 states, Tennessee's figures are most nearly proportionate. Its population is 16 percent Negro; its voters 13.3 percent Negro.

Campaigns Waged

In Texas, intensive "pay your poll tax" campaigns by Negro groups in recent years have resulted in the higher percentage of the Negro population qualifying as voters.

The disparity of greatest concern to Negro leaders is found not on the state level but in the rural areas where Negroes often outnumber white residents and have little voting strength.

In Dallas County, Ala., 55 percent of the population is Negro, but Negroes comprise only 2.3 percent of the voters.

HUDSON, N.Y.
REGISTER STAR
D. 8,659

DEC 3 1963

Negro Vote Rise Doesn't Aid Percentage

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The rural areas of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia remain the toughest

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In Texas, intensive "pay your poll tax" campaigns by Negro groups in recent years have resulted in the higher percentage of the Negro population qualifying as voters.

Efforts to register more Negroes as voters have been intensified in the past three years. Mass rallies at churches, door-to-door canvassing and distribution of printed material are some of the methods used.

Volunteer workers from other states, often white persons, help teach reading and writing and other qualifications. They escort Negroes to the registrar's office.

Federal action in the field of Negro voter registration has not approached the demands of Negro leaders.

Removal of literacy tests as voting requirements is backed by some Negro groups, including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

ROCKY MOUNT, N.C.
TELEGRAM
D 15,177 S. 15,240

DEC 5 1963

South's Registered Negroes Increase Slightly

By DON MCKEE

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — More than half a million Negroes have registered as voters in 11 Southern states during the past five years but this increase, representing a 43 per cent boost, has brought scant improvement in the ratio of Negro to white voters.

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Voting Strength Weak

The disparity of greatest concern to Negro leaders is found not on the state level but in the rural areas where Negroes often outnumber white residents and have little voting strength.

In Dallas County, Alabama, 55 per cent of the population is Negro, but Negroes comprise only 2.3 per cent of the voters.

East Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, has about 2,600 white voters and about 120 Negro voters. The white population is the minority.

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Volunteers Help

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"One man, one vote," said Worth Long, a Negro student worker for SNCC at Selma, Ala.

Negroes Carry Election

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The Negro vote, nearly 14 per cent of the electorate, could be decisive in Sanders' determined effort to keep Georgia in the Democratic ranks next year.

Few Negroes Appear To Register In Jefferson County Courthouse In Birmingham

Negro Voting In South

State	Per Cent Negro Population	Total Voters	Negro Voters	Per Cent Negro
Ala.	29.9	1,014,368	84,368	8.0
Ark.	21.7	633,665	75,000	11.8
Fla.	17.0	1,919,801	218,000	11.4
Ga.	28.0	1,402,000	192,075	13.7
La.	30.0	1,125,614	153,655	13.7
Miss.	42.0	525,000	28,000	5.3
N.C.	24.0	2,090,270	217,816	10.4
S.C.	34.0	700,000	100,000	14.3
Tenn.	16.0	1,500,000	200,000	13.3
Tex.	12.0	2,020,183	300,000	14.9
Va.	20.0	1,032,584	108,792	10.5
TOTALS	22.6	13,963,485	1,677,706	12.0

RICHMOND, VA.
NEWS LEADER
D. 120,884

DEC 6 1963

IN SESSION HERE

Human Relations Unit President Re-elected

Dr. Aubrey N. Brown Jr. of Richmond, editor of the Presbyterian Outlook, today was re-elected president of the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

The council is holding its annual meeting at the Union Theological Seminary here. Twenty-two local councils are represented in the state organization.

(Colonial Studio)
DR. AUBREY N. BROWN JR.

Also re-elected at an afternoon meeting of the board of directors were:

W. R. Walker Jr. of Hampton, first vice president; Dr. G. Gordon Moss dean of Longwood College, Farmville, Dr. E. B. Henderson of Fairfax and the Rt. Rev. William H. Marmion of Roanoke, bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Southwestern Virginia, vice presidents; Dr. J. Rupert Picott, executive secretary of the Virginia Teachers Association, treasurer, and Dr. Harry Roberts of Petersburg, secretary.

ELECTED TO 3-YEAR TERM

Eleven persons were elected new members of the board for three-year terms. They are:

The Rev. Chester T. Ashby of White Stone, Dr. C. Clyde Carter of Fredericksburg, Dr. C. Lawson Crowe of Sweet Briar, Mrs. Isabella Fey and John H. Robertson of Norfolk, Henry Caravati and Lawrence W. Wilder of Richmond, the Rev. Curtis Harris and Dr. Sam M. Moffett of Hopewell, Robert C. Hueston of Harrisonburg and Mrs. E. A. Smythe of Blacksburg.

John A. Lapp of the Eastern Mennonite College at Harrisonburg and the Rev. Chris Rigby of Franklin were elected for two-year terms.

14 RE-ELECTED TO BOARD

Fourteen other persons were re-elected to the board.

The council members will hear two speakers at tonight's program: Paul Anthony, field director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, and the Rev. L. Francis Griffin, a Farmville minister who is president of the Virginia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Greensboro Record
GREENSBORO, N. C.
D. 31,743

DEC 6 1963

Headquarters Set For Voter Drive

Workers in the voter registration campaign being conducted by Greensboro branch of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will have headquarters at 714 Gorrell St. between 2 and 6 p.m. tomorrow, Dr. George C. Simkins, president of the branch, said today.

The drive, in its third week, is being carried out under a $1,500 grant from the voter education project of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta. Dr. Simkins said that more than 300 persons have been registered to date in the drive.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
For 95 Years the South's Standard Newspaper
D. 202,635

DEC 6 1963

'60 Sit-Ins Seen Spark To Equality

By HAL GULLIVER

The white and Negro South met each other for the first time in early 1960 when the first sit-ins began in Greensboro, N.C., Dr. Leslie Dunbar said here Thursday.

Dunbar said: "Until then the Negro Southerner had a 'place.' That was the place of inferiority. That place has been rejected, and that is the great news of our time."

Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, spoke at the Atlanta University Town Meeting on "The Changing Mind of the South."

PART OF COMMUNITY

"Only with the beginning of the sit-in movement did it dawn on the white South that the Negro was part of the Southern community," Dunbar said.

Dunbar and James Foreman, executive secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, told Atlanta University students that increased Negro participation in politics is the only answer to many racial difficulties.

"The only hope we have of creating a bi-racial community at peace with itself is to open up the channel of politics," Dunbar said.

URGES NEW ORDER

Foreman said that this means "dislodging from power the Eastlands and Talmadges before a "new order" can take effect.

Foreman quoted an African politician who argued, "Seek ye first the political kingdom, and all else will be added unto you."

SNCC workers in civil rights are "going to be called Communists and radicals," Foreman said.

It's impossible to "bring social change," he continued, "unless people are willing to pay the supreme price. This is not to say we're seeking martyrdom. But segregationists think they can stop us with violence."

A HARD FACT

Dunbar, a former professor of political science, said that to be a Southerner has meant in the past "to be one of the white persons who inherited a certain position in relation to Negroes."

PRYOR, OKLA.
TIMES
D. 3,510

DEC 7 1963

Half Million Negroes Register But Voting Ratio Unchanged

By DON MCKEE

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — More than half a million Negroes have registered as voters in 11 Southern states during the past five years but this increase, representing a 43 per cent boost, has brought scant improvement in the ratio of Negro to white voters.

An Associated Press survey shows approximately 1.7 million Negroes among the 14 million voters in this 11-state region. There were an estimated 1.2 million Negro voters in the South in 1958.

Comprising one-fifth of the region's population, Negroes represent a potentially powerful force in politics. Their leaders have been bearing down on voter registration in recent years.

The percentage of Negroes among the total number of registered voters moved up from 10 to 12 per cent in the five-year period.

These are the AP estimates:

1958—White voters 10,329,120; Negro 1,172,369.

1963—White voters 12,285,779; Negro 1,677,706.

These figures represent registration in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

While complete official data are not available for each state, The AP gathered estimates from state officials, Negro leaders, records where available and the Southern Regional Council which makes a continuing study of Negro registration.

Negro voting now is concentrating in urban areas and reflects steps toward desegregation and more liberal political attitudes on racial issues in many cities.

The 12 per cent of Negroes among total registered voters may well become decisive in some states in the presidential election if the white vote splits nearly even. The Negro vote apparently swung South Carolina to President Kennedy in 1960 for example.

The rural areas of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia remain the toughest hurdles in the Negro drive for voting rights.

The widest disparity in Negro population and voting is found in Mississippi where Negroes comprise 42 per cent of the population and 5.3 per cent of the voters.

In Alabama, 30 per cent of the population is Negro and 8 per cent of the voters are Negro.

Only Texas has a larger percentage of Negro voters 14.9 than Negro residents 12 per cent. Of all the 11 states, Tennessee's figures are most nearly proportionate. Its poulation is 16 per cent Negro; its voters 13.3 per cent Negro.

In Texas, intensive "pay your poll tax" campaigns by Negro groups in recent years have resulted in the higher percentage of the Negro population qualifying as voters.

Efforts to register more Negroes as voters have been intensified in the past three years. Mass rallies at churches door-to-door canvassing and distribution of printed material are some of the methods used.

Volunteer workers from other states, often white persons, help teach reading and writing and other qualifications. They escort Negroes to the registrar's office.

Federal action in the field of Negro voter registration has not approached the demands of Negro leaders.

Removal of literacy tests as voting requirement is backed by some Negro groups, including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

politician who argued, "Seek ye first the political kingdom, and all else will be added unto you."

SNCC workers in civil rights are "going to be called Communists and radicals," Foreman said.

It's impossible to "bring social change," he continued, "unless people are willing to pay the supreme price. This is not to say we're seeking martyrdom. But segregationists think they can stop us with violence."

A HARD FACT

Dunbar, a former professor of political science, said that to be a Southerner has meant in the past "to be one of the white persons who inherited a certain position in relation to Negroes."

The fact that Negroes are Southerners too has been a hard fact for many white Southerners to grasp, he said.

The "tremendous rate of change" in the South has exerted more pressure on many people than they can stand, Dunbar said.

"The world is crowding in on us," he continued. "Some people cannot change. We shall see in our time social wreckage and human wreckage in the South."

CITES TOLERANCE

In the past, Dunbar said, the white Southerner has tended to be completely intolerant of "anything that challenged his racial superiority."

At the same time, Dunbar continued, the white Southerner has been extremely tolerant in other ways, "tolerant of human weakness and human frailty."

The rapid change in the South's racial pattern means, he continued, that "we stand to lose some things."

It is not at all certain, he said, that the elimination of racial intolerance can be done in such a way so that the "tolerance of the whole man can be preserved."

The speakers were introduced by Dr. Samuel D. Cook, chairman of the political science department at Atlanta University.

ASBURY PARK EVENING PRESS
ASBURY PARK, N. J.
D. 40,080 S. 39,701

DEC 8 1963

Negro Voter Registration Increase In South Scarcely I

By DON MC KEE

ATLANTA (AP)—More than half a million Negroes have registered to vote in 11 southern states during the past five years.

But this increase, a 43 per cent boost, has brought scant improvement in the ratio of Negro to white voters.

An Associated Press survey shows about 1.7 million Negroes among the 14 million voters in this 11-state region. There were an estimated 1.2 million Negro voters in the South in 1958.

Negroes, who made up one-fifth of the region's population, represent a potentially powerful force in politics. Their leaders have been bearing down on voter registration in recent years.

The percentage of Negroes among the total number of registered voters moved up from 10 to 12 per cent in the five-year period.

AP Estimates

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The rural areas of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia remain the toughest hurdles in the Negro drive for voting rights.

The widest disparity in Negro population and voting is found in Mississippi, where Negroes comprise 42 per cent of the population and 5.3 per cent of the voters.

In Alabama, 30 per cent of the population is Negro and 8 per cent of the voters are Negro.

Only Texas has a larger percentage of Negro voters (14.9) than Negro residents (12 per cent). Of all the 11 states, Tennessee's figures are most nearly proportionate. Its population is 16 per cent Negro; its voters 13.3 per cent Negro.

The disparity of greatest concern to Negro leaders is found in rural areas where Negroes often outnumber white residents and have little voting strength.

In Dallas County, Ala., 55 per cent of the population is Negro, [illegible] Negroes provide only 2.3 per cent of the voters.

East Feliciana Parish, La., has about 2,600 white voters and about 120 Negro voters. The white population is the minority.

Efforts to register more Negroes to vote have been intensified in the past three years. Mass rallies at churches, door-to-door canvassing and distribution of printed material are some of the methods used.

Volunteer workers from other states, often white persons, help teach reading and writing and other qualifications. They escort Negroes to the registrar's office.

Federal action in the field of Negro voter registration have not approached the demands of Negro leaders.

"One man, one vote," said Worth Long, a Negro student worker for SNCC at Selma, Ala.

An example of what Negro voting power can do is provided by Georgia's state government, which turned moderate only this year under the obvious influence of nearly 200,000 Negro voters who helped carry the election for Gov. Carl E. Sanders over segregationist Marvin Griffin.

The Miami Herald
MIAMI, FLA.
D. 342,056 S. 394,039

DEC 8 1963

Stronger U.S. Action Urged

Negroes Trail More in Job Field

The North Carolina Law Review has published a collection of viewpoints and reports on 'Civil Rights and the South,' dealing with the legal and social problems of America's biggest domestic issue. Here are some highlights from the work.

By DON McKEE
Associated Press Staff Writer

ATLANTA — (AP) — Negores are losing ground in employment opportunities under inadequate governmental policies, writes the executive director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

This view is expressed by John G. Feild, consultant to the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation, in "Civil Rights and the South," a book-length symposium published by the North Carolina Law Review.

Feild is among 10 contributors to the work which has an introduction by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy who emphasizes "that the struggle for civil rights is a nationwide problem."

Feild concludes that the employment predicament of the Negro is worse now than it was in 1954.

"Through miscalculation, ignorance or misplaced optimism, the impact of automation upon Negroes . . . has been allowed to reach crisis proportions," Feild writes.

Greater governmental initiative is needed, he argues.

Citing studies by the Department of Labor and the Southern Regional Council, Feild says the nature of the job market has changed drastically; production jobs have decreased and non-production jobs have soared.

★ ★ ★

Berl I. Bernhard, staff director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, reports on desegregation efforts.

"Progress continues to be slow in the South," Bernhard writes.

He says the U.S. attorney general in the past five years has brought 45 suits involving voter rights in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Tennessee and Georgia.

On public accommodations, Bernhard adds that the U.S. Supreme Court now faces "the broad question of whether the state has any right to arrest and prosecute protesters for seeking equal access to places of public accommodations."

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Laurence W. Knowles, law professor at the University of Louisville and advisor to the Civil Rights Commission, describes Southern school segregation as motivated by racial factors, whereas it results from geographical attendance areas in the North and West.

"The South keeps its Negroes out of the neighborhood schools and the North keeps its Negroes in the neighborhood schools," writes Knowles. "Both practices result in educational apartheid."

In rural areas, Knowles says, "The power structure within the Negro community does not encourage desegregation." With few exceptions, rural Negro teachers discourage integration or are noncommittal, he says.

"The reason is simple. Integration will probably mean their jobs."

Knowles says Negro teachers in urban areas are not under such pressure.

"Pupil desegregation in the South has moved with glacial speed," writes Knowles. "Teacher integration has not moved at all."

Federal courts generally have refused to face the problem of teacher integration until desegregation of pupils has been accomplished or progressed substantially, he said.

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Martin E. Sloane of the office of general counsel Housing and Home Finance Agency, reports that 19 states now maintain some form of fair housing laws. But he concludes:

"Fair housing laws have had no apparent revolutionary effect, either in terms of hampering the housing industry or bringing about truly integrated housing."

Despite the phenomenal growth of fair housing laws and direct action groups on the local level to help integration, Sloane said none of these developments has been in the South.

Arguments against federal legislation as encroachment on state rights and individual liberties are made by, among others, Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D., N.C.).

Ervin calls the proposed civil rights legislation now before Congress the work of "zealots . . . willing to trample on traditional judicial guarantees and to destroy the federal system."

An opposing view is expressed by Arthur E. Sutherland, law professor at Harvard, who says that adoption of the 14th Amendment showed "we had reached the stage where the federal government must assume a greater degree of control over local affairs."

GREENSBORO DAILY NEWS
GREENSBORO, N. C.
D. 91,284 S. 103,452

DEC 8 1963

Negroes Pictured As Losing Ground

BY DON McKEE

ATLANTA, Dec. 7 (AP) Negroes are losing ground in employment opportunities under inadequate governmental policies, writes the executive director of the President's committee on equal employment opportunity.

This view is expressed by John G. Feild, consultant to the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation, in "Civil Rights and the South," a book-length symposium published by the North Carolina Law Review.

Feild is among 10 contributors to the work which has an introduction by Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy who emphasizes "that the struggle for civil rights is a nationwide problem."

Feild concludes that the employment predicament of the Negro is worse now than it was in 1954.

"Through miscalculation, ignorance or misplaced optimism, the impact of automation upon Negroes . . . has been allowed to reach crisis proportions," Feild writes.

Greater governmental initiative is needed, he argues.

Citing studies by the Department of Labor and the Southern Regional Council, Feild says the nature of the job market has changed drastically; production jobs have decreased and non-production jobs have soared.

Berl I. Bernhard, staff director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, reports on desegregation efforts.

"Progress continues to be slow in the South," Bernhard writes.

He says the U.S. attorney general in the past five years has brought 45 units involving voter rights in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Tennessee and Georgia.

On public accommodations, Bernhard adds that the U.S. Supreme Court now faces "the broad question of whether the state has any right to arrest and prosecute protesters for seeking equal access to places of public accommodations."

Laurence W. Knowles, law professor at the University of Louisville and advisor to the civil rights commission, describes Southern school segregation as motivated by racial factors, whereas it results from geographical attendance areas in the North and West.

"The South keeps its Negroes out of the neighborhood schools and the North keeps its Negroes in the neighborhood schools," writes Knowles. "Both practices result in educational apartheid."

In rural areas, Knowles says, "The power structure within the Negro community does not encourage desegregation." With few exceptions, rural Negro teachers discourage integration or are noncommittal, he says.

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Knowles says Negro teachers in urban areas are not under such pressure.

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An opposing view is expressed by Arthur E. Sutherland, law professor at Harvard, who says that adoption of the 14th amendment showed "we had reached the stage where the federal government must assume a greater degree of control over local affairs."

Sutherland concludes the federal government has inclusive control over the national economy in interstate commerce laws—extending beyond control of goods and available "to correct injustice to the Negro."

LYNCHBURG, VA.
NEWS
D. 17,842 S. 28,436

DEC 8 1963

WORSE THAN 1954

Negro Losing Ground In Employment Field

EDITOR'S NOTE—The North Carolina Law Review has published a collection of viewpoints and reports on "Civil Rights and the South, dealing with the legal and social problems of America's biggest domestic issue. Here are some highlights from the work.

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Feild is among 10 contributors to the work which has an introduction by Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy who emphasizes "that the struggle for civil rights is a nationwide problem."

Worse Than 1954

Feild concludes that the employment predicament of the Negro is worse now than it was in 1954.

"Through miscalculation, ignorance or misplaced optimism, the impact of automation upon Negroes" has "been allowed to reach crisis proportions," Feild writes.

Greater governmental initiative is needed, he argues.

Citing studies by the Department of Labor and the Southern Regional Council, Feild says the nature of the job market has changed drastically; production jobs have decreased and nonproduction jobs have soared.

Berl I. Bernhard, staff director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, reports on desegregation efforts.

"Progress continues to be slow in the South," Bernhard writes.

45 Suits

He says the U.S. attorney general in the past five years has brought 45 suits involving voter rights in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Tennessee and Georgia.

On public accommodations, Bernhard adds that the U.S. Supreme Court now faces "the broad question of whether the state has any right to arrest and prosecute protesters for seeking equal access to places of public accommodations."

Laurence W. Knowles, law professor at the University of Louisville and advisor to the Civil Rights Commission, describes Southern school segregation as motivated by racial factors, whereas it results from geographical attendance areas in the North and West.

"The South keeps its Negroes out of the neighborhood schools and the North keeps its Negroes in the neighborhood schools," writes Knowles. "Both practices result in educational apartheid."

Rural Areas

In rural areas, Knowles says, "the power structure within the Negro community does not encourage desegregation." With few exceptions, rural Negro teachers discourage integration or are noncommittal, he says.

"The reason is simple. Integration will probably mean their jobs."

Knowles says Negro teachers in urban areas are not under such pressure.

"Pupil desegregation in the South has moved with glacial speed," writes Knowles. "Teacher integration has not moved at all."

Federal courts generally have refused to face the problem of teacher integration until desegregation of pupils has been accomplished or progressed substantially, he said.

Martin E. Sloane of the Office of General Counsel, Housing and Home Finance Agency, reports that 19 states now maintain some form of fair housing laws.

But he concludes: "Fair housing laws have had no apparent revolutionary effect, either in terms of hampering the housing industry or bringing about truly integrated housing."

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Ervin calls the proposed civil rights legislation now before Congress the work of "zealots . . . willing to trample on traditional judicial guarantees and to destroy the federal system."

An opposing view is expressed by Arthur E. Sutherland, law professor at Harvard, who says that adoption of the 14th Amendment showed "we had reached the stage where the federal governent must assume a greater degree of control over local affairs."

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Minneapolis Tribune
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN,
D. 218,345 S. 654,561

DEC. 8 1963

Negroes Said Losing Ground in Job Picture

By DON McKEE

ATLANTA, Ga.—(AP)—Negroes are losing ground in employment opportunities under inadequate governmental policies, writes the executive director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

This view is expressed by John G. Field, consultant to the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation, in "Civil Rights and the South," a book-length symposium published by the North Carolina Law Review.

Field is among 10 contributors to the work which has an introduction by Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, who emphasizes "that the struggle for civil rights is a nationwide problem."

FIELD CONCLUDES that the employment predicament of the Negro is worse now than it was in 1954.

"Through miscalculation, ignorance or misplaced optimism, the impact of automation upon Negroes . . . has been allowed to reach crisis proportions," Field writes.

Greater governmental initiative is needed, he argues.

Citing studies by the Department of Labor and the Southern Regional Council, Field says the nature of the job market has changed drastically; production jobs have decreased and nonproduction jobs have soared.

BERL I. BERNHARD, staff director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, reports on desegregation efforts.

"Progress continues to be slow in the South," Bernhard writes.

He says the U.S. attorney general in the past five years has brought 45 suits involving voter rights in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Tennessee and Georgia.

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Knowles says Negro teachers in urban areas are not under such pressure.

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Federal courts generally have refused to face the problem of teacher integration until desegregation of pupils has been accomplished or progressed substantially, he said.

The Providence Journal
PROVIDENCE, R. I.
D. 61,299 S. 193,108

DEC 8 1963

Negro Job Problem Said to Get Worse

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Mr. Feild is among 10 contributors to the work, which has an introduction by Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, who emphasizes "that the struggle for civil rights is a nationwide problem."

Mr. Feild concludes that the employment predicament of the Negro is worse now than it was in 1954.

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On public accommodations, Mr. Bernhard adds that the U.S. Supreme Court now faces "the broad question of whether the state has any right to arrest and prosecute protesters for seeking equal access to places of public accommodations."

Laurence W. Knowles, law professor at the University of Louisville and adviser to the Civil Rights Commission, describes southern school segregation as motivated by racial factors, whereas it results from geographical attendance areas in the North and West.

"The South keeps its Negroes out of the neighborhood schools and the North keeps its Negroes in the neighborhood schools," writes Professor Knowles. "Both practices result in educational apartheid."

In rural areas, he says, "the power structure within the Negro community does not encourage desegregation." With few exceptions, rural Negro teachers discourage integration or are noncommittal, he says.

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Senator Ervin calls the proposed rights legislation now before Congress the work of "zealots willing to trample on traditional judicial guarantees and to destroy the federal system."

An opposing view is expressed by Arthur E. Sutherland, law professor at Harvard, who says that adoption of the 14th Amendment showed "we had reached the stage where the federal government must assume a greater degree of control over local affairs."

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA.
NEWS SUN-SENTINEL
SAT. & SUN. 73,912

DEC 8 1963

Study Shows Negroes Losing Ground I

The Associated Press

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Feild concludes that the employment predicament of the Negro is worse now than it was in 1954.

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Knowles says Negro teachers in urban areas are not under such pressure.

"Public desegregation in the South has moved with gla speed," Knowles writes. "Tea er integration has not mo at all."

Chicago's AMERICAN
Always On Top Of The News
D. 444,559 S. 554,928

DEC 8 1963

Negroes Losing Ground on Jobs

BY DON McKEE

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Worse Today

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"Progress continues to be slow in the south."

He says the attorney general in the last five years has brought 45 suits involving voter rights in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Tennessee, and Georgia.

On public accommodations, Bernhard adds that the Supreme court now faces "the broad question of whether the state has any right to arrest and prosecute protesters for seeking equal access to places of public accommodations."

Compares South, North

Laurence W. Knowles, law professor in the University of Louisville and adviser to the Civil Rights commission, describes southern school segregation as motivated by racial factors, whereas it results from geographical attendance areas in the north and west.

"The south keeps its Negroes out of the neighborhood schools and the north keeps its Negroes in the neighborhood schools," writes Knowles. "Both practices result in educational apartheid."

In rural areas, Knowles says, "the power structure within the Negro community does not encourage desegregation." With few exceptions, rural Negro teachers discourage integration or are noncommittal, he says.

Fear Job Loss

"The reason is simple. Integration probably will mean their jobs."

Knowles says Negro teachers in urban areas are not under such pressure.

Federal courts generally have refused to face the problem of teacher integration until desegregation of pupils has been accomplished or progressed substantially, he said.

Martin E. Sloane of the office of general counsel, housing and home finance agency, reports that 19 states now maintain some form of fair housing laws. But he concludes:

"Fair housing laws have had no apparent revolutionary effect, either in terms of hampering the housing industry or bringing about truly integrated housing."

Despite the phenomenal growth of fair housing laws and direct action groups on the local level to help integration, Sloane said none of these developments has been in the south.

Work of Zealots

Arguments against federal legislation as encroachment on state rights and individual liberties are made by, among others, Sen. Sam J. Ervin [D., S. C.].

Ervin calls the proposed civil rights legislation now before Congress the work of "zealots . . . willing to trample on traditional guarantees and to destroy the federal system."

An opposing view is expressed by Arthur E. Sutherland, law professor in Harvard, who says that adoption of the 14th amendment showed "we had reached the stage where the federal government must assume a greater degree of control over local affairs."

Los Angeles Times
LARGEST CIRCULATION IN THE WEST
D. 772,439 S. 1,120,153

DEC 8 1963

Negroes Lose Ground on Jobs, Report Says

Impact of Automation Hits Them Hardest as Production Posts Decline, Study Shows

ATLANTA (AP) — Negroes are losing ground in employment opportunities under inadequate governmental policies, writes the executive director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

This view is expressed by John G. Feild, consultant to the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation, in "Civil Rights and the South," a book-length symposium published by the North Carolina Law Review.

Feilds is among 10 contributors to the work, which has an introduction by Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy, who emphasizes "that the struggle for civil rights is a nationwide problem."

Feild concludes that the employment predicament of the Negro is worse now than it was in 1954.

Crisis Seen

"Through miscalculation, ignorance or misplaced optimism, the impact of automation upon Negroes. . .has been allowed to reach crisis proportions," Feild writes.

Greater governmental initiative is needed, he argues.

Citing studies by the Department of Labor and the Southern Regional Council, Feild says the nature of the job market has changed drastically; production jobs have decreased and non-production jobs have soared.

Berl I. Bernhard, staff director on the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, reports on desegregation efforts.

"Progress continues to be slow in the South," Bernhard writes.

45 Vote Suits Filed

He says the U.S. attorney general in the past five years has brought 45 suits involving voter rights in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Tennessee and Georgia.

On public accommodations, Bernhard adds that the U. S. Supreme Court now faces "the broad question of whether the state has any right to arrest and prosecute protesters for seeking equal access to places of public accommodations."

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Apartheid Results

"The South keeps its Negroes out of the neighborhood schools and the North keeps its Negroes in the neighborhood schools," writes Knowles. "Both practices result in educational apartheid."

In rural areas, Knowles says, "the power structure within the Negro community does not encourage desegregation." With few exceptions, rural Negro teachers discourage integration or are non-committal, he says.

"The reason is simple. Integration will probably mean their jobs."

Knowles says Negro teachers in urban areas are not under such pressure.

"Pupil desegregation in the South has moved with glacial speed," writes Knowles. "Teacher integration has not moved at all."

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States Rights Issue

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Ervin calls the proposed civil rights legislation now before Congress the work of "zealots . . . willing to trample on traditional judicial guarantees and to destroy the federal system."

An opposing view is expressed by Arthur E. Sutherland, law professor at Harvard, who says that adoption of the 14th Amendment showed "we had reached the stage where the federal government must assume a greater degree of control over local affairs."

Sutherland concludes the federal government has inclusive control over the national economy in interstate commerce laws — extending beyond control of goods and available "to correct injustice to the Negro."

BELVEDERE By Nat Greenwood

"Election bet or not, I still say it's a violation of the city leash ordinance."

HOUSTON CHRONICLE
D. 206,663 S. 243,876
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
DEC 10 1963

THE NEGRO REVOLUTION

Pledges Made to Help Johnson Push JFK Goal: Equality for All

BY AL KUETTNER
United Press International

Second of Five

"Everything's in a state of suspension," said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"He was our guy," another Negro leader said of the late President Kennedy, whose assassination threw the nation's civil rights picture into indecision.

What are the political implications of civil rights under President Johnson? The question was on the lips of thousands and Johnson himself sought in the early grieving hours of his administration to provide something of an answer.

The new President called together all the governors who could be located shortly after the President's funeral and pledged himself to take up his predecessor's fight to win congressional passage of a civil rights bill. It seemed to have been doomed for this year.

Unfinished Business

"Among President Kennedy's unfinished business is enactment of strong civil rights legislation," said the nation's Negro leaders.

Asserting that "to complete this mission would honor his memory," they pledged their support to help President Johnson achieve President Kennedy's "goal of equality for all our citizens."

From the practical political point of view, both Negro and white sides for the moment have adopted a wait-and-see attitude.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., regarded by many Negroes as the nation's No. 1 civil rights leader, expressed confidence that Johnson will follow the path charted by the late President.

No Change In Pressure

Wilkins predicted no real change in the "steady pressure toward enactment of civil rights legislation."

The Rev. Arthur B. Brazier, head of the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations in Chicago, said the civil rights drive will continue unabated.

"We are in hopes that President Johnson will carry the fight as vigorously as did President Kennely," Brazier said. "If the civil rights bill is passed, this will go a long way toward abolishing second class citizenship. If it isn't the drive by

(See BOTH, Page 12)

Both Sides Adopt Practical Wait and See Rights View

FROM PAGE 1

Negroes for equal rights will continue."

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The Chicago Negro leader feels Sen. Barry Goldwater's chances for the GOP nomination were lessened by President Kennedy's death and the likelihood that President Johnson will be the Democratic nominee next year.

In San Francisco, U.S. attorney Cecil Poole, a Negro, said:

"I don't anticipate that the country will relinquish the promises of real progress that President Kennedy symbolized. The President's inspiration and martyrdom alone will serve as a model for progress.

YOUNG FARMER KING BRAZIER WILKINS FORMAN

"After we recover from this heavy period of grief, we will go ahead. The lesson of the Kennedy administration will not be lost on Congress. Congress will move on. We will move on."

Some congressional strategists believe even that President Johnson's appearance on the scene may enhance passage of civil rights legislation because of his recognized mastery of congressional procedure.

Same Opposition

Johnson will find, however, that he has the same opposition from conservative congressmen when civil rights comes up.

Sen. Richard B. Russell, Georgia Democrat and leader of the anti-civil rights strategists, said he was "regretfully pretty sure" he and his old Senate colleague will not see eye to eye on that issue.

Almost any way you look at it—from the North, South, Middle West or Far West—the drive by Negroes for more integrated schooling, more jobs, better housing and the use of public accommodations will be major issues in the year of election.

Just how the Democratic and Republican presidential nominees size up these issues and what they mean to do about them may be presented to a mammoth civil rights convention following the "big two."

Idea for such a convention originated with A. Phillip Randolph, elder statesman of the Negro civil rights move, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a vice president of the AFL-CIO.

No Endorsement

"The convention would neither organize a political party nor endorse a candidate," Randolph said. "We would invite the nominees to address the convention and we would issue an address to the country containing the record of each candidate on civil rights."

"The national political risk of a strong civil rights position is receiving increased attention from Democratic and Republican leaders as they eye the 1964 election," UPI correspondent William J. Eaton reported from Washington.

One administration official put it another way: "It's hurting like hell."

The late President Kennedy alienated many Southerners with his bold moves in favor of civil rights and his backing of court decisions with the Armed Forces. He sent troops to campuses of the Universities of Mississippi and Alabama to insure court-ordered integration.

Sadness Transcends Politics

But in death there seemed to be some healing of the old wounds.

"Our sadness in Alabama transcends all political considerations," said Alabama Gov. George Wallace, one of the late President's bitterest critics over civil rights. "I hope we can have unity in this country and in the world."

A UPI sampling of Negro opinion shows that many feel their main hope still lies in local Negro-white co-operation. But the White House, as exemplified by the Kennedy program, ran a close second. Negroes questioned placed little hope in a Republican administration.

Voter education drives in the South and a charged-up atmosphere engendered by civil rights field workers aroused Negroes — admittedly always somewhat apathetic about voting — to register in increasing numbers, where they can.

According to the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, almost a half million Negroes have registered since 1958 in 11 Southern states.

States showing the largest gains were: North Carolina 71,057, Florida 68,313, Texas 45,732 and South Carolina 44,080. Mississippi had an estimated increase of 7847, the smallest gain recorded.

Chicago's AMERICAN
Always On Top Of The News
D. 444,559 S. 554,928
PAG
CO
DEC 10 1963

THE RACIAL REVOLUTION

Johnson Behind Us, Negroes Believe

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

BY AL KUETTNER
United Press International

President Kennedy's assassination came at the height of a fight to win passage of his civil rights bill. In the following dispatch Negro leaders and political strategists evaluate the political aspects of civil rights following President Kennedy's death.

"Everything's in a state of suspension," said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"He was our guy," said another Negro leader of the late President Kennedy, whose assassination threw the nation's civil rights picture into indecision.

Second of a Series

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The new President called together all the governors who could be located shortly after President Kennedy's funeral and pledged himself to take up his predecessor's fight to win congressional passage of a civil rights bill. It seemed to have been doomed for this year.

"Among President Kennedy's unfinished business is the enactment of strong civil rights legislation," said the nation's Negro leaders in a statement signed by the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership.

Asserting that "to complete this mission would honor his memory," they pledged their support to help President Johnson achieve President Kennedy's "goal of equality for all our citizens."

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"It does not mean a setback," King said.

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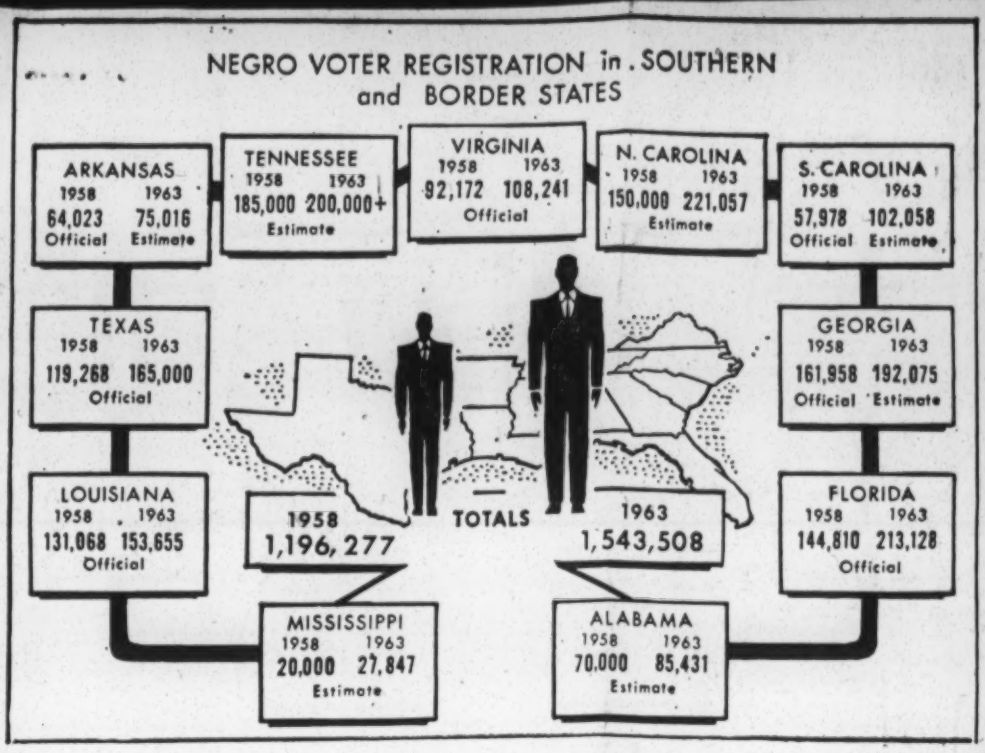
In Brazier's view, the Negro voters will be governed next year by "how vigorously President Johnson presses for Presi-

[Continued on page 6, col. 6]



'He Was Our Guy,' Say Negroes of Late President

[Continued from first page]

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Rights Major Election Factor

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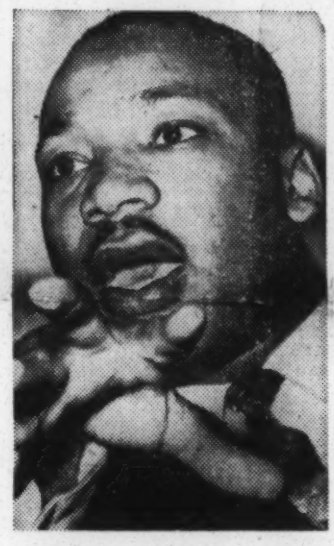

NEGRO Spokesman Martin Luther King says the death of President Kennedy "does not mean a setback" in the Negro rights struggle.

drive by Negroes for more integrated schooling, more jobs, better housing and the use of public accommodations will be major issues in the year of election.

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The idea for such a convention originated with A. Phillip Randolph, elder statesman of the Negro civil rights move, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a vice president of the AFL-CIO.

Admit Racial Vote Can Hurt

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Negro Voter Sign-Up Gains

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According to the Southern Regional council in Atlanta, almost a half million Negroes have registered to vote since 1958 in 11 southern states.

States showing the largest gains were: North Carolina 71,057, Florida 68,313, Texas 45,732, and South Carolina 44,080. Mississippi had an estimated increase of 7,847, the smallest gain recorded.

TOMORROW: Negro housing —the dilemma.

MACON, GA.
NEWS
D. 23,004

DEC 10 1963

Civil Rights Fight: the Politics of It

President Kennedy's assassination came at the height of a fight to win passage of his civil rights bill. In the following dispatch, the second of five, Negro leaders and political strategists evaluate the political aspects of civil rights following his death.

By AL KUETTNER
United Press International

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A UPI sampling of Negro opinion throughout the United States shows that many feel their main hope still lies in local Negro-white cooperation. But the White House, as exemplified by the Kennedy program, ran a close second. Negroes who were questioned placed little hope in a Republican administration.

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MORNING ADVOCATE
BATON ROUGE, LA.
D. 45,681 S. 66,530

DEC 13 1963

Politics Plays Big Role in Rights Fight

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Politics has played powerful role in the nation's civil rights movement. It has at times been apparent. Often it has been so subtle or hidden that its role has passed almost unoticed. Here are some of the shades discovered in a UPI nationwide survey, the fourth dispatch in a series.)

By NICHOLAS C. CHRISS
United Press International

One sunny January day this year Leroy R. Johnson walked into the senate chamber of the Georgia capitol and took his assigned seat. For a freshman legislator, Johnson received unusual attention. He was stared at from the moment he stepped onto the capitol grounds. There was a nervous frown on his face.

But he was seated without incident. That was the important thing. No one thought it would be otherwise.

A year ago, or two, four and six years ago, the situation would have been packed with tension, if not impossible.

This was not because Johnson wore a trim Ivy League suit and puffed on a pipe (he later switched to cigars), in a legislature packed with "country boys," or because he represented a big city (Atlanta).

In an era that faded away not long ago in Georgia, Johnson might have been tossed out on his ear if he had even ventured into the white gallery of the Senate chamber because his skin is the color of what the French call cafe au lait, milk-coffee brown.

As a state senator, Johnson is the highest elected Negro official in the South. When the six-week legislative session ended, Johnson had won the respect of his colleagues and uncounted Georgians, white and Negro.

His election from a predominately Negro slice of Atlanta represented one of the biggest tangible political gains by Negroes in Georgia and the South in almost a century. It came with the downfall of the county unit system, a system once nurtured by white politicians from rural areas.

Negroes Get Posts

Increasingly in the South, Negroes are running in elections or are being appointed to municipal and state posts.

Atlanta has had for years a Negro on the city board of education. Last summer the first Negro was appointed to the Tennessee State Board of Education. In Ocilla, Ga., a Negro ran second in a race with two white men for the City Commission. The Winston-Salem, N.C., City Commssion has had a Negro member for two years.

Like a bright red thread, politics is woven throughout the fabric of the civil rights struggle. It has accounted for gains and losses to either side. Sometimes it is in the forefront of the struggle, but more often in the background. It would take a gift of the Magi to measure the full role politics has played, but some of it has already made history.

It was 14 days before the 1960 presidential election that Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr., pregnant and worried about her husband, received a long distance telephone call at her Atlanta home from Democratic candidate John F. Kennedy.

Kennedy expressed concern for Mrs. King's husband who was serving a four-month sentence at the state prison on a charge growing out of a traffic violation.

"He wanted me to know he was thinking about us and he would do all he could to help," Mrs. King said.

Two days later the top Negro integration leader in the nation was freed on $2,000 bond and King has conceded the call swung key votes in key states to the Democrats.

Two Stand Out

During 1963 when racial violence swept across the nation like fire on the wind, two men emerged above all others as being politically motivated or oriented in the civil rights issue. The charges came most often from their opponents and the two were Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy and Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace.

Segregationists claim Kennedy used the Department of Justice to garner votes and prestige for his party and the administration of the late President John F. Kennedy.

Integrationists see Wallace as a racist who struck a pose rather than a stand when he blocked the schoolhouse door in June and temporarily barred two Negroes from the entering the University of Alabama.

Intergrationists say the attorney general did only what the reluctant die-hards in the states forced on him. Segregationists insist Wallace represented the best of the states' rights movement by standing rock-steady against federal might, while at the same time avoiding violence.

Wallace has since declared he will enter several presidential primaries, while admitting he does not conceive of himself as a serious candidate.

The assassination of President Kennedy left civil rights leaders standing on the brink of a chasm, indecisive and confused.

The immediate question confronting them was the status of the "push" their movement had received from the Kennedy administration.

The answer came within a remarkably short time. President Johnson told a group of governors he would continue the fight for passage of the civil rights bill.

The next day Negro leaders vowed their support to the new Chief Executive to accomplish Kenndy's "goal of equality for all our citizens."

Martin Luther King Jr. said Johnson had "a statesmanlike grasp of the problem and a great political sagacity. I think he will realize that civil rights is not one of several issues but is the dominant domestic issue."

Roy Wilkins, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, predicted "steady pressure toward enactment of civil rights legislation."

Across the 50 states, Negro leaders reassessed their position and put their faith in the new President.

But there were signs, too, that those who opposed the civil rights legislation were not likely to drop their guard. In Washington that wily master of congressional in-fighting, Sen. Richard B. Russell, D-Ga., said he was still a friend of Johnson's but was "pretty sure" they would disagree on the issue.

Negroes traditionally have voted Democratic since the days of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. A UPI sampling of Negro opinion in the nation showed them still to favor the Democrats by a large margin and if anything the Kennedy adinistration shored up that belief.

If the civil rights organizations can remain united — and they have been known to engage in fierce internal wrangling — they could present a serious consideration to the politicians who will have to pay more attention to civil rights planks in the 1964 presidential year, than ever before.

Negro leaders have already indicated they will demand that each party's candidate sound off loud and clear on his civil rights stand. Backing them up, they have the statistics of growing voting power by Negroes and it is nowhere more apparent than in the South.

In 11 Southern states since 1958, Negroes have piled up almost half a million new voters on registration rolls, according to the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta. The increases have ranged from 71,000 in North Carolina to 8,000 in Mississippi.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
For 95 Years the South's Standard Newspaper
D. 202,635

DEC 13 1963

Rights Panel To Boycott Biased Areas

The executive committee of the Sotuhern Regional Council has voted to hold its annual meetings only in cities where hotels and restaurants are desegregated.

The Atlanta-based civil rights research group has planned its next annual meeting in Atlanta in January.

This will be the organization's last meeting in Atlanta, however, under present conditions, Leslie Dunbar, executive director of SRC, said Wednesday.

The January meeting, originally scheduled for November, was postponed because of President John F. Kennedy's death.

There are only two hotels in Atlanta where the SRC's white and Negro members can meet, Dunbar said, and both hotels are small.

Atlanta, he said, is a decent, fair-minded city. "It's a shame the people in charge of the hospitality are behaving so rudely."

The executive committee's statement declared that it is an "indignity" to the members of the council, "both white and Negro, to meet in cities where their movement or comfort is restricted and embarrassed. . . ."

LIBRARY JOURNAL
NEW YORK, N.Y.
SEMI-MONTHLY 20,570

DEC 15 1963

Public Library Integration In Thirteen Southern States

By BERNICE LLOYD BELL

This article is drawn from the final short summary chapter of a much longer and detailed study. Mrs. Bell's study, entitled *Integration in Public Library Service in Thirteen Southern States, 1954-1962*, is a master's thesis completed at the School of Library Service, Atlanta University, in August 1963. We publish this short section here, primarily to draw attention to the complete study, which provides some of the most specific and up-to-date information on the integration of Southern public libraries now available. Copies of the complete study are available in Xerox form, at $6 each, from University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

THIS STUDY attempts to depict an over-all view of the trend toward integrated public library service in the South. The following words from the Foreword of a booklet entitled *Changing Patterns in the New South* (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1955) characterize the Southern library scene: "The South is moving — not always smoothly, but with seeming inevitability — toward an increasingly integrated society."

This statement is verified, in regard to library service, in the Table opposite. As a result of this study, examples of integrated public library service were found to exist in each of the 13 Southern states. This is a marked increase since the Gleason study was made in 1941, which reported only four states having 16 cities with integrated service from the main library.[1] It also shows a rise in the number of states and cities making available the facilities of the main library since the Parker study was made in 1953. The Parker study[2] cited 39 cities in 11 states as compared to 290 in this study.

A total of 448 questionnaires was circulated to libraries in 13 Southern states seeking data concerning public library integration. Only 269 librarians responded either by returning a questionnaire or by writing a letter to explain the local situation. Cooperation was also solicited and received from each of the state library agencies.

Six respondents said the main libraries which they directed were for white patrons only. Another five libraries which received questionnaires were not open to the public on any basis. Fourteen questionnaires were returned with the portion pertaining to service to Negroes unanswered, because no Negroes lived in those cities or towns. Two of these came from Florida, five from Kentucky, four from Oklahoma and three from Tennessee. The librarian in each of the Oklahoma towns indicated that he would offer service to Negroes if they moved into the community and requested it. One librarian in Florida and one in Kentucky voiced the same sentiment. The three librarians in Tennessee towns where Negroes do not reside made no comment regarding the policy they would adhere to if Negroes did become a part of the population.

At least one locality cited in this study has offered service to Negroes from its main library since 1901. Five other public libraries made their facilities available to Negroes prior to 1940. Fifty-seven opened their doors between the years of 1940-1954, and 46 main libraries began serving Negroes after 1955.

One hundred and twenty-four libraries revealed that they served all citizens regardless of color, but offered no specific date as to when this policy was begun. Of these 124 libraries, 39 (or 32 percent) stated that the policy was begun when the library was organized. Six librarians were not sure when the main library was desegregated.

It was discovered from the circulated questionnaires that a total of 244 libraries offered service to Negroes at the main library. The information concerning the ad-

ditional 46 integrated libraries came from state agency reports, mass media, and personal interviews.

Although the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 had no direct bearing on public library service, 17 of the responding librarians felt that the 1954 decision influenced the action to remove segregation barriers at their libraries. Another 34 library directors were not sure if the ruling had any direct influence or not. One hundred and sixteen librarians felt that it in no way influenced their decision.

According to replies received, Negroes serve on library boards in ten Southern cities. These are Augusta, Georgia; Louisville, Kentucky; Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Frogmore, South Carolina; Austin, Texas; Fort Worth, Texas; Portsmouth, Virginia. Two other cities, Fort Lauderdale and Pensacola, Florida, state that the Negroes are members of branch library boards. Three librarians express the desire to have Negroes elected to serve on boards when there are vacancies. (To this list should be added Savannah, Georgia, and Nashville, Tennessee — *see* Lj, Feb. 1, '63, p. 537 — *Ed.*)

Even though the main library in a number of cities is open to all, it is not generally known by the Negro citizen in some places that he has access to it. In five of the communities, the librarians stated that they were not sure whether Negroes know that they may use the main library or not; 15 who returned the questionnaire made no comment about this, and the remaining 181 indicated that Negro citizens were aware of the opportunity. It is interesting to note that the five librarians who said they were not sure if the Negro knew about the availability of library service from the main library admitted that they made no effort to let him know.

Twelve of the public libraries impose age restrictions on all children. The majority of the situations require that the child be six years of age before he can get a library card. Eleven additional libraries seem to impose the age restriction only on Negro children. The libraries in the following places require that the Negro child must be of school age: Delray Beach, Florida; Clarkesville, Georgia; Erlanger, Kentucky; Lindsay, Oklahoma; Elizabethtown, Tennessee; Hopewell, Virginia; and Fort Worth, Texas. Negro children residing in LaFayette, Louisiana must be in high school; those who live in Smithfield, North Carolina must be in the fifth grade; while the public library regulation at Oliver Springs, Tennessee imposes a restriction which says that the Negro must be 14 years of age before he is permitted free use of the main public library.

Many localities from which librarians responded support very meager facilities for the public, Negro and white alike. Some remain open only a few hours per week and offer few of the activities which make for full, well-rounded programs. A total of 59 libraries responding provided no story hour for children. In 36 places where the story hour was featured, the Negro child was neither invited nor welcomed. Another 36 librarians failed to comment in any way about Negro children attending story hours at the main library. However, five librarians indicated that even though the Negro child was not invited he would not be denied the privilege of attending if he did come. One library reported that its story hour is broadcast by radio.

In 15 cases the libraries felt that integrated services had not proven to be more economical than segregated services, while 49 libraries felt that it definitely was cheaper to operate on an integrated basis (24 of these 49 libraries make up the Clinch-Powell regional system, Tennessee). Another 57 reported that they had no means of comparison. Eleven of this 57 revealed that they had either not previously offered any type of service to Negroes, or that the "Negro" branches were still maintained even though Negroes had been afforded the use of the main library. The remaining 46 stated that they had offered integrated service since the

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Fifteen years ago

In many localities, the integration of the main public library was achieved with a minimum of disturbance. A survey in 1948 by a Birmingham librarian indicated a liberalization of attitudes toward segregation in general and with respect to the libraries in particular. The growing liberal spirit is shown, for instance, in the position of one Southern white librarian, who said: "I have about come to the conclusion that it would be better for all concerned if we removed segregation laws in libraries, universities and cultural institutions." — *from "Access to Public Libraries." The Southern white librarian's opinion is quoted from an article by Emily Miller Danton which appeared in Lj, July 1948*

establishment of their libraries. Eighty-three respondents failed to answer this question.

A few librarians said that Negroes were employed both on the professional and clerical levels, but no effort has been made to point out the number, nor has an attempt been made to list the areas where this is done. This is due to the fact that even though the questionnaire specifically asked about Negro workers at the main library, in a number of instances the figures supplied had reference to a branch library connected with the system. Many librarians sent information pertinent to their particular situations, but it could not be used for tabulation purposes.

Conclusion

Kentucky, a border state, has made more progress than the remaining 12 states in opening main public library doors to all racial groups. Kentucky cites 67 desegregated main libraries, and Tennessee follows closely in the second position with 63. Virginia offers integrated service at 33 main service points, followed closely by North Carolina and Florida with 32 and 30 respectively. Texas occupies the sixth position with 17 main libraries offering service to the Negro from the main library. Oklahoma cites 16 libraries, Louisiana nine, Georgia eight, Mississippi six, Arkansas and South Carolina both list four, and the State of Alabama lists one. As was pointed out in the Parker study (p. 71), Kentucky, because of its geographical location, "is in a position to be influenced by the customs and practices of both regions [North and South]."

No attempt has been made to evaluate the service which the Negro receives in these 290 libraries. The chief concern has been to locate the areas where the Negro is free to use the main or central public library. Only in three instances was it discovered that the Negro was expected to come to the library, select his books, check them out and leave. Areas where this is the custom are Centerville, Tennessee; Kosciusko, Mississippi; and Biloxi, Mississippi. In the latter two cases, information regarding this practice was obtained by interviews with citizens of the towns rather than from the circulated questionnaire. Both respondents indicated that they were not sure if this was a ruling on the part of the library boards, or if the Negro citizens started this practice themselves.

The courts have accounted for several of the libraries' changes in policy — from a segregated facility to one which serves the Negro along with the white. "Sit-in" or "read-in" demonstrations have been forerunners to some of the court litigations. These protests have been staged in ten (or four percent) of the participating libraries.

Books by or about the Negro can be found in 188 of the libraries; 15 librarians did not answer this question, and only three revealed that they provided no books by, and/or about the Negro. Fifty participating libraries provide magazines which would be of special interest to Negroes, 116 do not, 34 failed to answer the question, and six provided no magazines for their reading public.

At least six librarians felt that "less harm" was done when the library was quietly desegregated and no announcements were made concerning the change in policy. The great disadvantage of this arrangement is that it keeps the Negroes from knowing about the services which are available to them. This may account for the limited use which is made by Negroes in some communities where the policy has been changed but where little or no public announcement of the change was made. It should be noted that none of the libraries which took part in the study intimated that any adverse circumstances had resulted from the decision to remove the segregation barriers.

None of the main libraries which admit Negroes require them to use specific chairs and tables within a room. However, two libraries were reported to have segregated rest rooms.

It appears that the following three cities have made no attempt to desegregate any of their public facilities: Columbia, South Carolina; Jackson, Mississippi; and Birmingham, Alabama. This does not mean that all citizens in these communities are content with the present arrangement, as is evidenced by repeated demonstrations against certain aspects of segregated public facilities.

References:

1) GLEASON, Aliza Atkins. *The Southern Negro and the Public Library*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.
2) PARKER, Lucretia Jeanette. *A Study of Integration in Public Library Service in Thirteen Southern States*. Unpublished master's thesis, School of Library Service, Atlanta University, 1953.

POMONA, CALIF.
PROGRESS-BULLETIN
D. 33,784 S. 32,773

DEC 15 1963

Despite Negro Registration

Southern Voter Ratio Unchanged

By DON Mc KEE

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — More than half a million Negroes have registered as voters in 11 Southern states during the past five years but this increase, representing a 43 per cent boost, has brought scant improvement in the ratio of Negro to white voters.

An Associated Press survey shows approximately 1.7 million Negroes among the 14 million voters in this 11-state region. There were an estimated 1.2 million Negro voters in the South in 1958.

Comprising one - fifth of the region's population, Negroes represent a potentially powerful force in politics. Their leaders have been bearing down on voter registration in recent years.

The percentage of Negroes among the total number of registered voters moved up from 10 to 12 per cent in the five - year period.

These are the AP estimates:

1958 — White voters 10,329,120; Negro 1,172,369.

1963 — White voters 12,285,779; Negro 1,677,706.

These figures represent registration in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

While complete official data are not available for each state, The AP gathered estimates from state officials, Negro leaders, records where available and the Southern Regional Council which makes a continuing study of Negro registration.

Negro voting now is concentrating in urban areas and reflects steps toward desegregation and more liberal political attitudes on racial issues in many cities.

The 12 per cent of Negroes among total registered voters may well become decisive in some states in the presidential election if the white vote splits nearly even. The Negro vote apparently swung South Carolina to President Kennedy in 1960, for example.

The rural areas of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia remain the toughest hurdles in the Negro drive for voting rights.

The wildest disparity in Negro population and voting is found in Mississippi where Negroes comprise 42 per cent of the population and 5.3 per cent of the voters.

In Alabama, 30 per cent of the population is Negro and 8 per cent of the voters are Negro.

Only Texas has a larger percentage of Negro voters (14.9) than Negro residents (12 per cent). Of all the 11 states, Tennessee's figures are most nearly proportionate. Its population is 16 per cent Negro; its voters 13.3 per cent Negro.

In Texas, intensive "pay your poll tax" campaigns by Negro groups in recent years have resulted in the higher percentage of the Negro population qualifying as voters.

Efforts to register more Negroes as voters have been intensified in the past three years. Mass rallies at churches, door-to-door canvassing and distribution of printed material are some of the methods used.

Volunteer workers from other states, often white persons, help teach reading and writing and other qualifications. They escort Negroes to the registrar's office.

Federal action in the field of Negro voter registration has not approached the demands of Negro leaders.

Removal of literacy tests as voting requirement is backed by some Negro groups, including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

WP 12/18/63

Vote Discrimination Suits Filed in Miss.

Suff. Miss.

United Press International

The Justice Department charged yesterday that voting officials in Copiah and Lauderdale Counties in Mississippi were discriminating against Negroes seeking to register and vote.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy announced that suits were filed in Federal court for the Southern District of Mississippi to seek injunctions to halt the alleged discrimination.

One lawsuit named Lauderdale County Registrar of Voters Preston Coleman. The other listed A. B. Weeks, Registrar of Voters in Copiah County as the defendant. Both suits included the State as a defendant.

Kennedy said the suits were filed only after local authorities indicated they were either unable or unwilling to correct the alleged discrimination.

The lawsuits charge that the defendants applied more difficult tests to Negroes seeking to register than they did to white applicants.

The complaint said that 7533 or 8153 whites of voting age are registered in Copiah County, as compared with 25 of 6407 Negroes of voting age.

The Department said comparable figures for Lauderdale County were 13,347 of 27,806 whites registered and 2109 of 11,924 Negroes.

Women's Wear Daily
NEW YORK, N. Y.
D. 51,498

DEC 20 1963

Atlanta Still Trails Magnolia As it Leads the Modern South

It has been said Atlanta is the Belle of the South, that she has accepted modern ways without showing her ankle.

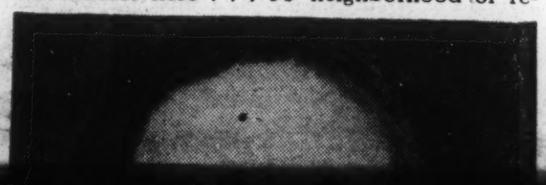
Certainly Atlanta is the showcase of the New South. The influx of industry, the underlying factor for the great changes coming to the Southern states, is nowhere better reflected than in this cosmopolitan center which, somehow, has become a fusion of the bustling new and the elegant old.

The moonlight has a neon tint these days. Gas fumes and diesel exhaust have joined the scent of magnolias. Progress has overtaken the land of grits and gravy and there's a shopping center or a new one-story plant, where once stood the cabin in the cotton. But it is not all new. Many will still give the piercing Rebel yell at any excuse. Hearts still beat fast when the band blares Dixie. There seems to be as many Confederate flags flying in 1963 as in 1863.

There are still areas of social and industrial stagnation—but the New South is moving. Changes are evolutionary and time is the master.

Atlanta is scores of smartly-dressed men and women moving rapidly down Peachtree Street . . . A feeling of energy, of expansion on all sides; wide streets; modern, glass-covered skyscrapers putting one in mind of New York or Chicago . . . Luxury apartment structures starting to appear . . . Overly lavish motels with rates equal to those in northern metropolitan areas . . . Hotels second-rate . . . Most restaurants poor but improving . . . an abundance of personal loan offices . . . smart shops . . . late afternoon traffic jams.

Atlanta is home to 1,100,000 persons . . . It is 26 colleges and universities . . . the distribution center of the Southeast with 4,000 national concerns having offices or warehouses here . . . 55 neighborhood or re-



New homes being built around Atlanta are responsible for our branch program, he pointed out.

Asked to discuss the integration question, Mr. Rich said, "You can't be a little pregnant,"

This is the second of a three-part study on the impact of industrialization in the South. The articles have been written by Harry Jenkins following a trip to various Southern areas. Members of the Fairchild News Service® Southern Staff who contributed to the series include: Cheves Ligon, Charlotte, N. C.; Arnold Pedersen, Greenville, S. C.; Murray Wyche, Tom Watson, Sara Dunbar and Richard Curran, all of Atlanta.

store. Also, he reported, he has hired 50 Negroes and is upgrading some of them.

"Atlanta's population is up 44.5 per cent for the decade, compared with 19 per cent for the entire nation . . . Disposable income for Atlanta is up 83.6 per cent compared with 60.9 per cent for the nation . . . Total retail sales up 77 per cent against 53 per cent for the country . . . Total department store sales up 125.6 per cent against 36 per cent for the nation . . .

"Rich's expects to do $104 million in retail sales in 1963, the largest volume in a single metropolitan market south of New York . . . We plan to open two new branch stores in 1965 in addition to the three now operating . . ."

Peter Stelling, of Rich's, reported the store is undertaking a national advertising program for the first time and its campaign will stress the growing cultural atmosphere of Atlanta.

Atlantans take pride in the fact integration efforts have not been accompanied by violence. Several gave credit to the leadership of the Pulitzer Prize-winning newspaper, the Atlanta Constitution, which has lead the way with its call for moderation. The Southern Regional Council, a civil rights group, claims restaurant desegregation is token, that eating places have quietly set up Negro quotas for each day.

Owners of 10 large hotels and motels have agreed to desegregate, Negro spokesmen charged, but have failed to make their deci-

vision . . . Southern men are pulling away from their women . . ."

Like many other parts of the New South, the influx of industry has converted Huntsville from a dreary cotton mill town to a community unable to contain its boundaries or control its bursting population.

Huntsville, "where space begins," is as good an indication of what is happening in the southern states as Atlanta. In five years, residents of the Old South have been inundated by the flood of scientists and engineers of the Missile Age. Huntsville, which had one Ph.D. degree six years ago—the president of a Negro college—now has more than 700, highest per capita rate in the nation.

Redstone spreads over 60.6 square miles, has 25,000 employes with an annual payroll of over $185 million. It represents a yearly business of $3 billion.

Huge contractor firms have sprung up around the space center and an estimated 2,000 people have found jobs at each one. These companies include: Thiokol, Chrysler, Lockheed, General Electric, Northrup, Hayes International, etc.

Employment in 20 private space industries in the region stands at 12,000. Several firms have plants now under construction and expect to hire an additional 2,200 people.

This boom is expected to extend itself. Marshall Space Flight Center will get $1.7 billion in 1964, compared with $1.2 billion in 1963.

Average arsenal worker or engineer earns more than $7,500 a year. Huntsville's retail sales per household on an annual basis, $4,232. It has a per household income of $6,518 and about 21.3 per cent of per household income is over $10,000.

The results of this influx of people with money to spend has been the same as in many other sections of the New South. Industry to meet their needs, has flocked to the call of profit. Jobs have resulted. With the engineers and scientists have come new ideas, blowing like a fresh wind.

A $3 million research institute is now being built. Here Arsenal personnel will be able to work on advance scholastic degrees. It will cover 225 acres . . . A Huntsville Art

. . . late afternoon traffic jams.

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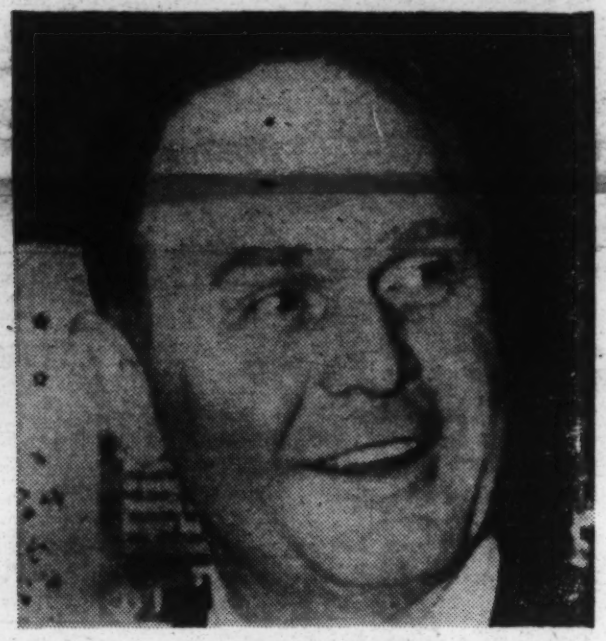

J. Mack Robinson

gional shopping centers of mammoth proportions—one, Lenox Square, covering 74 acres . . . It is nuclear research at Georgia Tech's $4.5 million reactor . . . 16 golf courses . . . 40 movie theaters . . . several community ballet groups . . . an 80-piece symphony, light opera, grand opera . . . little theater groups.

Atlanta takes pride in its boom town atmosphere. Mack Robinson, who heads insurance and personal finance companies with headquarters here, is a good example of what is happening in this showcase of the New South.

Mr. Robinson, financial backer of Yves St. Laurent, is a big, good-natured, perhaps overly modest man, whose office is comfortable but plain.

"I began business with Dixie Finance Corp. in 1948, with one office just a block or so from here. I have 50 offices throughout the South now."

Mr. Robinson said he had just purchased an acre of land adjoining his home for $19,000. 15 years ago, this same plot would have gone for $2,000.

"Competition is not as tough here as in the North, he smiled, "but it's growing."

Richard H. Rich, board chairman of Rich's, Inc., a slender, handsome, gray-haired man speaks with quiet conviction: "Change in tastes here can be seen in our upgrading of lines. We deal in both mass and quality business but there has been a rise in calls for better things. This is the land of the future."

so he has desegregated eating places in his

for the first time and its campaign will stress the growing cultural atmosphere of Atlanta.

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Owners of 10 large hotels and motels have agreed to desegregate, Negro spokesmen charged, but have failed to make their decisions public in fear of the consequences. Younger members of the Negro groups have urged picketing, boycotts and sit-ins but have been restrained by older members, who prefer negotiation.

The Piedmont Driving Club stems from the horse and carriage days in Atlanta. It has a family atmosphere and in spite of its exclusiveness—most memberships handed down—fine meals prepared by imported chefs from France and The Netherlands are available at amazingly modest prices ($3.50 for some dinners). There is a $1,500 initial fee . . . no golf, but tennis and squash are popular . . . Elegant balls are held in the big room which has retained its original appearance and atmosphere . . . People here not competing with each other, though men and women dress in good taste . . . The little black cocktail dress, fine jewelry, furs, are everywhere in casual evidence .

The Cherokee Country Club is for the young executive crowd, some of whom are comparatively new to the city. It is a large converted mansion and carriage house luxuriously furnished. Its atmosphere is one of studied relaxation . . . eople are in their 30s and 40s, smartly dressed . . . not of the social level of Piedmont . . . There is considerable competition between well-dressed members.

Some improvement is beginning in public eating places . . . Hart's on Peachtree Street is generally regarded as being among the ten best restaurants in the world .

Lickskillet Farm Club . . . A new addition . . . 25 miles from Atlanta, overlooking a histric creek .

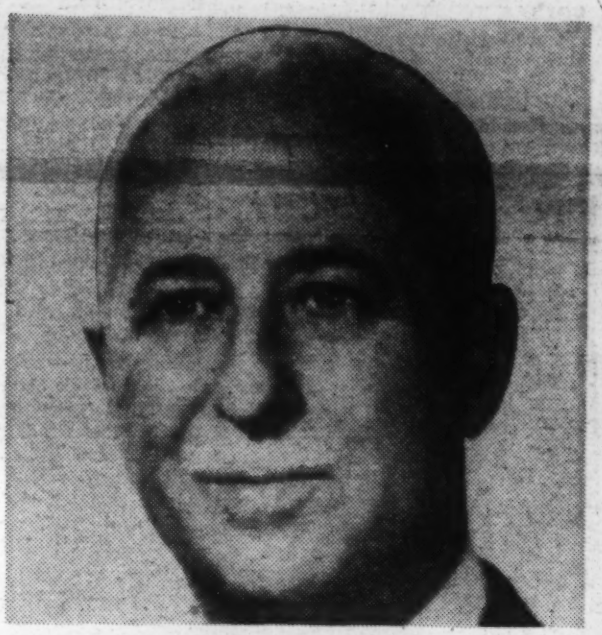
"The South has a tradition of elegance, of the long gown, winding staircase, the incomparable feminity of its women, but internationalism has changed the Southern scene and it will change even more."

The speaker is Dr. Wilhelmus Bryan, one of the city's newest leaders in the arts.

"The thing that held back the South for so long was poverty . . . abysmal poverty . . . the memory of poverty . . .fear of poverty and the trend to make do with what it had. The enlightened leaders of the South are trying to lead it into its rightful position in humanity . . . Many would-be dynamic men of the South have thwarted by Southern women . . . many were smothered in their cribs by dominating mothers . . . As the South emerges into the fourth generation since the War Between The States, it will no longer have to import men of

meet their needs, has flocked to the call of profit. Jobs have resulted. With the engineers and scientists have come new ideas, blowing like a fresh wind.

A $3 million research institute is now being built. Here Arsenal personnel will be able to work on advance scholastic degrees. It will cover 225 acres . . . A Huntsville Art



Richard H. Rich

Council has come into being . . . Huntsville now has a symphony orchestra.

Memorial Highway has about ten miles of modern shops, shopping centers, service installations stretching along both of its flanks. Birmingham has moved up to where the business is. Pizitz is there and Lovemen's will follow in 1964. Huntsville is now the nation's third fastest growing market . . .

Birmingham, not very far away, is a vivid example of what new industry from the North can mean. Birmingham has enjoyed very little of the new plants growing up in other sections. The coal and steel industry is at once its greatest asset — and its greatest liability.

It is a highly unionized industry, Birmingham's wage scales are higher than in most Southern cities. So new business has sought areas where labor costs are lower.

Racial unrest has discouraged industry too, people in other sections of the South point out. The boom-town atmosphere of Atlanta is nowhere in evidence in Birmingham.

"Birmingham is not dead, hurt yes, but not dead."

This is the terse observation of Mayor Albert Boutwell.

There is hope. An advisory committee of both races is beginning to function . . . Plans are reported for about $35 million in steel facility expansion . . . A group of downtown businessmen is sparking a drive to remodel most of the city's dilapidated store buildings . . . But the big impression one carries away from this city is of the striking contrast with the New South.

—HARRY JENKINS

DAILY NEWS RECORD
NEW YORK, N.Y.
D. 22,726
PAGE ONE
CERTIFIED
DEC 20 1963

WATCH

The Belle That Was Atlanta Is Now a Ding-Dong Modern

GLYNN SOUTH REGIONAL COUNCIL

It has been said Atlanta is the Belle of the South, that she has accepted modern ways without showing her ankle.

Certainly Atlanta is the showcase of the New South. The influx of industry, the underlying factor for the great changes coming to the Southern states, is nowhere better reflected than in this cosmopolitan center which, somehow, has become a fusion of the bustling new and the elegant old.

The moonlight has a neon tint these days. Gas fumes and diesel exhaust have joined the scent of magnolias. Progress has overtaken the land of grits and gravy and there's a shopping center or a new one-story plant, where once stood the cabin in the cotton. But it is not all new. Many will still give the piercing Rebel yell at any excuse. Hearts still beat fast when the band blares Dixie. There seems to be as many Confederate flags flying in 1963 as in 1863.

In the old clubs, barriers are up against newcomers and even when a clubhouse is rehabilitated, it is carefully redone as an exact replica of what it was when Confederate gray thronged the streets.

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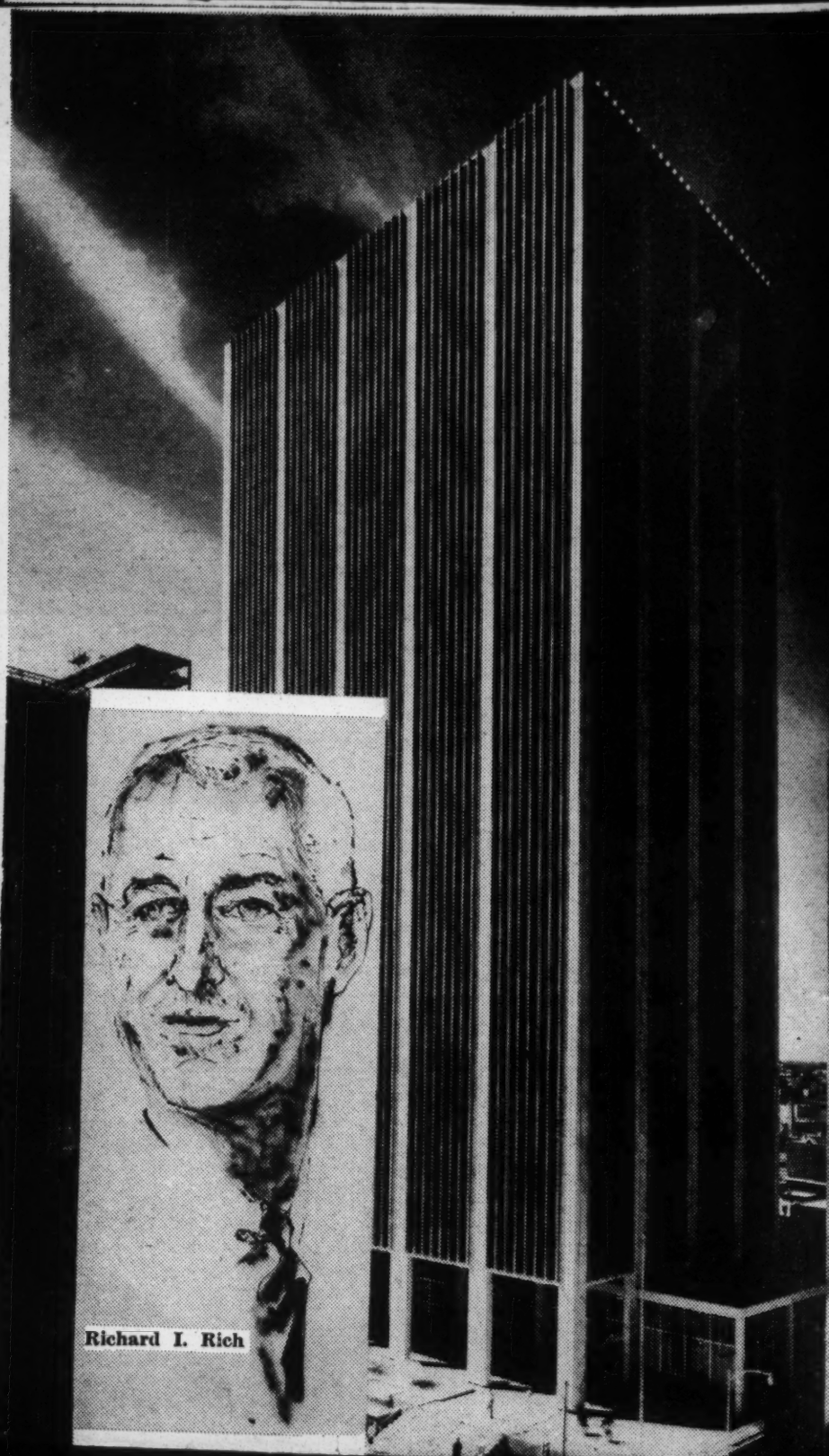
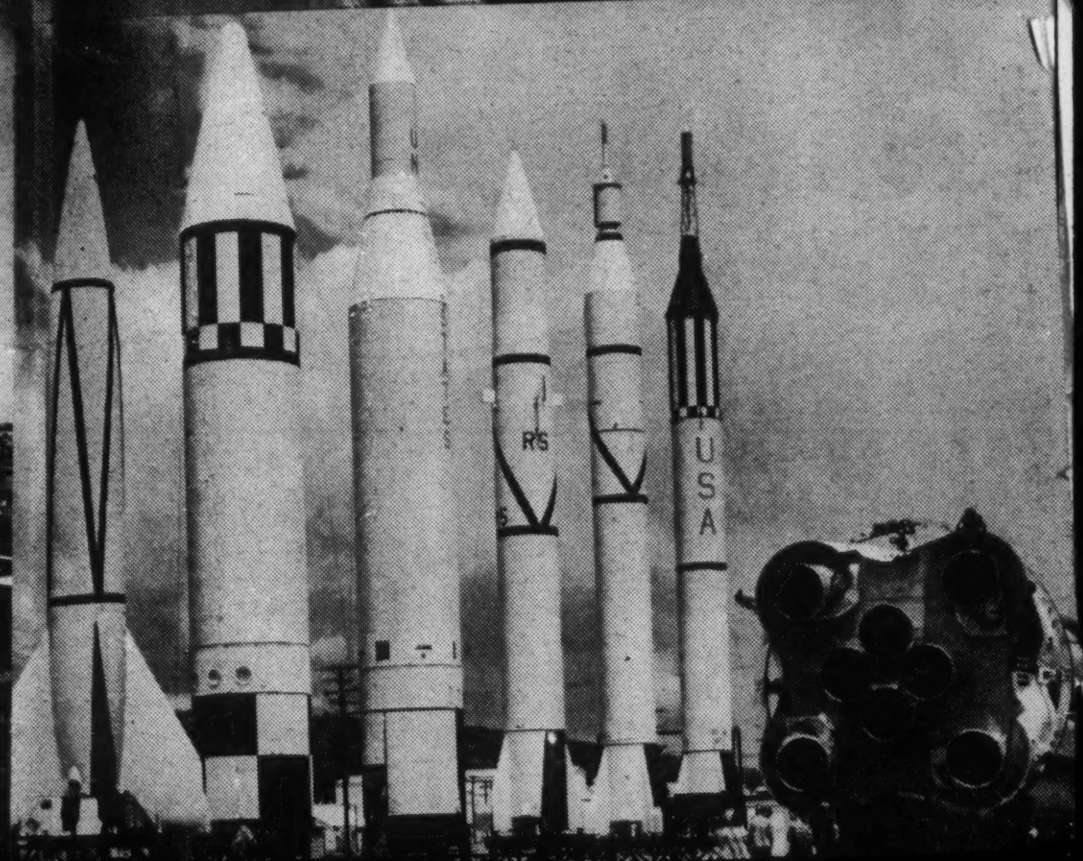
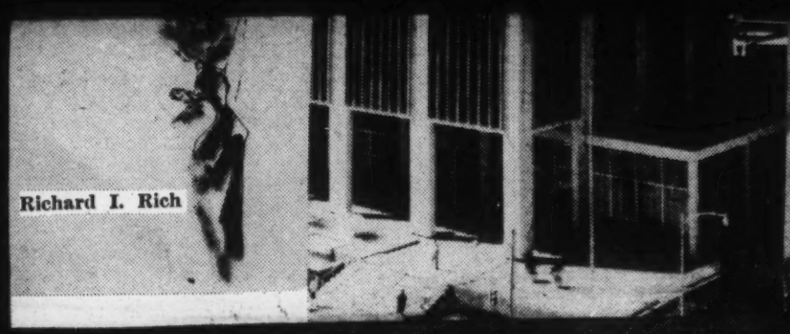
Atlanta is scores of smartly-dressed men and women moving rapidly down Peachtree Street . . . A feeling of energy, of expansion on all sides; wide streets; modern, glass-covered skyscrapers putting one in mind of New York or Chicago . . . Luxury apartment structures starting to appear . . . Overly lavish motels with rates equal to those in northern metropolitan areas . . . Hotels second-rate . . . Most

See NEW SOUTH, Page 4



Richard I. Rich





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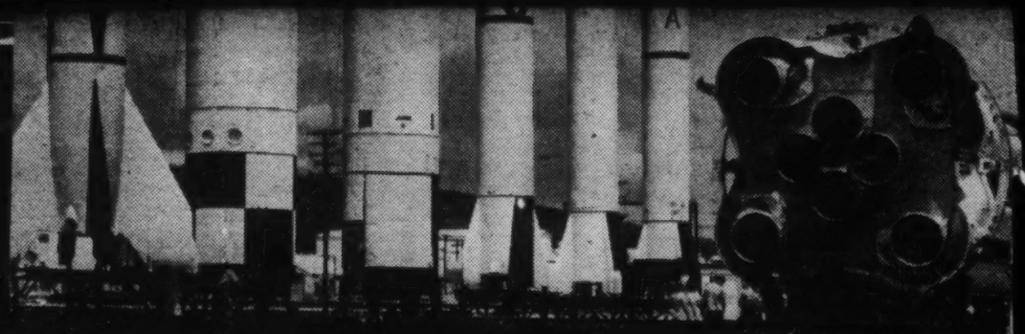

22-story Georgia Power Co., Atlanta
Redstone Arsenal, Huntsville, Ala.

new $OUTH part II

Continued from Page One

restaurants poor but improving . . . an abundance of personal loan offices . . . smart shops . . . late afternoon traffic jams.

Groups of tall office structures, a la Rockefeller Center, complete with fountains and statues.

Atlanta is home to 1,100,000 persons . . . It is 26 colleges and universities . . . the distribution center of the Southeast with 4,000 national concerns having offices or warehouses here . . . 55 neighborhood or regional shopping centers of mammoth proportions—one, Lenox Square, covering 74 acres . . . It is nuclear research at Georgia Tech's $4.5 million reactor . . . 16 golf courses . . . 40 movie theaters . . . several community ballet groups . . . an 80-piece symphony, light opera, grand opera . . . little theater groups.

Atlanta takes pride in its boom town atmosphere. Mack Robinson, who heads insurance and personal finance companies with headquarters here, is a good example of what is happening in this showcase of the New South.

Mr. Robinson, financial backer of Yves St. Laurent, is a big, good-natured, perhaps overly modest man, whose office is comfortable but plain.

"I began business with Dixie Finance Corp. in 1948, with one office just a block or so from here. I have 50 offices throughout the South now."

"Atlanta is moving. There are so many developments on the drawing boards, it would amaze you. In the next few years, sub-divisions will spring up over a 20-mile area.

Mr. Robinson said he had just purchased an acre of land adjoining his home for $19,000. 15 years ago, this same plot would have gone for $2,000.

"Competition is not as tough here as in the North, he smiled, "but it's growing."

Richard H. Rich, board chairman of Rich's, Inc., a slender, handsome, gray-haired man speaks with quiet conviction: "Change in tastes here can be seen in our upgrading of lines. We deal in both mass and quality business but there has been a rise in calls for better things. This is the land of the future."

New homes being built around Atlanta are responsible for our branch program, he pointed out.

Asked to discuss the integration question, Mr. Rich said, "You can't be a little pregnant," so he has desegregated eating places in his store. Also, he reported, he has hired 50 Negroes and is upgrading some of them.

"The long-range objectives of the Negro are understandable," Mr. Rich stated. "Some leaders are sincere, dedicated, reasonable people. But there are splinter groups in the Negro movement that make a fetish of militancy. They are as bad as white supremists."

"Atlanta's population is up 44.5 per cent for the decade, compared with 19 per cent for the entire nation . . . Disposable income for Atlanta is up 83.6 per cent compared with 60.9 per cent for the nation . . . Total retail sales up 77 per cent against 53 per cent for the country . . . Total department store sales up 125.6 per cent against 36 per cent for the nation . . .

"Rich's expects to do $104 million in retail sales in 1963, the largest volume in a single metropolitan market south of New York . . . We plan to open two new branch stores in 1965 in addition to the three now operating . . ."

Peter Stelling, of Rich's, reported the store is undertaking a national advertising program for the first time and its campaign will stress the growing cultural atmosphere of Atlanta.

Atlantans take pride in the fact integration efforts have not been accompanied by violence. Several gave credit to the leadership of the Pulitzer Prize-winning newspaper, the Atlanta Constitution, which has lead the way with its call for moderation. The Southern Regional Council, a civil rights group, claims restaurant desegregation is token, that eating places have quietly set up Negro quotas for each day.

Owners of 10 large hotels and motels have agreed to desegregate, Negro spokesmen charged, but have failed to make their decisions public in fear of the consequences. Younger members of the Negro groups have urged picketing, boycotts and sit-ins but have been restrained by older members, who prefer negotiation.

One restaurant—all the chicken you can eat for $1.25—runs a series of newspaper advertisements listing — and denouncing — integrationists.

Atlantans admit to a lunatic fringe but are quick to remind that the North and West have

the same problems. Several relaxed only after assurances from this reporter that he was not in the South to write a "pre-conceived" story.

The Piedmont Driving Club stems from the horse and carriage days in Atlanta. It has a family atmosphere and in spite of its exclusiveness—most memberships handed down—fine meals prepared by imported chefs from France and The Netherlands are available at amazingly modest prices ($3.50 for some dinners). There is a $1,500 initial fee . . . no golf, but tennis and squash are popular .. . Elegant balls are held in the big room which has retained its original appearance and atmosphere . . . People here not competing with each other, though men and women dress in good taste . . . The little black cocktail dress, fine jewelry, furs, are everywhere in casual evidence .

The Cherokee Country Club is for the young executive crowd, some of whom are comparatively new to the city. It is a large converted mansion and carriage house luxuriously furnished. Its atmosphere is one of studied relaxation . . . eople are in their 30s and 40s, smartly dressed . . . not of the social level of Piedmont . . . There is considerable competition between well-dressed members.

Some improvement is beginning in public eating places . . . Hart's on Peachtree Street is generally regarded as being among the ten best restaurants in the world . . . Bill Hart presides in his mansion turned-eating-spot and the menu is tops . . . roast whole boneless chicken, wild rice stuffing, pate de foie gras seasoning, tenderloin tips in Burgundy wine a la Deutsch.

Lickskillet Farm Club . . . A new addition . . . 25 miles from Atlanta, overlooking a histric creek . . . A 120-year-old farm house, beautiful red brick original fireplace that dominates main room . . . Bourbon, South's favorite drink, costs $1.25 a shot . . . Cheapest meal is $5 . . .

"The South has a tradition of elegance, of the long gown, winding staircase, the incomparable feminity of its women, but internationalism has changed the Southern scene and it will change even more."

The speaker is Dr. Wilhelmus Bryan, one of the city's newest leaders in the arts.

"The thing that held back the South for so long was poverty . . . abysmal poverty . . . the memory of poverty . . .fear of poverty and the trend to make do with what it had. The enlightened leaders of the South are trying to lead it into its rightful position in humanity . . . Many would-be dynamic men of the South have thwarted by Southern women . . . many were smothered in their cribs by dominating mothers . . . As the South emerges into the fourth generation since the War Between The States, it will no longer have to import men of vision . . . Southern men are pulling away from their women . . ."

Dr. Bryan looks toward the day when Atlanta will have a total school of the arts, design, drama, dance, music, sculpture . . .

The stars that "Fell On Alabama" were little more than a cosmic disturbance compared to the space activities that today rock Huntsville, Ala.

Like many other parts of the New South, the influx of industry has converted Huntsville from a dreary cotton mill town to a community unable to contain its boundaries or control its bursting population.

Today, Redstone Arsenal's operations extend from Huntsville to Cape Kennedy (formerly Canaveral) Fla., to Ascension Island down the Atlantic Missile Range, to Point Mugu, Cal., and Kwajalein Island.

Huntsville, "where space begins," is as good an indication of what is happening in the southern states as Atlanta. In five years, residents of the Old South have been inundated by the flood of scientists and engineers of the Missile Age. Huntsville, which had one Ph.D. degree six years ago—the president of a Negro college—now has more than 700, highest per capita rate in the nation.

Redstone spreads over 60.6 square miles, has 25,000 employes with an annual payroll of over $185 million. It represents a yearly business of $3 billion.

Huge contractor firms have sprung up around the space center and an estimated 2,000 people have found jobs at each one. These companies include: Thiokol, Chrysler, Lockheed, General Electric, Northrup, Hayes International, etc.

Employment in 20 private space industries in the region stands at 12,000. Several firms have plants now under construction and expect to hire an additional 2,200 people.

This boom is expected to extend itself. Marshall Space Flight Center will get $1.7 billion in 1964, compared with $1.2 billion in 1963.

Average arsenal worker or engineer earns more than $7,500 a year. Huntsville's retail sales per household on an annual basis, $4,232. It has a per household income of $6,518 and about 21.3 per cent of per household income is over $10,000.

The results of this influx of people with money to spend has been the same as in many other sections of the New South. Industry to meet their needs, has flocked to the call of profit. Jobs have resulted. With the engineers and scientists have come new ideas, blowing like a fresh wind.

A $3 million research institute is now being built. Here Arsenal personnel will be able to work on advance scholastic degrees. It will cover 225 acres . . . A Huntsville Art Council has come into being . . . Huntsville now has a symphony orchestra.

Memorial Highway has about ten miles of modern shops, shopping centers, service installations stretching along both of its flanks. Birmingham has moved up to where the business is. Pizitz is there and Lovemen's will follow in 1964. Huntsville is now the nation's third fastest growing market . . .

Birmingham, not very far away, is a vivid example of what new industry from the North can mean. Birmingham has enjoyed very little of the new plants growing up in other sections. The coal and steel industry is at once its greatest asset — and its greatest liability.

It is a highly unionized industry, Birmingham's wage scales are higher than in most Southern cities. So new business has sought areas where labor costs are lower.

Racial unrest has discouraged industry too, people in other sections of the South point out. The boom-town atmosphere of Atlanta is nowhere in evidence in Birmingham. The spotlight of world attention has been beating down on this city and the backwash of race tension publicity has affected business downtown. Many shoppers have been discouraged from going downtown in the face of the threats of violence.

"Birmingham is not dead, hurt yes, but not dead."

This is the terse observation of Mayor Albert Boutwell.

There is hope. An advisory committee of both races is beginning to function . . . Plans are reported for about $35 million in steel facility expansion . . . A group of downtown businessmen is sparking a drive to remodel most of the city's dilapidated store buildings . . . But the big impression one carries away from this city is of the striking contrast with the New South.

[Monday: The Carolinas]

—HARRY JENKINS

ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
D. 84,691 S. 103,346

DEC 24 1963

Our Readers' Views

(To our readers: This is your column. You are invited to use it as an open forum for discussing matters of general interest. You may use a pen name or initials if you wish but we must have your name and address as warrant of good faith.—The Editor.)

Back to Bible

Dear Editor: Most families among mankind today are unhappy. In these days when sickness, death and disunity are the major items of news, I would like to brighten the days by showing you briefly the Bible promise of better conditions to come on earth. Certainly you would enjoy receiving good news for a change. The Bible, in Revelations 21:3-4, gives this good news:

"With that, I heard a loud voice from the throne say: Look! The tent of God is with mankind, and He will desire with them, and they will be His people. And God Himself will be with them. And He will wipe out every tear from their eyes, and death will be no more, neither will mourning nor outcry nor pain be any more. The former things have passed away."

You may wonder, though, how this can come about in view of the seemingly permanent gloomy conditions on earth.

It could only be through the power of God and His Kingdom (Matt. 6:9-10) to destroy the powers that bring evil conditions on earth. Daniel 2:44 tells how.

The Bible shows we need to have the right knowledge to understand what is coming on the earth and how we may gain everlasting life under perfect conditions. We are advised by Jesus (John 17:13.):

"This means everlasting life, their taking knowledge of you, the only true God, and the one whom you sent forth, Jesus Christ."

FRED ELLIOTT,
North Little Rock.

They Say Today:

"The Bible shows we need to have the right knowledge to understand what is coming on the earth and how we may gain everlasting life." Fred Elliott.

"Riot-turmoil-drivers, such as the one staged in Birmingham recently, are financed in nationwide appeals."—Southerner.

Integration Money

Dear Editor: Totals of the combined budgets of five anti-segregation organizations, and portions of the budget of another anti - segregation organization, reported by the New York Times, The Augusta Courier, and The Report to America, for the year 1963 far exceeds $8 million.

Those organizations and their budgets as reported by these newspapers are:

National Urban League, $4,500,000; NAACP (general), $1,120,000; NAACP (legal defense and educational fund) is expected to exceed $1 million; The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), $750,000; Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadershsip Conference, $735,534; Southern Regional Council (Division for Negro Voter), $250,000; Student Non-violent Coordination Committee, $160,000.

This year's budgets for several of the above organizations are being supplemented with funds donated through half and three-quarter - page advertising in some of the nation's leading daily newspapers, for additional funds, according to The Report to America.

Riot-turmoil-drivers, such as the one staged in Birmingham recently, are financed in nationwide appeals; the responses are more than generous.

SOUTHERNER,
Little Rock.

Sick Minds

Dear Editor: It seems all of us should make a resolution—now—that we will never again feed the flames of hate in the minds of people, especially those who are mentally ill. In about every community there are, no doubt, people that need psychiatric treatment, people who are maladjusted, that have the idea they are persecuted, and who are covering a feeling of inferiority through pretending to be superior.

There are paranoics in desperate need of proper psychiatric treatment. Treat these sick minds, don't inflame them.

C. R. BABER,
North Little Rock.

BROOKLINE, MASS.
JEWISH TIMES
W. 8,000

DEC 26 1963

AJC B&P Division To Hear Dr. Zinn

Dr. Howard Zinn, professor of political science at Spelman College, Atlanta, Ga., will address the Business & Professional Division, American Jewish Congress at its monthly luncheon Jan. 3 at 70 Franklin Street.

Dr. Zinn has written extensively for the Nation and other publications on Negro problems and activities in the South, and particularly about the Albany, Georgia situation. He will describe his experiences there and how it has affected other minorities, especially Jews.

A year ago, Dr. Zinn prepared a pamphlet for the Southern Regional Council "Albany - a Study in National Responsibility," which drew national attention to the critical situation in Albany.

Edward J. Barshak, chairman of the B&P Division will preside at the meeting. Gerald A. Berlin, CLSA director for the region will report on the legislative program of AJCongress for the 1964 session of the General Court. Reservations for the luncheon may be made at the AJCongress office, 72 Franklin Street, Boston, LI 2-0265.

THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL
MEMPHIS, TENN.
D. 216,858 S. 260,847

DEC 29 1963

Dr. Silver Is Given Cheers By 'Studying Mississippian'

To The Commercial Appeal:

This letter is in collective response to four published in The Commercial Appeal (Dec. 15) regarding the now-famed speech entitled Mississippi: The Closed Society (not "closed to society") by Dr. James Silver.

Perhaps all four writers can agree with one observation, as a premise. Until most recently the University of Mississippi was more renowned for its Pf. Fs or Pf. Ps (Prowess for Football or Pulchritude) than for its Ph. Ds in other departments. Fortunately—for the reputation of Ole Miss—Dr. Silver's History Department has held high the standards of incorruptible integrity and objectivity.

(It is notable that the Common Market countries of Europe are courageously inaugurating a new look at their own history; one with less emotional and boundary-bias. And since most of our legal precedents—along with our antecedents—stem from Europe, maybe it's time for us to re-examine ours.)

In re-examining the four letters one notes that two are concerned about excerpted remarks; not only those of Dr. Silver but of one Bradley Lawrence, of whom, and of which, I'm not informed.

But, like other thoughtful citizens, I also feel deprived when I'm fed only scraps of any major message. Thus I took the simple, direct action available to all Americans: I wrote Dr. Silver inquiring how I might obtain a full copy. It arrived promptly, mimeographed by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta. I recommend it to all Mid-and-Deep-Southern studiers.

Let these also be reminded that Dr. Silver's address was given in his capacity as president of the Southern Historical Association, a position not come by through political appointment but only through merit and esteem, as earned from his colleagues. It remains to be seen what his honesty may cost him.

As to the charge that Dr. Silver is an "outsider" (because he isn't a "native," though having shared his life and learning with all who would learn, for 30 years) my note to him stated that I—though a "native" — am considered by some to be an "outsider," because I can't "go with" antiquated notions of the (so-called) Citizens Councils. (Surely even its members have read enough history to recall that our Southern forebears—in that lamentable Lost Cause—sought "outsider" help anywhere . . . and that it was never received officially, from any country . . . Do the citizens Councils wish us to seek another Lost Cause?)

Mississippi's political stance so indicates: it was Kayo The Kennedys, along both party lines. And they all got their ugly wish. (How insular, in insult, can we get?)

Let's examine our American habit of summing up groups or agencies with the obvious initials, and permit me one such semantic example. If we began with Automatic Superiority-Supremacy for Establishment, Southern, we would wind up with ASSES. (Inc. would come next.)

MISSISSIPPIAN WHO
STUDIES HISTORY

Memphis.

COLUMBUS, MISS.
COMMERCIAL DISPATCH
D. 9,063 S. 9,063

DEC 29 1963

Negro Revolt Boiled Down To Two Demands

ATLANTA (UPI)—The Southern Regional Council Saturday boiled the so - called negro revolt of 1963 down to a matter of two "just demands."

"One is that there be an end now to all forms of institutionized segregation and discrimination; on this there can be no viable compromise.

"The other is that affirmative measures be adopted to integrate negroes and other minorities into free participation in the nation's public life and economy."

The council, which describes itself as an organization to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South, explained the demands in an end of the year statement made through its executive committee. The council makes its headquarters in Atlanta.

The statement called for legislative and executive actions by the local, state and federal governments to see demands turned into reality.

"Under our system of federalism, most of the issues of civil rights and race relations could be settled by action of local and state governments," the statement said.

"Only their failure to do so has caused the federal government to intervene and continues to make strong federal action necessary, because the condition of our constitutional rights and of our race relations is a national burden and disgrace.

"In this connection, we take great encouragement from those federal court decisions and those state enactments which are ending to some extent the vicious and undemocratic apportionment of seats in our legislatures and in Congress. There is good reason to hope that as urban centers of the South are accorded their fair representation, and government thereby becomes responsive to majority opinion and needs, a new and more responsible politics will grow up in the South.

'The increase of federal concern and activity in recent years had done much good. America is a better land because of the brilliant thrust of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy's moral and political leading and because of President Johnson's resolve to 'move forward to eliminate from this nation every trace of discrimination and oppression.'"

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL
D. 373,657 S. 561,118
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
DEC 30 1963

Links Attitudes, Race Bombings

Atlanta, Ga. — AP — Bombings and killings caused by racial hatred only occur in areas where official and community attitudes tolerate such violence, the Southern Regional council said in a statement Sunday.

The council, made up of white and Negro leaders working for closer racial relations, said there was a need for strengthening the leadership of the south.

The report added: "White Southerners have a much inferior record of loyalty to the principles of America and of the Judeo-Christian religion."

The council declared they had been subverted by such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan.

Los Angeles Times
LARGEST CIRCULATION IN THE WEST
D. 772,439 S. 1,120,153
DEC 30 1963

Racial Violence Linked to Sluggish Officials

ATLANTA (AP)—Bombings and killings caused by racial hatred occur only in areas where official and community attitudes tolerate such violence, the Southern Regional Council said in a statement Sunday.

The council, made up of white and Negro leaders working for closer racial relations, said there was a need for strengthening the leadership of the South.

"Demonstrations are direct reaction to the failure or the laggardness of white leadership," the council said. "The public leaders of the South have it in their power at any time to stop demonstrations by satisfying the demands of the federal constitution, of justice and of religion."

The report added:

"We are little impressed by public opinion polls which reveal Negro bitterness or white prejudice. No informed and intelligent observer has ever doubted the existence of either."

The council said bitterness and prejudice were factors that responsible institutions must contend with and rectify.

"White southerners," the statement said, "have a much inferior record of loyalty to the principles of America and of the Judeo-Christian religion."

The council declared they had been subverted by such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils.

The statement was issued by the council's Atlanta based executive committee.

THE MIAMI NEWS
MIAMI, FLA.
D. 154,397 S. 137,140
DEC 30 1963

U. S. Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz said the law profession is "the worst integrated and worst segregated group in our society."

* * *

The Southern Regional Council called for continuing federal leadership in civil rights.

The Atlanta Journal
"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"
D. 259,003

DEC 30 1963

Biracial Council Lauds Marchers

By WALTER RUGABER

The Southern Regional Council issued a rare policy statement Monday in which it endorsed racial protest demonstrations and called for continuing federal leadership in civil rights.

The council, a biracial organization headquartered in Atlanta, is mainly devoted to research activities. Its year-end pronouncements were made by a 15-member executive committee.

"Only the self-blinded fail to see the grandeur of the protest movement which since early 1960 has surged through the South," the council asserted.

"A wise society would encourage and applaud this discontent with inferior status, especially as its end result is to make more secure the rights of all."

THE STATEMENT commended Negroes and whites who, through "orderly demonstrations," have used "the methods of democracy to advance human rights."

"We commend their leaders," the council continued, "who have constantly taught that demonstrations must be nonviolent, in spirit as well as in form."

Turning to the matter of federal action, the statement said that "the increase of federal concern and activity in recent years has done much good."

"Under our system of federalism," the council declared, "most of the issues of civil rights and race relations could be settled by action of local and state governments."

"ONLY THEIR FAILURE to do so has caused the federal government to intervene and continues to make strong federal action necessary. . . ."

None of the civil rights issues is likely to be settled, the council said, until unemployment is substantially reduced and educational opportunities are equalized.

". . . Federal leadership in these intricately related fields . . . is a continuing necessity. . . . Job security has become an onnipresent motive for demonstrations."

THE COUNCIL commended Southern cities which have established effective biracial committees and commissions in recent months, and expressed the belief that:

"The essence of good human relations lies in the search, within each community, for laws and practices mutually satisfying to all its residents.

"We believe that the South, and each community of it, and the nation to which they all belong, must take an interest in the welfare and the development of each individual. . . ."

The policy statement also spelled out what it called the two "just demands" which form the main thrust of the so-called Negro revolt.

"One is that there be an end now to all forms of institutionalized segregation and discrimination: on this there can be no viable compromise.

"THE OTHER is that affirmative measures be adopted to integrate Negroes and other minorities into free participation in the nation's public life and economy."

The council said that despite all the turmoil (it called 1963 "a year . . . of unprecedented anxiety and disorder and tragedy") there is some cause for hope. The statement declared that:

"White Southerners are manifesting a new and quickened understanding of the political and economic dependence of the South's peoples on one another, and, above all, of their moral interdependence."

The council's statement also predicted that "as today's immediate challenge is civil rights, so tomorrow's will be full integration."

BINGHAMTON, N. Y.
SUN-BULLETIN
D. 30,100

DEC 30 1963

Southern Council advises Negroes to seek to vote

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The greatest contribution that Negro Southerners can make to the nation's welfare and their own is to register and vote, in the opinion of the Southern Regional Council.

Negro voters, together with white Southerners, should aim toward establishing a truly representative government in the South and thus strengthen the leadership of that area, the council says.

The council's advice was contained in a year-end assessment of the racial situation issued yesterday by its executive committee.

The Southern Regional Council, with headquarters in Atlanta, is a venerable biracial organization working for equal opportunity for all Southerners, regardless of race.

The council statement characterized the racial situation today as one of "turmoil, but also of hope."

Negro Southerners, it said, have held to their faith in American institutions and fair play rather than being tempted by black supremacists, or violent reprisal or the Communist conspiracy.

White Southerners do not have such an admirable record, the council said. But it added:

"Today, however, white Southerners are manifesting a new and quickened understanding of the political and economic dependence of the South's peoples on one another, and above all, of their moral interdependence."

★ ★ ★

The present two issues of greatest urgency to domestic strength and tranquility, the council said, are 1) the uses of law and public policy to undo past wrongs, and 2) the right and propriety of protest demonstrations to speed the process.

Voluntary solutions to race problems should always be sought, the council said, but the failure of local and state governments to take action to solve the problems makes strong federal action necessary.

It said that federal leadership to curtail unemployment and equalize educational opportunities is necessary.

"Job scarcity has become an omnipresent motive for demonstrations," the council said, "and may predictably engender more and bitter protest."

ATLANTA, GA.
WORLD
D. 29,800

PAGE ONE (N)
CERTIFIED

DEC 31 1963

Negro Rejects Communism, In Rights Revolt---SRC

"Negro Americans generally, in their long struggle against injustice have steadfastly rejected the world-wide communist conspiracy" and "have held to their faith in American institutions," according to a statement released to the press by the Southern Regional Council.

The SRC, an organization designed to "attain the ideals and practices" of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South, also stated that "white Southerners have a much inferior record of loyalty to the principles of America and of the Judeo-Christian religion."

"The South's history for centuries has been intertwined with the travail of racial unrest and injustice. This injustice has been condoned and shared by the other sections of the United States and, indeed, has been part of the common practice of the European-American world," the year-ending statement charged.

WHITE SOUTHERNERS

Contrasting the Negro Americans faith in his country with the loyalty of the white man to the United States, the Southern Regional Council said: "They (whites) have been subverated in great numbers by bodies such as the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils, which are a corruption of all that American ideals proclaim.

"Even worse, they have in yet larger numbers surrendered to those social and economic desires and conveniences which blunt the moral sensitivity of men and women toward their neighbors."

"Voluntary solutions to cure racial inequities should always be sought diligently by both white and Negro leaders," the SRC said "we think there is a clear necessity for legislative and executive actions by the local, state, and federal governments. Under our system of federalism, most of the issues of civil rights and race relations could be settled by action of local and state governments."

TWO JUST DEMANDS

The executive committee of the Southern Regional Council further stated:

"We need to recognize fully and clearly the two just demands of what is called the "Negro revolt." One is that there be an end NOW to all forms of institutionalized segregation and discrimination; on this there can be no viable compromise.

"The other is that affirmative measures be adopted to integrate Negroes and other minorities into free participation in the nation's public life and economy.

"Again we indicate our belief that vital problems of race relations could be well settled by state and local communities. We commend those southern cities which in recent months have established effective bi-racial commissions and committees. We believe that the essence of good human relations lies in the search, within each community, for laws and practices mutually satisfying to all its residents. We believe that the South, and each community of it, and the nation to which they all belong, must take an interest in the welfare and the development of each individual, and that only

(Continued on Page 6, Col. 1)

Negro Rejects

(Continued From Page One)

[illegible] so will it itself prosper. [illegible] of the issues of civil rights [illegible] be solved fully whle [illegible] throughout the popu- [illegible] present wide different- [illegible] educational opportunities, [illegible] unemployment is as large [illegible] as it is and has [illegible] are gratified by the in- [illegible] even imaginative, en- [illegible] now under way or being [illegible] in several southern states [illegible] educational levels. But fed- [illegible] leadership in these intricately related fields of education and employment is a continuing necessity. The current rate of unemployment is not only an economic drag but frustrates even sincere governmental and private efforts to overcome racial discrimination. Job scarcity has become an omnipresent motive for demonstrations, and may predictably engender more and bitteer protest.

PROTEST MOVEMENT

"There is no virtue per se in street demonstrations, but only the self-blinded fail to see the grandeur of the protest movement which since early 1960 has surged through the South.

"Through this movement Negroes seek no rights or privileges for themselves alone. They seek only those belonging to all American citizens. A wise society would encourage and applaud this discontent with inferior status, especially as its end result is to make more secure the rights of all.

"Demonstrations are a direct reaction to the failure or the laggardness of white leadership. The public leaders of the South have it in their power at any time to stop demonstrations by satisfying the demands of the federal Constitution, of justice and of religion.

"We are little impressed by public opinion polls which reveal Negro bitterness or white prejudice. No informed and intelligent observer has ever doubted the existence of either.

Bitterness and prejudice are now, as they have always been, the conditions against which the responsible institutions of American society — governments, churches, press, educational and professional institutions, business corporations — must contend and which they must rectify."

Chattanooga Daily Times
CHATTANOOGA, TENN.
D. 52,218 S. 82,245

DEC 30 1963

COUNCIL APPEALS TO DIXIE LEADERS

Says South Must Bolster Those Responsible for Attitudes

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA — A South in which Negro and white citizens together exercise the ballot responsibly to bring about the democratization of the region's public life would be the greatest contribution to the national welfare at this stage in history, the Southern Regional Council declared Sunday.

For the overriding need is still to strengthen the leadership of the South, the council added, and to channel the two races' commonly held qualities of patience, forbearance, faith in human decency, intellectual and moral power into politics, schools, churches, business and other vital areas of the social fabric.

It is in this context, the council continued, that it would ask for national understanding and compassion for "those white Southerners who, because of the teaching and example of their civic leaders, perpetuate violence and spread malice.

"We would remind our fellow Southerners," the council stressed, "that as the record clearly shows, the bombers, the killers, the haters never act except in areas where they are tolerated by official and community attitudes. We come back, therefore, to the need for strengthening the leadership of the South.

Reaction to Failure

"Demonstrations are a direct reaction to the failure or tne laggardness of white leadership.

"The public leaders of the South have it in their power at any time to stop demonstrations by satisfying the demands of the federal Constitution, of justice and of religion."

In recognition of the importance of leadership in this setting, the council said that it commended "those Negro and white citizens who, through lawful assembly, peaceful picketing and other forms of orderly demonstrations have used the methods of democracy to advance human rights."

"We commend their leaders, who have constantly taught that demonstrations must be nonviolent, in spirit as well as in form," the council said.

The council also noted that street demonstrations carry no virtue in themselves, but warned that "only the self-blinded fail to see the grandeur of the protest movement which since early 1960 has surged through the South.

"Through this movement," the council said, "Negroes seek no rights or privileges for themselves alone. They seek only those belonging to all American citizens.

killers, the haters never act except in areas where they are tolerated by official and community attitudes. We come back, therefore, to the need for strengthening the leadership of the South.

Reaction to Failure

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"Through this movement," the council said, "Negroes seek no rights or privileges for themselves alone. They seek only those belonging to all American citizens.

"A wise society would encourage this discontent with inferior status, especially as its end result is to make more secure the rights of all."

The council also commended those Southern cities which in recent months have established effective biracial commissions and committees. It added its conviction that the "essence of good human relations lies in the search within each community for law and practices mutually satisfying to all its residents."

The council said it believed the increased concern of the federal government in civil rights matters and the leadership of President Kennedy and the announced resolve of President Johnson to continue this leadership "has done much good."

Problem Is Local

It added, however, that the federal government does not satisfy the public well when it treats symptoms and not the problems, "when it merely palliates disorders and leaves them to fester and nag at the nerves of the people."

Consequently, the council said, the vital problems of race relations "can be well settled by state and local communities" when the leadership is strong and dedicated to democratic ideals.

"Under our system of federalism," the council noted, "most of the issues of civil rights and race relations could be settled by action of local and state governments. Only their failure to do so has caused the federal government to intervene and continues to make strong federal action necessary, because the condition of our constitutional rights and of our race relations is a national burden and disgrace."

In this sense, the council added, Negroes in this country overridingly have rejected the voices of those who urge them to get behind a wall of hate toward whites or to the blandishments of the world-wide Communist conspiracy.

Rather, the council said, the Negro segment has held to its faith in American institutions, while many white Southerners have had "an inferior record of loyalty to the principles of America and the Judeo-Christian religion," allowing themselves to be "subverted" by the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacy groups who blunt the moral sensitivity of men and women toward their neighbors.

Even so, the council declared, white Southerners are now showing "a quickened understanding" of the political, economic and moral interdependence of all of the peoples of the region, and with good leadership the South can make a positive contribution to the nation and to mankind.

The council is widely recognized as the region's foremost interracial organization working for equal opportunity and improvements.

Members of the council's ex-

AUGUSTA, GA.
HERALD
D. 20,779

DEC 30 1963

Integrationist Group Lists Two Demands

By United Press International

The Southern Regional Council today boiled the so-called Negro revolt of 1963 down to a matter of two "just demands."

"One is that there be an end now to all forms of institutionized segregation and discrimination; on this there can be no visible compromise.

"The other is that affirmative measures be adopted to integrate Negroes and other minorities into free participation in the naton's public life and economy."

A newly - enlarged bi-racial committee meets in Sanford, N. C. tonight and its action will probably decide whether mass racial demonstrations resume in the Lee County town.

Some 126 arrests were made in Sanford Friday during demonstrations at four all-white restaurants and a Negro teen-age girl charged that she was shot in the leg.

Sanford police, however, said they have been unable to find evidence that a gun was fired during the demonstration at Matthews restaurant.

The Negroes called a breathing spell Saturday to give the new bi-racial committee an opportunity to meet tonight.

Meanwhile, in Chapel Hill, N. C., 15 civil rights demonstrators, including five juveniles, were arrested Sunday evening during a sit-in at the Pines restaurant.

The arrest brought to more than 200 the number of persons taken into custody during racial protests in the University town since Dec. 13.

An imprisoned white integrationist, Patrick Cusick, 30, of Chapel Hill, ended a 14-day hunger strike Saturday after he was transferred from a segregated prison unit in Durham County to an integrated unit.

Arkansas Gazette
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
D. 92,176 S. 105,024

DEC 30 1963

Race Council Will Honor Cartwrights

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar of Baltimore, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, will discuss progress in race relations at the annual meeting of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations Saturday at the Grady Manning Hotel.

The Concil's Board of Directors and its Advisory Council also will meet that day. The Time-Life film "Lillian Smith of Georgia" will be shown in the afternoon.

The Council will honor Rev. and Mrs. Colbert S. Cartwright at a reception at the Baptist Student Union at 323 South Elm Street at 8 p. m. Saturday. Mr. Cartwright, pastor of Pulaski Heights Christian Church and a member of the Council Board of Directors, is leaving Little Rock to take a pastorate at Youngstown, O.

Dunbar, a native of Virginia, received his doctor of philosophy degree from Cornell University and later taught there and at Smith College, Mount Holyoke College and Emory University. He also worked for the Atomic Energy Commission before going to the Southern Regional Council as director of research in 1959. He was named executive director in 1961.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR
To Speak to Council

DAILY
Chicago Defender
(WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY)
D. 22,249

DEC 31 1963

Council Tells Negro Goals

ATLANTA — (UPI) — The Southern Regional Council has boiled the Negro Revolt of 1963 down to a matter of two "just demands."

"One is that there be an end to all forms of institutionized segregation and discrimination; on this there can be no viable compromise.

"The other is that affirmative measures be adopted to integrate Negroes and other minorities into free participation in the nation's public life and economy."

The council, which describes itself as an organization to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South, explained the demands in an end of the year statement made through its executive committee.

Vol. II – No. 5 December, 1963

YOUR CLIPPING ANALYST

How to Secure More Clippings and Use Them More Profitably

Publisher: Arthur V. Wynne, Jr. Editor: Will Schoyer

BURRELLE'S PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU, 165 CHURCH ST., NEW YORK 7, N. Y. BARCLAY 7-5371

No. 3 - The Over 100 Club

YES, VIRGINIA, SANTA CLAUS CAN VISIT MOSCOW AND LAND ON FRONT PAGES AT THE SAME TIME

But as in the Famous Editorial, There's A Twist to the Story

This article continues our series on public relations stories that passed the high water-mark of more than 100 placements.

"The idea came to us out of the blue one Saturday morning while we were waiting to tee off in a golf match," writes William Gober of William Gober Public Relations Associates, Jacksonville, Florida. Soon quite a few Americans were reading about it under the slogan (now copyrighted) of "Candy for Moscow."

The idea was for Gober's client, Candymaker Robert I. Horne, to make a Christmas gift of candy to the children of Moscow, Russia, in the name of the children of America. Horne, like Gober, was enthusiastic; both believed the project would have genuine value as a gesture of international goodwill.

Gober Associates laid careful groundwork, working through Rep. Charles E. Bennett (D-Fla.) and the State Department to secure official authorization, and get the plan rolling. Novelist Dr. Frank G. Slaughter was commissioned to write a Christmas message, which was translated into Russian by the University of Florida. This was included in each of 5,000 pound boxes of candy which Horne made up for shipment.

The project was unveiled to the press on November 10 of last year. The AP story, used

(Continued on Page 4)

Candymaker Bob Horne, his Christmas Candy for Russian children packaged, awaits word that never came from the first Moscow.

MULTILITHED CLIPPING MONTAGE GAINS POPULARITY AS ECONOMICAL WAY TO CAPITALIZE ON PUBLICITY

F. J. Stokes Corp., Pratt Institute, Use It To 'Play Back' News

The economy and availability of offset printing, often within offices, is increasing the use of multilithed clipping montages, as an effective means of internal (and to a lesser degree external) news communication.

Simplicity is the outstanding virtue of such "publications." Clippings are simply pasted up in a rough layout, a plate made, and the required copies multilithed. A single sheet is often used, sometimes printed on both sides. Two effective examples are described below.

Stokes in the News

Victor N. Musmanno, manager of market development for F. J. Stokes Corp., manufacturer of process machines for a variety of industries, edits and distributes the simple but multiple-value "publication" called STOKES IN THE NEWS. Frederick R. Brewster of Ellington & Company, Stokes PR counsel, assisted in its development.

Clippings are arranged in a loose, informal layout, or a full length article is used, the sheet being printed on both sides. It is issued once a month to Stokes executives, department heads, and the field representatives who each receive a small quantity for their own distribution.

Particularly the field salesmen (some of whom are manufacturers reps, the rest Company men with a wide range of products) need to be reminded periodically that the Company's activities are really *news-worthy*. They also use the NEWS as a sales tool – a door-opener, follow-up mailing, or "leave-with" literature.

STOKES . . . IN THE NEWS

A few clippings of an article on Food Freeze Drying recently released by Associated Press . . .

Freeze-Drying Is Called 'Hottest Thing' in Foods

Little-Known New Preservation Process Needs No Refrigeration After Sealing

PHILADELPHIA (AP) — Fancy reaching into the pantry to get a month-old omelet for dinner. Or steak. Or codfish. Or almost any food. It might have been sitting there at room temperature for a long time, but thanks to a new food process, it could be served up hot on the plate without the eater guessing its history.

The process it called freeze-drying, the hottest thing, say some experts in the food industry.

Soup Mixes Offered

So little is known about it outside the trade that last November, when the Campbell Soup Co. introduced six freeze-dried soup mixes in the Philadelphia market, it sought to explain as well as sell the new product.

As Campbell put it:

"With new freeze-drying, the food is first frozen, and then it is dried in a vacuum so the moisture is taken away not as water, but as vapor. That leaves almost all the natural flavor in the food."

A steak so processed looks like a stiff sponge. Put in boiling water, its color and texture returns.

It's the same process used for years preserving medicines and blood plasma.

FOR FOOD, it offers distinct advantages. With up to 98 per cent of the water removed, foods weigh less than one-fourth of their fresh weight. No refrigeration is required once the product — cooked or raw — is sealed hermetically.

But in consumer foods freeze-drying is both new and revolutionary. And, says Frank R. Lawler of Food Engineering, although it is barely beyond the joint stage as a worldwide process it is "a highly significant development and it is coming."

The Danforth-Epply Corp. of Wellesley Hills, Mass., said in a recent advisory to investors it will take time to educate the public to accept freeze-dried products.

"Nevertheless," the report says, "the major food companies are showing interest in the new high processing system. It's possible that during the 1960s freeze-dried foods will build up the same rapid growth that frozen foods scored during the 1950s — and sales of freeze-dried foods could reach $1 billion by 1970."

Armour provided explorer Sir Edmund Hillary with some 300 pounds of freeze-dried ham, chicken, steaks, chops, fruits and vegetables for one of his Himalayan expeditions. The products, when reconstituted weighed some 1200 pounds.

In the armed forces, which now must be more mobile than ever, freeze-dried foods are regarded as a logistics godsend.

The Quartermaster Food and Container Institute for the Armed Forces last year demonstrated a 1200-calorie meal of meatball's, mashed potatoes, green peas, peaches, coffee and salted peanuts which "taste-testers called delicious. Such meals can be served hot to the GI curled in the middle of nowhere on maneuvers or at the combat front. (Yes, the Army's kit contains directions for boiling water.)

THE INSTITUTE SAYS its quick-serve meals will be field-tested for at least one year before becoming government issue.

American pioneers are two food equipment makers — the Food Machinery and Chemical Corp. of San Jose, Calif., and the F. J. Stokes Corp. in Philadelphia.

John F. Maguire, manager of Stokes' vacuum process division, says, "Contrary to the usual sequence whereby equipment development follows process development, freeze-drying equipment for economical production of tonnage quantities of highest quality foods is available today.

"We have only scratched the surface. The consumer market for these foods is waiting to be developed," he said.

Large food firms entering or researching freeze-drying include Wilson & Co., General Foods, General Mills, H. J. Heinz, United Fruit Co., Armour & Co., Libby, McNeill & Libby, Stokely Van Camp, Swift & Co., Corn Products Co., and Thomas J. Lipton.

810 The Springfield
Springfield, Mass. Union (m)
(S)
MAR 5 1962

THAT FORECAST is challenging. Lawler says, "But in view of current developments and potential markets, it may not be impossible" for says it would call for a four billion-pound annual output by the end of the decade and by comparison he notes that frozen foods reached the 6½ billion-pound level in 30 years, starting in the 1930s.

Why all the hoo about a new process when fresh food now is available at the grocery the year-around, frozen, concentrated and canned products abound, convenience foods already take the cook out of cooking?

For food freeze-drying has some distinct advantages — among them, lower costs in transportation and storage; long shelf life and convenience your grandmother never dreamed of as a girl.

Shrimp from the Gulf of Mexico can be pre-cooked and freeze-dried, shipped to the Midwest and East and sold for less than frozen shrimp. Once delivered, they are stored with dry goods, taking up less shelf space than cans.

* * *

ARMOUR & CO., which began supplying freeze-dried chicken chunks and other foods to the Army months ago, has pioneered a line of convenience foods for outdoorsmen as well as the military. This includes freeze-dried steaks, beef and chicken stews and cooked scrambled eggs requiring five to 20 minutes to prepare.

830 The Detroit Free Press
Detroit, Mich. (m) 573,000
(S) 622,000
MAR 5 1962

The Pioneers . . .

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269 San Jose News
San Jose, Calif. (e)
(S)
MAR 6 1962

New Food Processing

FMC Corp. and the F. J. Stokes Corp. of Philadelphia are working on a new process by which food can be preserved indefinitely without refrigeration. Called freeze-drying, it involves dehydration of foods after freezing. A steak processed like this looks like a stiff sponge. Drop it into boiling water and it comes out a delicious steak again.

Throughout the Company and with prospects, the bulletin supplements the impression created by the original publicity, or makes up for news not seen by the busy reader. Posted on plant bulletin boards it stimulates employee morale. Its readership is such that if, because of pressure of other work, Musmanno falls behind in issuing SITN, he immediately hears of it.

Pratt in the News

Robert I. Queen, director of information services, Pratt Institute, author and former radio-TV director, tells of his clipping information program with photos. Below, Mr. Queen, left, reviews clippings fresh from their envelopes with Bart J. DeVito, chief photographer.

"By keeping faculty and students well informed through these procedures," Queen concludes, "we support one of our basic policies: That good public relations begins within the college."

As a first step in informing Institute personnel, Queen and DeVito mount publicity on a bulletin board (next column). Some clippings are then photographed for multiple distribution or posting, as exemplified by large sheet, center of board.

Others are more formally published in PRATT IN THE NEWS. Laid out more closely and on a larger sheet (reduced in reproduction) than the Stokes product, this provides more information at a reading. It also is imprinted both sides. It goes to the Pratt staff and, where a story can be used to aid the Office of Administration, is distributed to outside guidance counselors.

PRATT IN THE NEWS

Photographic View Of Pratt's 75 Years

PRATT INSTITUTE MARKS 75TH YEAR

Little Red Schoolhouse an Educational Giant

Architecture-Planning Program Offered By Pratt In September

Former UF faculty member assistant dean at Pratt

Pratt Dean's Fashion Career Started at the Sewing Machine

Pratt Art Students Sound Off

Automation Gets Foot in Homework

That Noise Isn't Music — It's Art —

The Over 100 Club

(Continued from Page 1)

with heads such as: "He Wants To Play Santa Claus to Soviet Children," led:

"Businessman Bob Horne has asked the State Department for clearance to fly to Moscow with 5,000 pounds of goodies to play Santa Claus to some Soviet children. He said he merely wants to show how American children celebrate Christmas."

Nothing now remained but Russian permission for the trip. Days passed, but while no "Nyet" was received, neither was any okay.

Translation of Russian Text

A CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

In the United States, the Christmas Season is traditionally a time when we share with others the good things that have come to us during the year. Children hang up stockings and shout with pleased laughter when they find them filled on Christmas morning. The more fortunate give of their substance to those less favored. Most of all, however, Americans give thanks at Christmas for peace and what it brings. To the children of Russia, those of America send these gifts at Christmastime as tokens of their earnest wish that peace and goodwill shall continue between all the peoples of the earth.

When, by December 16, Soviet silence still prevailed, and time was running out, Gober activated the alternative he had prepared for such a situation. He arranged, through Mayor Fred W. Handel of Moscow, Idaho, for the candy to go to school children there.

"The kids got quite a lift out of the Russian message," he commented.

The press, too, thought the switch worth a second go-around. When the clippings from the double release were in, 248 news stories and editorials had publicized it. The wire services carried both stories. Many appeared on front pages. Coverage was obtained in leading papers throughout the country. Editorial writers lauded Mr. Horne's friendly gesture.

William Gober

Children, Christmas, a warm people-to-people appeal directed across the cold-war frontier — Gober's project had combined all these solid news interests. Planned carefully but simply, and executed with good taste, it legitimately cracked the 100 clipping barrier.

Incidentally, Horne and Gober plan to try for Soviet Moscow again, hopefully next year if tensions have eased.

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Production Office: 75-89 E. Northfield Ave., Livingston, N. J. WYman 2-6600

CLARKSDALE, MISS.
PRESS REGISTER
D. 5,290

JAN 1 1964

Goals Cited

Negro Group Says Race Issue Involves Only Two 'Just Demands'

ATLANTA (UPI)—The Southern Regional Council Saturday boiled the so - called Negro revolt of 1963 down to a matter of two "just demands."

"One is that there be an end now to all forms of institutionized segregation and discrimination; on this there can be no viable compromise.

"The other is that affirmative measures be adopted to integrate Negroes and other minorities into free participation in the nation's public life and economy."

The council, which describes itself as an organization to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South, explained the demands in an end of the year statement made through its executive committee. The council makes its headquarters in Atlanta.

Call for Action

The statement called for legislative and executive actions by the local, state and federal governments to see demands turned into reality.

"Under our system of federalism, most of the issues of civil rights and race relations could be settled by action of local and state governments." the statement said.

"Only their failure to do so has caused the federal government to intervene and continues to make strong federal action necessary, because the condition of our constitutional rights and of our race relations is a national burden and disgrace.

"In this connection, we take great encouragement from those federal court decisions and those state enactments which are ending to some extent the vicious and undemocratic apportionment of seats in our legislatures and in Congress. There is good reason to hope that as urban centers of the South are accorded their fair representation, and government thereby becomes responsive to majority opinion and needs, a new and more responsible politics will grow up in the South.

Increase of Concern

"The increase of federal concern and activity in recent years had done much good. America is a better land because of the brilliant thrust of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy's moral and political leading and because of President Johnson's resolve to 'move forward to eliminate from this nation every trace of discrimination and oppression.' "

The statement said the council commends "those Negro and white citizens who, through lawful assembly, peaceful picketing, and other forms of orderly demonstrations have used the methods of democracy to advance human rights."

It also said it asks the nation's understanding of and compassion for those white Southerners who, because of the teaching and example of their civic leaders, perpetuate violence and spread malice.

"We would remind our fellow Southerners that, as the record clearly shows, the bombers, the killers, the haters never act except in areas where they are tolerated by official and community attitudes."

The Atlanta Journal
"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"
D. 259,003

JAN 4 1964

THE JOURNAL FORUM

Negro Hope Seen in Protest

Faith in U.S. Institutions Called Guide to Race Action

The South's history for centuries has been intertwined with the travail of racial unrest and injustice.

This injustice has been condoned and shared by the other sections of the United States and, indeed, has been part of the common practice of the European-American world.

There is nowhere we can turn that the infection of racial prejudice and discrimination has not spread.

These are days of turmoil, but also of hope. Negro Southerners, and Negro Americans generally, in their long struggle against injustice have steadfastly rejected the self-defeating temptations of those who proclaim that Negroes should segregate themselves from whites behind their own wall of hatred; of those who have advocated organized violent reprisal against white men; and of those who by insidious teaching and tactics have urged Negro Americans

About the Forum Writers

This statement was issued by the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council, which has headquarters in Atlanta. The council's president is James McBride Dabbs, a planter who lives at Mayesville, S.C. Georgia members of the executive committee are Dr. Rufus E.

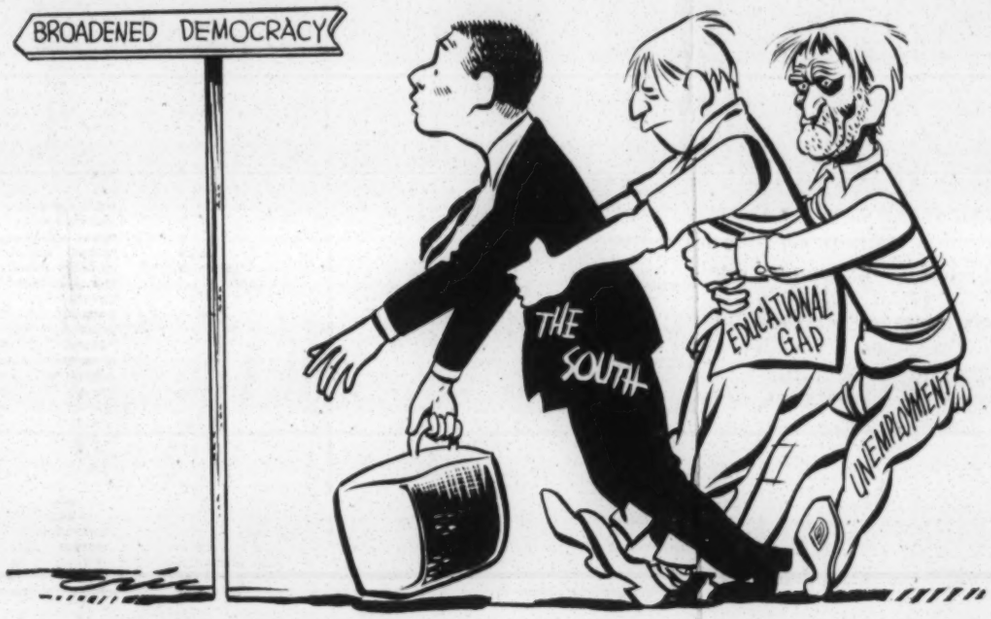
War II is evidenced by the fact that the present two issues of greatest urgency to our domestic strength and tranquility are the uses of law and public policy to undo the wrongs of the past, and the right and propriety of protest demonstrations to speed this process.

As to the first issue, and while recommending that voluntary solutions to cure racial inequities should always be sought diligently by both white and Negro leaders, we think there is a clear necessity for legislative and executive actions by the local, state and federal governments.

We are not, in the South or in the country as a whole, starting from scratch; we have an enormous housecleaning and rebuilding job, and governmental power should be employed for this public service.

Under our system of federalism, most of the issues of civil rights and race relations could be settled by action of local and state governments.

Only their failure to do so has caused the federal gov-



You will find on this page a thoughtful discussion of current news and opinion. Today's Forum presents a rare formal statement of views and policy by the Southern Regional

employment is a continuing necessity.

The current rate of unemployment is not only an economic drag but frustrates even sincere governmental and private efforts to overcome racial discrimination. Job scarcity has become an omnipresent motive for demonstrations, and may predictably engender more and bitter protest.

We believe that the South, difficult as are its present problems and unhappy as its history has been, can, nevertheless, make a new social life that is richly humane, because it will have grown out of the honestly faced and concrete necessities of a common life.

As today's immediate challenge is civil rights, so tomorrow's will be full integration

tion, of justice and of religion.

We are little impressed by public opinion polls which reveal Negro bitterness or white prejudice. No informed and intelligent observer has ever doubted the existence of either.

BITTERNESS and prejudice are now, as they have always been, the conditions against which the responsible institutions of American society — governments, churches, press, educational and professional institutions, business corporations — must contend and which they must rectify.

We would remind our fellow Southerners that, as the record clearly shows, the bombers, the killers, the haters never act except in areas where they are tolerated by official and

have urged Negro Americans

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This statement was issued by the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council, which has headquarters in Atlanta. The council's president is James McBride Dabbs, a planter who lives at Mayesville, S.C. Georgia members of the executive committee are Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Joseph F. Haas and Josephine Wilkins.

to join the ranks of the worldwide Communist conspiracy against constitutional democracy.

They have, on the contrary, held to their faith in American institutions and to the inextinguishable instinct of men to deal fairly and honorably with each other.

WHITE Southerners have a much inferior record of loyalty to the principles of America and of the Judeo-Christian religion. They have been subverted in great numbers by bodies such as the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils, which are a corruption of all that American ideals proclaim.

Today, however, white Southerners are manifesting a new and a quickened understanding of the political and economic dependence of the South's peoples on one another, and, above all, of their moral interdependence. . . .

In the past, and most especially during the last 80 years or so, the South has deliberately created laws and public policies to keep its two races apart and to discriminate against its Negro citizens.

At the same time, Southern political leaders contended that law can never be used to bring the two races together or to suppress discrimination. They had thus effectively removed from Negro Southerners every power and privilege of protest, except the privilege of leaving family and neighbors by moving to the North or West.

THAT WE have progressed far in the years since World and Negro leaders, we think there is a clear necessity for legislative and executive actions by the local, state and federal governments.

We are not, in the South or in the country as a whole, starting from scratch; we have an enormous housecleaning and rebuilding job, and governmental power should be employed for this public service.

Under our system of federalism, most of the issues of civil rights and race relations could be settled by action of local and state governments.

Only their failure to do so has caused the federal government to intervene and continues to make strong federal action necessary, because the condition of our constitutional rights and of our race relations is a national burden and disgrace.

IN THIS connection, we take great encouragement from those federal court decisions and those state enactments which are ending to some extent the vicious and undemocratic apportionment of seats in our legislatures and in Congress.

There is good reason to hope that, as urban centers of the South are accorded their fair representation, and government thereby becomes responsive to majority opinion and needs, a new and more responsible politics will grow up in the South. . . .

We need to recognize fully and clearly the two just demands of what is called the "Negro revolt."

One is that there be an end now to all forms of institutionalized segregation and discrimination; on this there can be no viable compromise.

The other is that affirmative measures be adopted to integrate Negroes and other minorities into free participation in the nation's public life and economy.

The federal government does not serve the public well when the help it offers, through either legislative or executive actions, is minimal; when it treats symptoms and not the problems; when it merely palliates disorders, leaving them to fester and to nag at the nerves of the people; or when it allows its money to be spent in ways that perpetuate or strengthen discrimination against the welfare or dignity of any class of citizens.

Again we indicate our belief that vital problems of race re-

You will find on this page a thoughtful discussion of current news and opinion. Today's Forum presents a rare formal statement of views and policy by the Southern Regional Council, an agency whose work in race relations makes its positions a subject of public interest. The Forum soon will present some of Sen. Herman Talmadge's views on civil rights subjects.

lations could be well settled by state and local communities. We commend those Southern cities which in recent months have established effective biracial commissions and committees.

We are gratified by the industrious, even imaginative, endeavors now under way or being discussed in several Southern states to lift educational levels. But federal leadership in these intricately related fields of education and sincere governmental and private efforts to overcome racial discrimination. Job scarcity has become an omnipresent motive for demonstrations, and may predictably engender more and bitter protest.

We believe that the South, difficult as are its present problems and unhappy as its history has been, can, nevertheless, make a new social life that is richly humane, because it will have grown out of the honestly faced and concrete necessities of a common life.

As today's immediate challenge is civil rights, so tomorrow's will be full integration. . . .

THE MEANS to this end is a thoroughly democratic, thoroughly responsible politics.

There is no virtue per se in street demonstrations, but only the self - blinded fail to see the grandeur of the protest movement which since early 1960 has surged through the South.

Through this movement Negroes seek no rights or privileges for themselves alone. They seek only those belonging to all American citizens. A wise society would encourage and applaud this discontent with inferior status, especially as its end result is to make more secure the rights of all.

Demonstrations are a direct reaction to the failure or the laggardness of white leadership. The public leaders of the South have it in their power at any time to stop demonstrations by satisfying the demands of the federal Constitu- and intelligent observer has ever doubted the existence of either.

BITTERNESS and prejudice are now, as they have always been, the conditions against which the responsible institutions of American society — governments, churches, press, educational and professional institutions, business corporations — must contend and which they must rectify.

We would remind our fellow Southerners that, as the record clearly shows, the bombers, the killers, the haters never act except in areas where they are tolerated by official and community attitudes.

We come back, therefore, to the need for strengthening the leadership of the South. Because we believe profoundly in democracy, we think that democratization of Southern public life is the pathway to strength.

We believe that the greatest contribution which Negro Southerners can make today to the national welfare and to their own is to register and to vote responsibly, and, together with white citizens, to establish truly representative government in the South. . . .

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D. 84,691 S. 103,346

JAN 5 1964

Democrat Photo by Gunter

DUNBAR GREETED BY REV. AND MRS. CARTWRIGHT
. . . At annual meeting of Arkansas Human Relations Council

Race Issue Called Nation's Most Vital Domestic Problem

By L. D. KERR
Democrat Staff Writer

The American people's disrespect for Congress will increase unless the nation's lawmakers step into the "legislative vacuum" and do something about civil rights for Negroes, the executive director of the Southern Regional Council said yesterday.

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar of Atlanta spoke of the pending civil rights legislation as a vital need toward solving America's racial problem—"our most important domestic problem."

"It is an unhealthy situation for the legislative branch of our federal government to remain inactive for so long," he said during an interview at the Grady Manning Hotel. Dunbar was at the hotel for the noon session of the annual meeting of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

He said, "You cannot overemphasize the importance of Congress passing something (in the civil rights field) and passing it soon." He then spoke of the "steam built up" in 1963 by Negroes who demonstrated against conditions as they exist in the United States.

Dr. Dunbar said, "There is no way at all to maintain segregation and the American Constitution." He then added with tongue in cheek that such a situation could exist "so long as the Negroes acquiesce to segregation" or "tyrannical methods such as those of the Union of South Africa" were adopted.

There is tangible evidence in the southern states of North Carolina, Georgia and Kentucky that progress is being made in relations between the races, Dr. Dunbar asserted. In this connection he counted increased desegreration of schools and other public facilities, an upsurge in voter registrations and reapportionment to extend more voting equality.

There is "some awakening" of white churches in the South and indications of "statesmanship" in the problem of race relations, he said, adding that some public officials are no longer engaging in "nigger politics."

Dr. Dunbar said, "America means so much to us and to the world. This generation of Americans has the awful responsibility of saving it."

"The point I am making," he added, "Is that unless we resolve this race problem, and resolve it soon, we are going to do serious damage to constitutional liberties and the American institutions."

Dr. Dunbar, a native of West Virginia, received his doctor of philosophy degree from Cornell University and later taught there and at Smith College, Mount Holyoke College and Emory University. He was with the Atomic Energy Commission before going to the Southern Regional Council in 1959 as director of research. He was named executive director of the council in 1961.

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations honored Rev. and Mrs. Colbert S. Cartwright at a reception at the Baptist Student Union at 323 S. Elm last night. The Rev. Mr. Cartwright, pastor of Pulaski Heights Christian Church and a member of the council board of director, is leaving Little Rock Tuesday to become pastor of the Central Christian Church of Youngstown, Ohio.

The Atlanta Journal
"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"
D. 259,003

JAN 1 1 1964

THE JOURNAL FORUM

Talmadge Examines Rights

Georgian Raps FEPC Bill, Talks North-South Relations

Q. Sen. Talmadge, sometime after the first of February, probably, the House will send over a civil rights bill to the Senate. Do you expect that the debate in the Senate will eventually generate a filibuster?

A. It will depend in the final analysis on what the so-called civil rights bill includes. Certainly, if it comes to the Senate in about its present form, it will precipitate a tremendous fight. There are many provisions of the bill that would change our republic as we know it, and substitute government action for the action of free citizens.

Q. Are you thinking mainly of the public accommodations section, for example?

A. I'm thinking primarily of the so-called FEPC provision that would put the government in the business of determining the employment of every employe and the rights of every employe and the rights of every business, affecting every citizen who would be employed in a private business, his promotion, his salary and everything about it.

In other words, it would . . . substitute the government for the action of an employe or an employer or a labor union in all fields of private employment where they had 25 employes or more. Now, that's only one of many drastic provisions of this bill.

One of the provisions authorizes cutting off all federal funds of any kind or character that may be applicable to loans or government appropriations or grants in whole counties, whole states, or entire regions, at the will of one man. I certainly wouldn't be in favor of that. . . .

There's a provision in there that could deprive whole states of representation in the Congress of the United States, certainly a reduction in the number of congressmen that they could have. Those are extremely vicious provisions.

Of course, human relations, man's relation to his fellow man, is largely a matter of the mind and the heart and conscience and it must be met by the free will of individuals, and cannot be made the matter of federal legislation unless you're going to have a police state with troops and bayonets to regulate the lives of the people, and I don't approve of that.

Q. What can we do to improve goodwill among men, Sen. Talmadge? I think that for a period of maybe 48 hours, immediately after the assassination, we all suddenly became men of goodwill, but then, perhaps, I think we went back to our sinful ways.

A. I think we're making tremendous strides in that field, Joe. The attitudes and mores of the people are changing to a great degree throughout the country. They're beginning to recognize an individual now with reference to his individual worth and not considering them as groups or classes, and I think that is as it should be.

If more human relations were promoted on the local level, I think segregation would solve itself much sooner than many people think. But, if we have conflicts and continued agitation and police state laws, I think it'll merely aggravate the situation rather than solve it.

Q. (A) former governor of Florida, LeRoy Collins, spoke in South Carolina in a speech that has caused quite a little comment throughout the South. One of the things he said was that anyone in the South looking into the future (who) can still see segregation (is) deluding themselves. What would be your thinking along that line?

A. Of course, we know that regardless of what the attitude of the people may be in any area of our country, when the full power of the federal government is brought to bear, the local people cannot withstand it.

And that is the reason I think local people should get together and consider their relations with their fellow man and solve it on the local level, rather than have oppressive, coercive legislation that would destroy really the freedom of all of our people in the process. . . .

Q. Do you think that Mr. Johnson as president . . . may do much to alleviate the imaginary curtain that hangs between North and South?

A. I would hope that would be the case. I have seen some of the ablest men in America passed completely by on the national political scene merely because they were Southerners.

Q. Mr. Johnson was in 1960.

A. Mr. Johnson was. As I pointed out earlier, he is one of the most able men I know, but he was almost completely vetoed in many areas of our country because they said he was a Southerner. Of course, I think the President claims to be a Westerner. But Texas is, in many circles, considered a Southern state. And that has been a tremendous handicap.

My own colleague, Sen. Russell, one of the most able men that I have ever known in public life . . . offered himself as a candidate to the Democratic convention in '48 and in '52, and he was vetoed because he came from the state of Georgia, and in former President Truman's book he said that if Dick Russell had lived in Indiana or Ohio he probably would have been president of the United States.

Q. This is a crystal ball question, Sen. Talmadge, and you can break the crystal if you want to. But, how do you think President Johnson will do in the South come November . . .?

A. Well, we can only tell the future by what the present situation is. I think President Johnson would carry the state of Georgia today by a very substantial majority, and I would anticipate that he would carry the overwhelming majority of the Southern states. Now, we don't know what might arise between now and November 1964 to alter the picture, but I'm telling you what the attitudes are today. . . .

Q. Has the death of Mr. Kennedy, do you think, weakened the Goldwater movement in the South?

A. Yes, I would think so. I think Goldwater strength in the South is to a very great degree because he was looked upon as the very antithesis of President Kennedy, and then he was personable, attractive, and I would think that we have an entirely new situation now with the new President and some new issues. And I would think that Sen. Goldwater is not as strong in the South now as he was prior to the President's unfortunate assassination.

About the Forum Writer

This forum is part of a television interview of Sen. Talmadge. The questions were asked by Joseph McCaffrey for WMAL-TV in Washington.

You will find on this page a thoughtful discussion of current news and opinion. Last week's forum presented a statement on racial views by the Southern Regional Council. This week some of Sen. Herman Talmadge's views on civil rights legislation and related matters are presented.

Rochester Times-Union
ROCHESTER, N. Y.
D. 128,773
JAN 25 1964

Atlanta Pickets Greet U.N. Unit

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The marchers carried signs reading "Atlanta Needs U.N. Help," and "Atlanta—Gateway to the Segregated South" and they sang "freedom songs" in the rain after the visitors arrived last night.

The picketing by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee occurred at the airport and again outside the motel where the group was staying. No incidents were reported.

But the demonstration gave U.N. members from 10 countries—the Soviet Union included — a first-hand glimpse of racial problems at the very beginning of their two-day tour.

Lester Dunbar, head of the Southern Regional Council, was among the civil rights leaders and city officials who extended a formal welcome.

"In no other country has a revolution gone on under the protection of a constitution," he said, referring to the Negro campaign for equal rights.

"You will see people demonstrating their faith that Atlanta can be a better place than it is," he said.

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HERNAN SANTZ-CRUZ of Chile, chairman of the subcommission on the prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities, said they were in Atlanta as individual members of the group at the request of Morris Abram, not as official representatives of the U.N.

Abram, a former Atlanta attorney and U.S. expert on the subcommission, said he extended the invitation because he wanted the members to see the South and because he regarded Atlanta as a sort of showcase.

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. promised to show the visitors both the good things and the problems of a city which has benefited by fine relations between the races.

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RALPH MCGILL, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, said he was glad they had come to Georgia. He pointed out that both the mayor and Police Chief Herbert Jenkins had spoken in favor of a public accommodations law. Sixteen major hotels and motels desegregated recently and the public schools began integration in the fall of 1961.

"There is a will to get things done," McGill said. "But we have a share of incidents, too. You may see some before you leave on Sunday."

SYRACUSE
Herald-Journal
D. 132,375
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
JAN 25 1964

UN Unit Visiting Atlanta Gets A Glimpse of Racial Problems

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(Concluded on Page 3, Col. 1)

UN Group Sees Unrest In South

From Page One

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It is the first such visit of the group, he said, and there are no plans to go to any other cities.

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Mississippi Klan Crumbles From Pressure, Bickering

KKK

AC 3/27/67

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—The Ku Klux Klan's once vigorous empire in Mississippi appears to be crumbling from outside pressures and inside bickering, authoritative secret files showed Sunday.

Money is short, interest is declining and Klan leaders are frankly worried.

Information on the Klan obtained by The Associated Press from the secret files was confirmed in interviews with law enforcement officers and Klan members.

Mississippi Klansmen are split into three feuding organizations. In three years, total membership has declined from more than 5,000 to fewer than 1,000, only half of whom pay dues and attend meetings, the files show.

"I'm sorry to say the white folks just won't stick together," says E.L. McDaniel of Natchez, grand dragon of the United Klans of America Mississippi Realm until he hung up his robes a few months ago—for good, he claims.

Ceremonies of the United Klans are public. They generally follow this ritual: anti-Communist speeches shouted from the backs of flat-bed trucks, flaming ceremonial crosses and passage of collection plates.

More than 3,000 Mississippians belonged to the United Klans at its peak during the hectic days of civil rights marches and "freedom" activities in 1964. Now there are fewer than 500 members. Of these, only 250 pay dues.

The most secretive of the Mississippi Klans is the militant White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Their cross-burnings are strictly business—often planted on someone's lawn as a warning.

The White Knights was formed near Brookhaven early in 1964 and had 2,000 members in southern Mississippi. "As militants, we are disposed to the use of physical force against our enemies," read the groups' executive orders.

Blamed for much of the terrorism that has plagued Mississippi since 1964, the White Knights now have fewer than 500 members.

Sam Bowers Jr., a Laurel coin machine operator identified by the FBI as the White Knights' leader, is under federal indictment in the deaths of three civil rights workers near Philadelphia, Miss., in 1964 and of a Negro leader near Hattiesburg two years later.

A third Klan group, the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, has been active in neighboring Louisiana for years but is new to Mississippi and it has only 35 members, most of them mavericks exasperated by squabbling among members of the United Klans.

All three Klans are rife with discord and suspicion.

"Everybody suspects everybody," a veteran Klansman said. "The FBI has infiltrated us to the point where you can't trust your best friend. He might be an informer."

Three reasons are cited for the Klan's downhill slide in Mississippi: hearings by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, the indictment of Klansmen in the deaths of civil rights workers and the climate of suspicion among the Klan's membership.

Increased police efficiency and less sympathy by the public also contributed to the Klan's declining enrollment.

Aaron Henry, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, agrees that Klan membership is dropping off, but he contends a hard core of militants still is active.

"I think the reactionary and emotional tendencies that caused a lot of whites to join the Klan a few years ago are gone," said Henry. "The white community in Mississippi is beginning to adjust to seeing Negroes in restaurants, restrooms and other facilities formerly designated for whites only. It no longer causes a stir and makes headlines when Negroes use these facilities. I think this probably has done a lot to cut Klan strength."

One investigator said that, "When law enforcement officers and business leaders put the word out that they're not going to tolerate violence or cloak-and-dagger operations, there is a drop in Klan membership.'

Because of the always present fear of FBI and police informers, Klan meetings have undergone a change.

"Now we don't discuss violence," a Klansman said. "We go through our ceremonies and discuss what is going on in the community." But, the secret files indicate, there hasn't been much change in the Klan's attitude toward "straightening somebody out."

The Klans occasionally hold daytime meetings. One United Klans session in central Mississippi featured a visit by Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Ala.

KKK

Klan Launches Youth Corps

ae 1/27/61

By TOM SHERWOOD

Ku Klux Klan leaders announced Monday night the formation of a Klan Youth Corps to "fight the spread of Communism and support Aemricanism."

The corps' formation was made public at a Klan rally in West End's Howell Park by Calvin Craig, grand dragon of the Georgia chapter of the United Klans of America, Inc.

Craig told a crowd estimated at 700 by klansman that the corps' purpose "is to defend ourselves, you the white people, from attack by Negroes and Communist sympathizers."

The corps will be made up of boys from 12 to 17-years old, Craig said.

About 100 persons signed the application blanks during the rally, Klan officials said.

Craig said the youths would be taught "self-defense and true Americanism." He said "no long-haired boys will be in it—they can join the girls club."

Craig said the youth corps "will be ready" for any disturbance.

"It's time to quit being peace-loving citizens and become Americans," Craig said. He said that throughout history Americans have "shed blood and died" for causes they believe in.

"If we're not willing — we don't even deserve to be American citizens," he said.

Speaking for more than 40 minutes, Craig again denounced the Atlanta Community Relations Commission and blamed that agency for the Dixie Hills racial distrubance last week.

He charged that the commission and race riots are "part of a Communist movement to gain control of this nation." He predicted riots would continue in every major city in the nation.

Craig urged the on-lookers, most of them under 25 years of age, to begin a boycott of the businesses of "city politicians who have sold the white people out."

Craig, interrupted several times by applause and rebel yells, said he would "announce soon a parade down Gordon Street to show that white people don't won't West End taken over by the niggers."

"As long as Stokely Carmichael (one of the leaders of the militant Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) stays in Negro sections to stir up trouble that's well and good," Craig declared. "But if he or his cohorts put one fooot in a white section there's going to be hell in this city."

"The Klan is going into every white community in Atlanta and if there's any nigger disturbance we'll handle it so fast we won't need the Atlanta police," Craig said.

The grand dragon told the crowd to "register and vote." He said next year "will be the most important year — the general election for president" and asked the people to vote for Alabama's former Gov. George Wallace.

HERKIMER, N. Y.
TELEGRAM
D. 7,400

PAGE ONE
CERTIFIED

JAN 25 1964

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The News American (EVENING)
BALTIMORE, MD.
DAILY — CIRC. N. AVAIL.

JAN 25 1964

UN Group Eyeing Bias In Dixie

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the demonstrations in Birmingham last spring, a white taxi driver said to me, "If they kill any white people, I won't ask any questions. I'll just start killin'."

How Late The Hour?

The hour seems late. Is it one minute to 12 now? If so, what raced the hands of the clock?

The historic year in the long and anguished struggle over civil rights, was 1954. The U.S. Supreme Court struck down, as unconstitutional, the doctrine of "separate-but-equal" in public schools.

Segregation had been a legal fact for 58 years, based on a decision of the Supreme Court in 1896. Now, the court-ordered the schools to be desegregated "with all deliberate speed."

(Continued on Page 1, Part 2)

Negroes are well aware that when school opens their children will be vulnerable to disciplinary action by school officials if they miss school as a result of their demonstrating, says Mr. Evers: "We simply can't afford to take the chance of our children getting expelled. We remember Birmingham."

In that city, 1,081 school children were suspended or expelled for participating in riots in May. Though a Federal court overturned the school board ruling on a technicality, sources close to the Birmingham school board indicate youthful demonstrators will meet the same reception if they try again.

An Economic Argument

Southern school boards advance an economic argument for taking a tough stand on truancy caused by demonstrations: "We intend to be very intolerant of truancy of this nature," promises Savannah School Board President Dr. Darnell Brawner. "With more than half our operating revenues coming from the state on the basis of average daily attendance, we just can't afford to look the other way."

All this, of course, doesn't mean that young Negroes will be taken out of the picture entirely when school opens. Negro leaders note that nights and weekends will still be available for demonstrations. Also, militant Negro college students trooping back to school will doubtless form the core of many demonstrations in towns near their schools. Nevertheless, the opening of school signals the death knell for massive marches in many communities.

Besides being influenced by school reopenings, Negro strategists are reacting to the lack of success they've had with demonstrations in such Southern cities as Jackson and Albany, Ga. Demonstrations having failed to gain the objective in these towns, Negroes are switching to more subtle methods which some refer to as "guerrilla warfare."

Consider Albany, a little Southwestern Georgia trade center. Big demonstrations there in 1961 and last year have failed completely to budge an adamant city government. Quick police action has consistently broken up Negro demonstration efforts and, as a result, there hasn't been a major demonstration all this year, Negro and white leaders report.

"We had to switch strategy after the demonstrations had no tangible effect," says M. S. Page, executive secretary of the Albany movement. "And frankly, many of our adult Negroes simply don't have the backbone for it; they've been frightened off. So now we're waging guerrilla warfare, hanging on with bulldog tenacity."

Mass Boycott

The Albany Negroes have turned to a mass boycott. Since it began early this year, Negroes drive out of town to buy in nearby Moultrie, in Columbus, 85 miles away and even in Atlanta 170 miles away. Some go in a car pool arranged by the movement. "I figure I've spent about $2,000 out of town this

Please Turn to Page 8, Column 2

A Shift in Strategy

Mass Demonstrations Begin to Lose Favor With Integration Forces

Especially in Dixie, Negroes Turn More to Boycotts and Drives to Register Voters

Activists Soon to Be in School

By WILLIAM E. BLUNDELL
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

With the nation's attention riveted on tomorrow's march on Washington, who would claim the technique of public demonstrations, employed more than 1,000 times this summer, is losing favor with militant Negro rights organizations?

Many Negro leaders would—and do—make this claim, especially Negro leaders in the South. They reveal a significant shift in the strategy of civil rights groups.

"This is the watchword now: Stay out of jail, keep your money in your pockets and register every voter you can get your hands on," says Charles Evers, who has taken over as Mississippi field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People following the murder of his brother, Medgar, this summer.

What Mr. Evers is calling for are more intensive boycotts and stepped up voter registration drives in place of street demonstrations which put hundreds of Negroes into jail.

"Negroes are just beginning to realize that big demonstrations of the civil disobedience variety are not a magic formula," says Paul Anthony, field director of the Southern Regional Council, a respected bi-racial human rights group. "Demonstrations have been and will continue to be useful where they can trigger community action. But in some communities, the trigger is pulled but the gun doesn't go off. White resistance just solidifies."

Mixed Results

There's no doubt the demonstrations have been a costly and wearing proposition to civil rights advocates in some southern cities. While the massive demonstration technique did bring dramatic results in such cities as Birmingham and Nashville, it has been an abject failure in other cities such as Jackson.

In Dallas, Clarence Laws, Southwest Regional Secretary for the NAACP, puts it this way: "We're at a point now where the demonstration gains are being consolidated and new techniques devised. We know a pitcher can't go on winning games with nothing but a fast ball," he says.

It's no accident that Negro strategy is being overhauled just as schools around the country prepare to open their doors. With the children back in their classrooms, Negro leaders realize they won't be able to muster the huge crowds they've been able to call into the streets

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It's no accident that Negro strategy is being overhauled just as schools around the country prepare to open their doors. With the children back in their classrooms, Negro leaders realize they won't be able to muster the huge crowds they've been able to call into the streets during the summer vacation. High school—and often grade school—youth has formed the bulk of the Negro civil rights battalions that have battered at segregation's walls the past few months. White officials in Savannah, Ga., site of big demonstrations in June and July, estimate that "75% to 80%" of the 2,000 demonstrators they've had to deal with were juveniles.

Negroes are well aware that when school opens their children will be vulnerable to disciplinary action by school officials if they miss school as a result of their demonstrating, says Mr. Evers: "We simply can't afford to take the chance of our children getting expelled. We remember Birmingham."

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Mass Boycott

The Albany Negroes have turned to a mass boycott. Since it began early this year, Negroes drive out of town to buy in nearby Moultrie, in Columbus, 85 miles away and even in Atlanta 170 miles away. Some go in a car pool arranged by the movement. "I figure I've spent about $2,000 out of town this

Please Turn to Page 8, Column 1

A Shift in Strategy: Demonstrations Begin to Lose Integrationists' Favor

Continued from First Page

year," says Mr. Page, who recently motored to Atlanta to buy an air conditioner for his home.

The boycott appears to be having an economic impact. Retail sales in Dougherty County where Albany is located, after rising briskly in 1962, have slumped this year since the boycott went into effect. In the three months ended June 30, sales were off $438,000 from the $34,262,766 rung up in the 1962 period. In contrast, Colquitt County which embraces Moultrie posted a gain of $1,057,499 to bring sales to $12,359,197 in the same period. Sales in the state, as a whole, were also up in the quarter.

Negro leaders elsewhere are turning to the boycott as a primary weapon. "We're finding that a lot of people don't begin to feel any pangs of conscience until the cash register stops ringing," says the NAACP's Mr. Laws.

In strife-torn Danville where demonstrations have flagged, leaders have turned to an extensive boycott. "It's obvious the boycott can be the most effective weapon of all," says Rev. Lendell Chase, head of the Danville Christian Progressive Association. His group has had a boycott in effect since May, and now Rev. Chase is extending it to the entire county. Furthermore, he's asking Negro tobacco farmers not to sell their product in Danville markets; instead, they're to truck it out of the county. Yesterday, Danville's public schools were desegregated. Seven Negro children attended classes along with whites.

Civil rights leaders in Plaquemine, La., are now turning to a mass boycott of downtown stores, following unsuccessful demonstrations which occurred last week. Plaquemine officials effectively throttled the demonstrations by jailing 200 demonstrators, among them James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Also, the town obtained Federal court injunction against further mass marches and rallies.

But now Negro leaders see the boycott as a weapon to tighten the economic screws on the community. They are laying plans for bus convoys to roll into Baton Rouge, a dozen or so miles away, where Negroes from Plaquemine will do their shopping, if the leadership prevails.

Pressing Economic Warfare

Negroes in other Southern towns are pressing economic war. In Sumter, S.C., Negroes are being transported to Charlotte to shop. A boycott is also in effect in Charleston. In these and other places, Negroes have been heartened by successful boycott and picketing in such spots as New Orleans, where an Easter boycott was followed by the hiring of Negro sales personnel in downtown stores; and in Dallas, where drug stores were forced to take on Negro clerks. Possible future pressure points, particularly aimed at upgrading of job opportunities: Houston, Shreveport, La., Hot Springs, Ark. In Jackson, too, Negroes plan to redouble boycott efforts that began earlier this year.

Elsewhere, Negroes are also driving hard on voter registration. In some cases, these drives are being accompanied by experiments in self improvement. In Spartanburg, S.C., CORE is sponsoring community workshops in which Negro adults are taught to read and write. They're also urged to form neighborhood improvement associations which would help insure that trash is put out promptly and houses painted. "We're trying to prepare them for a fuller citizenship," says Frank Robinson, [illegible] secretary, who believes such action [illegible]er the charge from some whites [illegible]esponsible citizens.

[illegible] over strategy have [illegible] Negro factions in [illegible]e NAACP refused [illegible]eld downtown in July by the Chatham County Crusade for Voters (CCC), a former NAACP voter-registration arm that separated from the parent group and was converted into a direct action organization. The NAACP, dismayed at what it considered questionable elements attracted by the CCC, says its youth leaders were already negotiating with businessmen over admission to restuarants, bowling alleys and other facilities when the demonstrations erupted.

A Shaky Alliance

Both sides overtly have patched their differences, and businessmen have agreed to a desegregation plan effective Oct. 1. But the Negro alliance is shaky and businessmen fear squabbles among rival Negro groups could touch off new troubles.

It appears Negroes will need all the solidarity they can muster to combat the growing skill shown by many of the so-called "white power structures" with which they'll have to deal. In some cities, such as Shreveport and Danville, adult civil rights leaders have been charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors after demonstrations by Negro youths; Jackson and Danville, among others, have obtained injunctions against demonstrating. Savannah officials have robbed the CCC of its leadership by holding leaders in jail for extended periods on peace warrants. In other places, bail is set at high levels and cash instead or property is required for bond.

The determination of some white authorities to crush demonstrations and other direct action movements is exemplified by the city of Jackson. The Mississippi capital in June alone spent an extra $150,000 on its law enforcement program to meet the Negro demonstration efforts. Much of it went to overtime pay for policemen but $50,000 went for additional jail facilities. "We don't regret a penny of it," says Mayor Allen C. Thompson.

While this summer's rash of public demonstrations (the Justice Department counts 1,122 since it began tallying them on May 20) will undoubtedly taper off, no one expects they'll stop completely. There's a feeling they've been more successful in the North than in the South, for instance, and any decline there would be less drastic than in Dixie. Some Negro leaders also claim that "spontaneous" demonstrations are apt to break out when newly-militant Negroes become aroused over some situation—such as Congressional refusal to pass a strong civil rights law.

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The Fifteenth Amendment Comes to Mississippi

BARBARA CARTER

"All who are qualified to vote, both black and white," Senator James O. Eastland informed the Senate last spring, "exercise the right of suffrage in my state, as I am sure they do in Louisiana and other Southern states." The senator may find it easy to remain uninformed about other Southern states, but it must take a remarkable effort to remain unaware of the pressures and intimidations that prevent all but six per cent of the eligible Negroes from registering to vote in Mississippi.

The senator's home, a ranch-style house graced with three picture windows that look out on a deserted, tumble-down dwelling opposite, is the largest house in Doddsville, a tiny crossroads settlement in Sunflower County marked only by a traffic light. Just five miles to the north is the small community of Ruleville, where a Negro voting drive was launched last summer. Negroes who know the state call Sunflower County the "worst county in Mississippi" and Ruleville the "tightest town" in it.

In mid-August, a group of five Negro women from Ruleville drove to the county seat of Indianola to register. Indianola is the birthplace of the White Citizens Council, the militant segregationist organization whose influence still sets the tone for the county as a whole. The women were permitted to take the registration tests—a series of new and stringent requirements made it doubtful that they could pass anyway—and for the next two weeks a stream of Negroes from Ruleville made the trip to Indianola. Learning that the registrar's office would be closed for the month of September, the Negroes found a bus to use on the last day in August, and some twenty of them rode down to Indianola singing gospel and freedom songs on the way. On arrival, the driver of the bus was arrested and fined for driving a yellow bus: the color was too much like a school bus. Such imaginative uses of the law are not uncommon when Negroes attempt to register in Mississippi.

From the beginning, the mayor of Ruleville, Charles M. Dorrough (who had already run unsuccessfully for the more lucrative

position of county sheriff and wasn't sure whether he should try again), had been aware that the Negroes streaming into Indianola to register were acting as if all the barriers so carefully erected over the years had suddenly turned into swinging gates. His reactions were frantic and confused but nonetheless effective. He briefly arrested a couple of young Negro students who were helping with the campaign. He called meetings of the white citizens to discuss the "outside agitators" who were bringing trouble to his town. He shut down Negro businesses wherever he could find minor violations. One woman who had taken the test found the mayor on her front porch, tools in hand, turning off her water because she was three days late in paying her bill.

Negroes with city jobs who were connected with the registration movement were also handled directly by the mayor. He told a sanitation worker who was fired that he would have trouble finding any job in Ruleville. The white citizens were quick to co-operate with their mayor. Many Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers lost their jobs, and some were evicted from their homes as well. Even relatives of would-be voters felt the weight of the town's displeasure. One woman whose mother had taken the test lost the job she had held at the county hospital for many years.

One of the Negro tenant farmers, a Baptist minister named Jeff Surney, came from Senator Eastland's home town. Although he was not given time to complete his registration test, Surney was evicted anyway. He has had trouble finding work and a permanent home for his family. ("We have been moving ever since," he told me recently.) Surney, however, went to Washington and filed an affidavit with the Civil Rights Commission detailing the reprisals he had suffered. Within a month of his return, he was charged with passing a bad check at the gas station in Doddsville. The station's owner is very sorry about it all. He had often asked Surney to watch his children on evenings he and his wife went to dances. He admits that he was forced to bring charges, though he will not describe the pressure brought on him. "Jeff must have been misled and taken sides with the Communists," he has added as if in further explanation.

By this time, however, the Rule-

ville campaign was all over. It ended the night of September 10, when three Negro homes were fired into by unidentified night riders. One of them belonged to the husband of a would-be voter whom the mayor had warned: "We're going to freeze you out, Joe. We can't have anyone living with us and working against us." Another belonged to a woman whose granddaughter, Vivian Hilliet, eighteen, and her friend Marion Burke, twenty, had stopped on their way to Jackson State College to pay a visit. Both girls were wounded, one critically, and were taken to the county hospital. When the energetic mayor arrived at the hospital shortly thereafter, he found a Negro student, Charles Cobb, a slight young man from St. Louis, taking notes on the girls' condition. The mayor promptly arrested him and rushed back to the house where the girls had been shot to announce that he had captured the man responsible. Cobb was released the next morning without explanation.

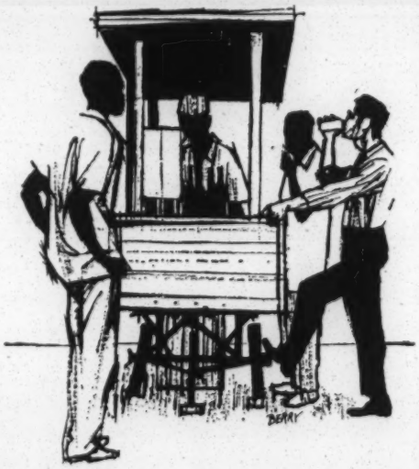
Mayor Dorrough still claims that he knows who was responsible for shooting into the Negro homes, but adds, "I don't want to pinpoint anyone personally, you understand." According to the mayor, "No local people were involved at all."

The Justice Department Moves

As head of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the senior senator from Mississippi must know that his state is the prime target of the Justice Department in its efforts to secure voting rights for Negro citizens under the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. Of thirty-two suits brought in the South since 1961, ten have been filed in Mississippi alone, more than in any other state. In addition, matters involving registration and intimidation are under "active investigation" in sixteen counties, with the senator's county heading the list; and voting records, which can provide evidence for further cases, have been requested or are being analyzed in at least eighteen counties.

The Justice Department's activities are not restricted to the courts. Every step of the way is preceded by talks and letters to avoid suit if possible. Washington officials make no secret of their presence when they arrive in Mississippi towns to photograph registration books and poll-tax receipts—that is, when they can get a court order requiring the registrars to co-operate. Rarely is the co-operation voluntary. Though the department is woefully shorthanded in the face of the magnitude of its task, the six to seven lawyers assigned full time to the state have piled up an impressive number of hours in the field, and numerous Mississippi Negroes have been visited by Washington attorneys and the local FBI, coming as friends. According to John Doar, who is first assistant in the Civil Rights Division, "These people see you and get to know you. They begin to have some confidence that you mean what you say."

Most of the department's cases seek to prove that a "pattern or practice" of discrimination exists, and are brought against various registrars or sheriffs. But "the really great case," according to Doar, is the one against the state of Mississippi, its governor, attorney general, and secretary of state as board of election commissioners, and the registrars of six counties. In this suit the department is challenging as unconstitutional all the recent legal devices designed to deprive the Negro of his vote.



The first of these came in 1954, when the Mississippi electorate (which is ninety-five per cent white) voted to amend the state constitution to require that all future voters be able to interpret any of its sections to the registrar's personal satisfaction. No standards for judgment are given, nor does a later amendment, that the applicant be of "good moral character," require anything beyond the registrar's own opinion. Moreover, the legislature recently permitted the registrar merely to write "Failed" on the tests without specifying the reason (unless it had to do with "character"), the logic being that to do otherwise "may constitute assistance to the applicant on another application." The most severe requirement, added last spring by the resourceful legislature, ruled that the names of all future applicants must be published for a two-week period in the local press. This permits economic pressure, or worse, to be brought easily, immediately, and directly.

The Federal government points out that these stringent requirements apply only to those not yet registered, and the department can prove by photostatic copies of voting records now in Washington how one-sided the application of these laws can be. Not only are Negroes asked to interpret the more difficult sections of the state constitution, but whites are forgiven the most inadequate answers to the far easier sections given them. Though no help is permitted on the tests and minor errors can rule out Negroes, the forms filled out by whites show helpful little check marks penciled in on an easily overlooked line where a second signature is required.

Under the Civil Rights Acts the Justice Department can initiate voting cases directly before the district courts. Mississippi is divided into two districts, the Northern and Southern, and the department prefers to spread its cases evenly between the two to avoid overloading.

The Judges

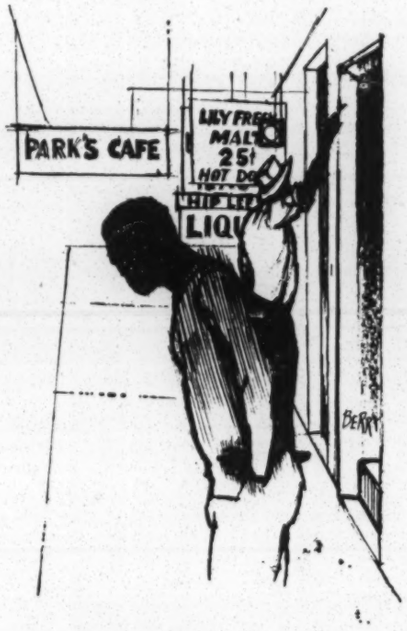
Presiding in the Southern District is Judge W. Harold Cox, a friend of Senator Eastland's, who has the distinction of being President Kennedy's first judicial appointee. He was selected for the bench in June, 1961, to ensure the senator's co-operation, as head of the Judiciary Committee, on other appointments and to facilitate the necessary working relationship of the Justice Department with his committee. Some say it was a trade for Thurgood Marshall's confirmation as Federal judge. At any rate, Cox's appointment illustrates how an earnest drive in the field of justice can be thwarted

by seemingly adroit moves in the field of politics. Judge Cox has acted on the bench like the staunch Mississippian he is. He seems to regard the entire effort of the Justice Department as a grave error in judgment, and evidently feels that his understanding of the Negroes and their situation in the South is somewhat beyond the comprehension of Washington officials. Here, for example, is his reaction when presented with the fact that Negroes are required to see the registrar personally while whites need go no further than the lower clerks: "I think the colored people brought that on themselves. I am thoroughly familiar with some of the conduct of some of the colored gentry and I am not surprised . . . You people up north don't understand what [the registrar] was talking about. I don't expect you to."

In the Northern District, the department faces Judge Claude F. Clayton, who has proved to be reluctant even to issue court orders requiring registrars to produce their records when they refuse the department's initial request. (The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals has recently ruled that such orders should be granted as "a matter of course.") Judge Clayton held up one such request for twenty-one months. Part of the delay was caused by his asking for lengthy arguments on the otherwise simple matter of substituting the present Attorney General's name for the former Attorney General's. The case had been filed a few days before the Kennedy administration took office, and usually in such matters the substitution of the new Attorney General's name is automatic.

Under Judge Cox, voting records have been slightly easier to get, and even a temporary restraining order has been won on one occasion. When he chooses, Judge Cox can act surprisingly fast. For instance, the contract of a Negro schoolteacher who had appeared as a government witness in a voting suit last spring was not renewed. When talks with the school board proved futile, the department did not hesitate to file suit. The case was heard within two months and Judge Cox handed down his decision in three days. Although his ruling went against the department, the case was at least released, and it is now on appeal.

Both of the Mississippi district courts seem to have ample time to hear all the motions that may be presented by the state attorneys and to require fuller statements from both sides. Their rulings on evidence have also created problems for the Justice Department. In an attempt to prove a pattern of discrimination, the department has tried to bring in Negro witnesses who during a ten-year period have tried without success to register. The courts, however, limit the government to witnesses who tried during the time when the present registrar has been in office, often no more than a two-year period. Instead of forty to fifty witnesses, the government is allowed only the handful who have applied



in that short period. In the toughest counties, the futility of trying to register has kept their yearly numbers down. Having limited the evidence to these few witnesses, the court is then unable to discover a "pattern" of discrimination, and the Justice Department's case is called "superficial at best."

But while the courts in Mississippi spin out the judicial processes, the Justice Department moves fast where it can. Take the case of John Hardy, a Negro student civil-rights worker. The year before last, Hardy was smashed in the head by a pistol butt wielded by the registrar of Walthall County when the student brought two Negroes in to register. Hardy was immediately charged with disturbing the peace and his case was promptly set for trial. The department sought an injunction against the trial but got an adverse ruling from Judge Cox the day before the trial was to begin. The department's attorney, John Doar, flew the same day to Montgomery, Alabama, to present the government's suit before Judge Richard T. Rives of the Circuit Court of Appeals. Judge Rives indicated that he would issue a stay, and the state thereupon agreed to put off Hardy's prosecution. Meanwhile, the government filed two suits against the registrar, one for intimidation and another for failing to register any of the Negroes in his county. (The trial date had to be postponed because the registrar's jaw was broken in a fight.) In Walthall County, at any rate, registrars have stopped beating student workers with their guns. But Negroes have also stopped trying to register.

The Student Workers

Student workers like John Hardy are presently conducting the Negro voting drive in Mississippi under the field direction of Robert Moses, a twenty-seven-year-old Negro with an M.A. in philosophy from Harvard. Moses is a member of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, pronounced Snick), and his co-workers are either from SNCC or CORE (Congress for Racial Equality), the NAACP or the National Urban League, or Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. For some time these Negro groups had separately been conducting voter-registration drives in the South along with sit-ins and Freedom Rides, but things were changed last spring when a Southwide Voter Education Project was formed under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, and some $450,000 was received in grants from the Taconic Foundation, the Edgar Stern Family Fund of New Orleans, and the Marshall Field Foundation of Chicago. Among the Southern states, Mississippi was considered unique. "Because of the extreme resistance, harassment, and intimidation in Mississippi," said Wiley A. Branton, director of the project, "we have

launched an entirely different program there." In Mississippi, the workers from various Negro organizations joined together in a new Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) to pool their efforts to get out the Negro vote, and workers for the council limit their activities strictly to registration drives.

Occasionally Robert Moses breaks into a quick grin, but usually his manner is grave and quiet. His job often requires him to urge much older people with family responsibilities to risk the little they have for the mere sake of registering, often unsuccessfully. He has been arrested several times and has spent some forty-five days in Mississippi jails. His latest offense was passing out leaflets to Negroes in front of the Indianola courthouse. Almost a year to the day earlier, he was beaten by a relative of the county sheriff when he accompanied two Negroes who attempted to register in Amite County. Nine stitches had to be taken in his head, and although the suit he brought against his assailant was unsuccessful, Moses feels that the publicity he got for being the first Negro to bring charges against a white man in Amite County has gained him "some kind of immunity" there. (On another visit there he wasn't beaten, but his traveling companion was.)

Moses has concentrated his efforts on the hard-core areas of the Mississippi Delta, counties where the Negroes outnumber the whites and their registered voters are few. In Amite County, for instance, only one Negro is registered. In Senator Eastland's Sunflower County, where the Negroes outnumber the whites three to one, only 1.2 per cent of the Negroes are registered. In thirteen counties the number of Negroes registered is zero, and in twenty others the percentage is .003. These are the areas where resistance to Negro voting will be the most determined.

Some Questions of Tactics

W. C. Patton, the NAACP field secretary from Memphis who has long been working to secure Negro voting rights, recently commented: "In all my years of voter campaigning no one in my group has been arrested. When they bring in sit-ins and freedom rides and someone is arrested, my campaign is shot. That's it." In the hard-core areas, he told me, "We should go in for a test case, and

then pull out and go where we can get people on the books and registered." Though the students working under COFO do not conduct sit-ins or freedom rides, Patton notes that $5,000 was recently spent for legal fees following harassment of voter workers in Mississippi's Fourth Congressional District, but only eighty-three Negroes were registered.

The best defense of Robert Moses' operations in the hard-core area was given by government attorney John Doar. "He has to go where it's tough," Doar said, "to prove that he has courage." Courage, it seems, can be as contagious as fear. Recently, nineteen Ruleville Negroes tried again to register and four were successful. "They're really determined to see this through," Moses explained.

"I hope they don't get discouraged," Doar said of the student workers. "I hope they stick it out and keep working. After all, they're only trying to urge people to register." However, he noted sadly, it is "very difficult" to do anything about retaliation when it begins. "I can't keep a crime from being committed," he said. "We try the very best we can to eliminate the lawlessness by seeking injunctions and restraining various forms of economic retaliation. But it is very difficult to win. We have to prepare and check out those cases very carefully."

In John Hardy's case, for instance, the registrar had admitted hitting the student. "Justice really moved fast on that one," Moses told me with a grin, but added, "I suppose it was because the case was so clear-cut." In cases where the issue is not so clear-cut, it seems to the student workers (who are often the first to bear the brunt of ugly reprisals) that the department is unwilling to act unless it is sure of winning. The same complaint has been lodged against the NAACP.

Economic reprisals against the would-be voters are especially difficult to prove. The Ruleville sharecroppers who lost their jobs, for instance, must prove that it was because they tried to register, not because the crop was thin last year. A temporary injunction has been obtained by the Justice Department against mass evictions of sharecroppers in Tennessee, but such injunctions can restrain only so long. If the sharecroppers' leases run out or legitimate-sounding reasons for eviction turn up, it is useless. The Justice Department's main aim is to help the Negro get the vote, and where injunctions prove ineffective as well as difficult to obtain, it may concentrate its efforts elsewhere. For instance, it is understood that the department will bring a suit to secure Robert Moses the freedom to distribute voting literature without harassment, and this will help the Negroes' voting drive. This concentration of action sometimes looks like inaction or, as the student workers put it, "politics." Washington views it as a matter of tactics.

Robert Moses has seen too much in his two years to take a patient view. With seven others, he has just brought suit against Robert Kennedy and J. Edgar Hoover to require them to send Federal marshals to the courthouses to protect Negroes when notified of a registration attempt. The Justice Department had refused on the basis that it can't act as a police force for the entire state.

ON THE OTHER HAND, the first Negro candidate to run for office in Mississippi since Reconstruction, the Reverend R. L. T. Smith, who ran for Congress last year, is really "heartened" by the department's work and most understanding about the difficulties it faces. "The Justice Department has moved in what appears to be a slow fashion," he said recently, "but the 1960 Civil Rights Act is not fully established in the courts. However, they are getting the precedents established,

and under somewhat trying conditions."

The story of Smith's candidacy has some interesting facets. When he announced his availability in November, 1961, it was treated by Negroes and whites alike as a grand joke. The president of one TV station in Jackson, WJTV, was eager in December to sell Smith program time for six appearances, but the candidate could afford only three appearances on a pay-as-you-go plan. After the first program, however, the station canceled the whole thing.

When Smith turned to the other TV station in Jackson, WLBT, it responded with a flat refusal to sell him any time at all. The first station, when appealed to again, explained that it had suffered so much intimidation since Smith's one appearance that it could consider his application only after he had appeared on the competing station. Smith reported his predicament to the FCC, and then accepted an invitation to speak at Brandeis University.

After his Eastern visit, Mrs. Roosevelt and James Wechsler, among others, wrote letters of protest to FCC Chairman Newton Minow. Smith also wrote to President Kennedy and got a quick reply from the President's office saying that the matter was being investigated. Within the week he received the letter, the second station notified him that it would sell him prime time, and an appointment was made with Fred L. Beard, its general manager.

It was an unusual interview. Beard confessed that he was afraid that if Reverend Smith made his appearance, "they" would blow up the station, topple the broadcasting tower, and shatter the plate-glass windows. He confided that if the Negro candidate was seen on the screen, "our two bodies will be found floating in the Pearl River," a peaceful stream just across the street from the station. He was kind enough to take the minister outside and point out where the barbed-wire fence would have to be erected, how the windows would be boarded up, and where on the roof he would have to station fifty armed guards. When they went back inside, Smith said he was ready to sign the contract. Nothing happened during or after his appearance, and he eventually was given one more showing on each of the two stations.

Though Smith did not win a seat in Congress and though Negro registration did not pick up significantly because of his campaign, he did win the right to run, the right to be accepted as a Democratic candidate in the counties and in the precincts, and the right to appear on television during his campaign.

The President's position is clear. After the shooting spree in Ruleville, he said: "I hope everybody will register in this country. . . . I commend those who are making the effort to register every citizen. They deserve the protection of the United States Government, the protection of the states, the protection of the local communities . . . And if it requires extra legislation, and extra force, we shall do that."

The Results

What have been the results of all the government's cases? "We have moved from no Negro registration to token registration," Attorney Doar pointed out. None of the cases has yet been won outright; some are on appeal and others have not been given a hearing so far. But in the counties where suits have been brought, the most obvious and blatant discrimination against Negro voters has ceased. Schoolteachers with Ph.D.'s, for instance, have recently been found qualified to pass the registration tests. And the department has, in effect, won one case though it is still pending. A temporary injunction against a registrar was obtained from the Court of Appeals before the case was decided in the district court. "We really bulled through on that one," John Doar recalled happily. The registrar is now in contempt, while the district court has yet to settle down for its long litigation over the issues involved. Furthermore, according to Aaron Henry, the head of the Mississippi COFO operation, if the Justice Department wins its omnibus case against the state and its voting laws it "will be a real breakthrough." The case is expected to open this month.

In the other pending cases, the department may win decisions finding a pattern of discrimination in the counties involved. The department will then, Doar told me, "in effect supervise voter registration there after that."

In Macon County, Alabama, for instance, where only nine Negroes had been able to register in a two-and-a-half year period, the department won such a case in 1961 with "dramatic" results. The decision had included a specific order to the registrars to report monthly on how many applied for registration, how many passed, how many were turned down, and for what reasons. In addition, the department had won the right of continuing record inspection. For three months after the court order, Negroes were allowed to correct inconsequential errors on their registration forms and applicants were processed at the rate of forty-four a day. As the shock of the court order began to wear off, however, another and more specific court order had to be issued to bring the registrars in line. The supervision of Mississippi registrars, obviously, will be a full-time job in itself.

Doar uses Macon County, where more than 2,800 Negroes are now registered, as an example of what lies ahead for Mississippi. "Every month now," he told me, "reports come across my desk from the registrar there, giving all the figures. We can check the reports by inspecting the records and if anything looks wrong send a man right to the spot."

Down the hall from Doar's office in the Department of Justice is a three-room section containing several machines that project microfilm onto screens for easy reading. Some fifteen members of the staff, including several Negroes, analyze and abstract the thousands upon thousands of Southern registration records that have already been photographed. Mississippi's records are at last beginning to come in.

From the office of Senators Dodd and Cooper

Duff. Gen.

FOR RELEASE MONDAY PM'S

February 4, 1963

Equal Voting Rights Bill

Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn) and Senator John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky) today introduced a bill to protect the rights of all persons seeking to vote in any Federal election. Their new voting rights bill, they said, "raises no constitutional issue, and can be enacted."

The purpose of the Dodd-Cooper bill is to provide a statutory method for enforcing the constitutional requirement that State standards for voting shall be applied equally to all individuals.

The bill requires a verbatim transcript to be made of all oral "literacy tests"--such as interpreting provisions of the State Constitution. This certified written record of the questions and answers given will permit the decision of local registrars to be reviewed or appealed, Senators Dodd and Cooper pointed out, and is a logical way to assure equal application of oral tests.

In addition, the Dodd-Cooper bill rules out disqualifying a voter for registration "errors" which have little or nothing to do with the person's eligibility to vote.

The Administration's literacy test bill foundered last year and failed to come to a vote in the Senate, the two Senators pointed out, because it could be attacked on constitutional grounds.

"Our bill respects the constitutional right of the States to establish voter qualifications," Senators Dodd and Cooper said. "It strikes down no State requirement for voting. It simply requires uniform and proper application of the State requirements, in determining whether or not an individual is qualified under State law to vote in a Federal election. It provides a constitutional and lawful method of preventing unlawful discrimination."

"The right to vote without discrimination on account of race or color is protected by the Constitution," Senator Dodd pointed out. "The 15th Amendment also specifies that Congress has the power, and I believe the duty, to enforce by Federal legislation the right to vote without discrimination."

"There can be no more important objective of the Congress than to enact legislation which will insure the full exercise of suffrage, so that our democracy will be fully effective," Senator Cooper declared.

Both Senators had been working separately on the voting rights problem for several months. During the literacy test debate last summer, Senator Cooper offered a substitute bill requiring that State standards be uniformly applied. Senator Dodd then developed a bill to regulate oral literacy tests and to rule out grammatical and clerical errors as disqualifying. Recently, Cooper and Dodd joined forces and combined their ideas. They are inviting other Senators to join in sponsoring the new bill, which they hope will gain wide bi-partisan support.

Although other measures may be proposed, the two Senators said their bill removes constitutional doubts, can be supported, defended, and is in the best position to become law.

- 30 -

Equal Voting Rights
Dodd-Cooper
2-1-63

EXPLANATION OF DODD-COOPER BILL TO SECURE EQUAL VOTING RIGHTS

To protect the rights of an individual seeking to vote in Federal elections, the Cooper-Dodd bill would prohibit:

(1) The use of any "standard, practice or procedure" which is different from that used by the registrar or election official (or other person) in determing whether other individuals are qualified under State law to vote. (The provision applies to literacy tests, registration and voting.)

(2) The use of an error or omission to deny the right to vote--unless the error or omission is material to a requirement for voting established under State law. (The provision applies to the registration application and to any other paper or record required in order to vote.)

(3) Literacy tests unless--

(a) the same practices are followed in administering and grading the tests of all individuals,

(b) the test is given in writing, or the questions and answers are transcribed verbatim, and

(c) upon request, a certified true copy of the questions and answers given is furnished to the individual within 30 days.

The bill is directed to voting in Federal elections--that is, any general, special or primary election in which a candidate for President or the Congress is elected or selected.

The voting-rights enforcement procedures of the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts would be applicable to the provisions of this bill.

JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
KENTUCKY

Aff. Dev. JM LWD WBV SBV

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 4, 1963

Dear Friend:

Senator Dodd and I introduced a voting rights bill today, and I thought you might like to see my remarks about it. I think you have already received our announcement that we would introduce this bill, together with a summary of its provisions, which I asked my office to send you over the weekend.

Since the bill will not be printed for several days, as it is lying at the desk for co-sponsors, I also enclose a mimeographed copy of the text of the bill.

If, after studying the bill, your or your organization has some comment on it, Senator Dodd and I would, of course, be glad to receive your comments or talk to you about the bill.

Sincerely yours,

John Sherman Cooper

John Sherman Cooper

gjw

88th Congress
1st Session

THE DODD-COOPER EQUAL VOTING RIGHTS BILL

S 666

A bill to further secure and protect the rights of citizens to vote in Federal elections.

Be it enacted in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress finds that:

(a) The right to vote is fundamental to a free and democratic government and it continues to be the responsibility of the Federal Government to secure and protect this right against all discriminatory restrictions.

(b) The right to vote of many persons has been subjected to discriminatory restrictions on account of race or color; different standards and practices have been used extensively as a device for discriminatorily denying the right to vote to otherwise qualified persons; and laws presently in effect are inadquate to assure that all qualified persons shall enjoy this essential right without discrimination on account of race or color.

(c) The enactment of this Act is necessary to make effective the guarantees of the Constitution, particularly those contained in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, by eliminating or preventing discriminatory restrictions on the right to vote which occur through the use of different standards and practices.

Sec. 2. Subsection (a) of section 2004 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (42 U.S.C. 1971), is amended by inserting "(1)" after "(a)" and by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"(2) No person, whether acting under color of law or otherwise, shall, in determining whether any individual is qualified under State law to vote in any Federal election,apply any standard, practice or procedure which is different from the standards, practices, or procedures applied to any other individual. Nor shall the right of any individual to vote in any Federal election be denied by any person, acting under color of law or otherwise, because of any error or omission in any records or papers required by section 301 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 to be retained and preserved, if such error or omission is not material in determining whether or not such individual is qualified under State law to vote in such election.

"(3) No person, whether acting under color of law or otherwise, shall impose any literacy test as a qualification for voting in any Federal election, unless, in administering and grading any such test, the standards, practices and procedures used to determine whether any individual is qualified under State law to vote are the same as those used to determine whether any other individual is qualified under State law to vote, and unless--

"(A) such test is administered to each individual in writing, or the questions asked of each individual and answers given by such individual are transcribed verbatim; and

"(B) a certified true copy of the test given to each individual and of the answers given by such individual is, upon written request, furnished to such individual within thirty days after the submission of such request.

"(4) For the purpose of this subsection--

"(A) the terms 'vote' and 'qualified under State law' shall have the same meaning as defined in subsection (e) of this section;

"(B) the term 'Federal election' means any general, special or primary election held solely or in part for the purpose of electing or selecting any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, presidential elector, Member of the Senate, Member of the House of Representatives, or Resident Commissioner from the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico;

"(C) the term 'literacy test' includes any test of the ability of an individual to read, write, understand or interpret any matter;

"(D) the term 'State' includes the District of Columbia and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico."

Equal Voting Rights
Dodd-Cooper
S. 666

REMARKS OF SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
February 4, 1963

Mr. President: I am glad to join today with the distinguished senior Senator from Connecticut (Mr. Dodd) in the introduction of a bill to further secure and protect the voting rights of all citizens. The specific purpose of our bill is to prevent the discriminatory application of State voter qualification tests against citizens because of their race or color.

I subscribe to the eloquent statement of my colleague, Senator Dodd, that "all Americans who believe in the free institutions of this country will affirm the right of every citizen to vote if that citizen meets the same requirements fulfilled by other voters in his State."

Last year the administration proposed, and the Senate considered for a time, a "literacy test" bill. The bill never came to a vote on its merits. Its purpose was laudable, but many of us believed that it was unconstitutional. We believed it to be unconstitutional because it assumed that Congress has the power to fix a qualification for electors--by providing that an applicant to vote who had "completed the sixth primary grade of any public school or accredited private school" should in effect be found to have fulfilled the literacy qualifications prescribed by State law.

I do not want to spend too much time in argument on constitutionality today, but I believe the heart of the argument of opponents of the Administration bill was that Article I, section 2 of the Constitution confers upon the States the power to prescribe qualifications for electors of members of the House of Representatives, and that this power was affirmed with respect to the election of Senators by the 17th amendment to the Constitution. This power of the States has been upheld by the Supreme Court in many cases, to the extent that qualifications prescribed by the State are valid upon their face and are applied equally and fairly to all voter applicants.

Nevertheless, the Congress is not without power to safeguard and require the proper application of voting qualifications prescribed by the States. The 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution specifically state that the Congress can enact--and Senator Dodd and I believe should enact--"appropriate legislation" to insure that State voting qualifications are applied equally and fairly to all citizens, and to prevent such qualifications being used discriminatorily against voters because of their race or color.

Some of the cases decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, and the reports of the Civil Rights Commission, show that in some States of our

nation voter qualifications, commonly called "literacy tests," enacted by the States and valid upon their face, have been discriminatorily applied against Negro voters. It has also been shown that these tests are frequently applied to Negro voters orally by local officials, and that there is no official record of the test which would give the applicant evidence upon which to appeal the decision of State election officials. As my colleague, Senator Dodd, has pointed out, "in 158 counties in 11 States, having a population 50% or more Negro, less than 5% of the Negroes are registered voters."

Our bill attempts to meet these problems in several ways, and by means which I think are constitutional and effective.

Curiously enough, although the Supreme Court of the United States has held on many occasions that voting practices, standards and procedures must be applied equally to all citizens, Congress has never codified these findings into statutory law.

One provision of our bill would codify these holdings of the Supreme Court by providing that all standards, practices and procedures, including tests, shall be applied equally and in the same manner to all applicants who seek voting privileges.

The second provision of our bill, as the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. Dodd) has pointed out, is directed to the rather difficult problem of literacy tests--which depend on the decision of an election officer or registrar as to whether or not the applicant understands or comprehends some writing such as the State constitution or the Constitution of the United States. Of course, understanding and explaining a thing requires a subjective determination by an election official and perhaps, in some cases, by election officials who themselves could not meet the same test.

Our bill would require written literacy tests. Or, if an oral test is given, that the questions and answers be transcribed verbatim. This requirement would enable an applicant whose vote had been denied, to have an official record upon which to base an appeal, and would also give to the Federal court a record upon which to base any action.

In this respect, our bill would harmonize with the 1960 Civil Rights Act, because that act requires that all records relating to any application to vote shall be preserved for at least 22 months, and shall be available to the Attorney General and through him to the Federal district court. This provision, therefore, would fill a gap in the Civil Rights Act of 1960.

The third provision of our bill provides that any "error or omission" which is not material to determining whether an applicant is qualified under State law to vote in a Federal election, may not be used by election officials as a reason for denying the right to vote.

To give a simple example, the answer of an applicant as to his marital status, which does not bear upon the right to vote, has been seized upon in some cases by election officials to deny an applicant the right to vote.

I am sure that at some later date we will discuss the bill in more detail, but I should like at this time to join the distinguished Senater from Connecticut (Mr. Dodd) in saying that we are not offering this bill as merely a gesture. Rather, we are offering it in the expectation that it will be considered by the appropriate committee, the Committee on the Judiciary; with the intention of presenting our views before that committee; and with the firm purpose of pressing for a vote in the Senate on the bill.

We believe our bill constitutional. We believe it is lawful. We believe that it would be effective.

I know that some will say,"You are placing upon the States which do not discriminate against voters a heavy burden by requiring that they keep a verbatim transcript of any oral test." I answer by saying that, in a practical way, most of the eligible voters in these States have already been declared qualified to vote, and that the provision requiring tranacripts would apply only to new voters, who are coming of voting age, and to voters who in past years have been denied the right to vote because of discrimination.

However, even if this procedure were burdensome, and even if it were costly, I say, as the Senator from Connecticut has stated, it is not too heavy a burden to bear, considering the essential right of all citizens to vote and to have State requirements to vote applied equally to all prospective voters.

Another objection may be that the remedy provided by our bill will be too slow, or less effective than some apparently easier method, such as that proposed last year.

I answer that if a wrong is being done in this country, and if unlawful and unconstitutional procedures which discriminate between persons seeking the right to vote are being applied, then Congress must proceed in a constitutional way to stamp out an unlawful and unconstitutional wrong that is being used against voter applicants.

In my State of Kentucky, no educational qualifications are prescribed for voters. We have no literacy test. As far as I am concerned, if a State should

decide that it should abolish its literacy test, I think it would be no great loss, because in most instances a man's practical sense and judgment would suffice.

Nevertheless, the States have the right to fix voter qualifications under the Constitution. The purpose of our bill is to see to it that State standards and qualifications are applied without discrimination to all persons who seek the right to vote.

I am very glad to join with the Senator from Connecticut in introducing this bill, and I hope that Members from other States who have been interested in this problem may also wish to join in the bill we have developed together.

I thank the Senator from Mississippi for his kindness.

* * * * * *

The bill (S. 1282) to permit a State to increase the mileage of its Federal-aid primary system when provision is made for the completion and maintenance of 75 percent thereof, introduced by Mr. MANSFIELD (for himself and Mr. METCALF), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Works.

The joint memorial presented by Mr. MANSFIELD is as follows:

SENATE JOINT MEMORIAL 6

Joint memorial of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Montana, to the Montana congressional delegation, to the U.S. Secretary of Commerce and to the Federal Bureau of Public Roads Administrator, urging that necessary steps be taken to introduce legislation to amend a Federal law relating to highways, to permit a State to build additional primary system mileage when 75 percent of a State's primary system is completed and maintained, instead of 90 percent as presently required

Whereas section 103 of title 23 of the United States Code Annotated requires that the primary highway system shall not exceed 7 percent of the total highway mileage of a State; and

Whereas when 90 percent of the primary system of a State is completed and maintained, said State may increase its primary mileage to 8 percent of the total State mileage; and

Whereas the State of Montana has not reached the required 90 percent but needs an increase in primary road mileage because of the large area to be served by highways in Montana; and

Whereas an increase in primary mileage would correct existing inequities in various counties; and

Whereas many Montana counties would have greatly increased travel if the proper primary highway mileage were available; and

Whereas when primary highways were designated in past years, many Montana areas which had a minor volume of traffic now have enough traffic to warrant primary highway designation; and

Whereas an increase in primary highway mileage would greatly benefit the State of Montana: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the senate and house of representatives of the State of Montana, That necessary steps be taken by the Montana congressional delegation, in cooperation with Federal officials to introduce legislation to amend section 103 of title 23 of the United States Code Annotated, relating to highways, to permit a State to have additional primary highway system mileage when 75 percent of said State's primary highway system is completed and maintained instead of 90 percent which is presently required; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state be instructed to send copies of this memorial to the Honorable Michael J. Mansfield and Lee Metcalf, Senators from the State of Montana; to the Honorable Arnold H. Olsen and James F. Battin, Congressmen from the State of Montana; to Luther H. Hodges, U.S. Secretary of Commerce; and to Rex M. Whitton, Federal Bureau of Public Roads Administrator.

PROTECTION OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Mr. HART. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from North Dakota, [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS], the Senator from California [Mr. ENGLE], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCARTHY], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. McINTYRE], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS], and myself, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill carrying out the recommendations of the President to strengthen the protection of the right to vote. These recommendations were outlined by the President in his historic February 28 message to the Congress on civil rights.

This administration, with great diligence, has sought to protect the constitutional rights of citizens seeking to register and vote. In no comparable period of our history has so vigorous an effort been made to see that this very keystone of our democracy is secure. Yet insidious and complex devices to frustrate citizens of this Nation in exercising their right of franchise hampers the functioning of this basic element of our governmental system.

Under this administration, the Department of Justice has brought 22 suits against voting discrimination and 4 suits involving incidents of intimidation of potential voters. Under the previous administration, over a period of 8 years, the Department of Justice brought a total of 10 suits, 6 involving discrimination in voting and 4 involving intimidation of voters.

But the President, in his message, made quite clear the need for additional legislation if we are to insure to all Americans their right to vote. He stated:

Experience has shown, however, that these highly useful acts of the 85th and 86th Congresses suffer from two major defects. One is the usual long and difficult delay which occurs between the filing of a lawsuit and its ultimate conclusion. In one recent case, for example, 19 months elapsed between the filing of the suit and the judgment of the court. In another, an action brought in July 1961 has not yet come to trial. The legal maxim, "Justice delayed is justice denied," is dramatically applicable in these cases.

Many of these cases illustrate the difficulties faced by an administration anxious to protect voting rights. Among the examples of the delays in these cases are the following:

United States against Raines, Terrell County, Ga., filed September 4, 1958; decree entered September 13, 1960.

United States against Alabama, Macon County, Ala., filed February 5, 1959; injunction issued March 17, 1961.

United States against Majors, Dallas County, Ala., filed April 1961; tried May 1962.

United States against Lucky, Ouachita Parish, La., filed January 1, 1961; not yet tried.

United States against Ramsey, Clarke County, Miss., filed July 1961; tried December 1962.

United States against Daniel, Jefferson Davis County, Miss., filed August 3, 1961; tried October 1962.

United States against Wood, Walthall County, Miss., filed August 1961; presently being tried.

United States against Ward, Madison Parish, La., filed October 1961; tried December 1962; no relief to date.

United States against Dogan, Tallahatchie County, Miss., filed November 17, 1961; segment of suit involving discrimination in registration not yet tried.

United States against Duke, Panola County, Miss., filed October 1961; tried March 1963; no relief to date.

The voting bill we introduce today includes four main provisions:

First. The appointment of temporary voting referees.

Second. Expedition of handling suits brought under Federal civil rights statutes.

Third. Requirement for application of uniform standards and procedures to applicants seeking to register.

Fourth. Establishment of a presumption that those seeking to vote who have a sixth grade education possess sufficient literacy to vote in Federal elections.

There is little doubt that this legislation would go far toward ending ugly racial incidents such as the recent one at Greenwood, Miss., where 19 Negroes were arrested during a registration campaign.

The President, at his press conference, pointed out that if the provision of this bill providing for temporary voting referees had been law, those seeking today to register in Greenwood, Miss., would have already gone before a court-appointed referee and many would be duly registered.

It is a shame that special legislation of this kind is necessary to win people their essential constitutional right. But clearly legislation is necessary, and I believe that Congress has no moral alternative but to pass it as swiftly as possible.

The most urgent part of this proposal is the provision for the appointment of temporary referees to carry out registration in these problem counties. All qualified citizens of these counties have the right to vote today, today, and also had this right yesterday. There is no excuse for putting off the full exercise of the right to vote—even for the lengthy period of litigation. Clearly the assurance that temporary relief can be obtained early in a voting case would be a most important step forward.

As always, the enactment of civil rights legislation is a lengthy task. Therefore, we are hopeful that there will be expeditious scheduling of committee consideration of this bill.

Mr. President, I ask that the text of the bill, together with the letter of transmittal from the Attorney General, be printed at this point in my remarks. I also ask that that portion of the President's civil rights message containing the recommendations on voting rights be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. President, I ask further that the bill lie on the table until the end of business on Thursday, April 11, for any addi-

tional Senators who might wish to join in sponsorship.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill, letter, and portion of the President's message referred to will be printed in the RECORD, and the bill will lie on the desk, as requested by the Senator from Michigan.

The bill (S. 1283) to enforce constitutional rights and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. HART (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as "The Voting Rights Act of 1963."

SEC. 2. Section 2004 of the Revised Statutes (42 U.S.C. 1971), as amended by section 131 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (71 Stat. 637) and as further amended by section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (74 Stat. 90) is further amended as follows:

(a) Insert "1" after "(a)" in subsection (a) and add at the end of subsection (a) the following new paragraphs:

"(2) No person acting under color of law shall

"(A) in determining whether any individual is qualified under State law to vote in any Federal election apply any standard, practice or procedure different from the standards, practices or procedures applied to individuals similarly situated who have been found by State officials to be qualified to vote.

"(B) deny the right of any individual to vote in any Federal election because of an error or omission of such individual on any record or paper relating to any application, registration, payment of poll tax, or other act requisite to voting, if such error or omission is not material in determining whether such individual is qualified under State law to vote in such election; or

"(C) employ any literacy test as a qualification for voting in any Federal election unless (i) such test is administered to each individual wholly in writing and (ii) a certified copy of the test and of the answers given by the individual is furnished to him within twenty-five days of the submission of his written request made within the period of time during which records and papers are required to be retained and preserved pursuant to title III of the Act of May 6, 1960 (74 Stat. 88).

"(3) For purposes of this subsection

"(A) the term 'vote' shall have the same meaning as in subsection (e) of this section;

"(B) the words 'Federal election' shall have the same meaning as in subsection (f) of this section; and

"(C) the phrase 'literacy test' includes any test of the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter."

(b) Insert immediately following the period at the end of the first sentence of subsection (c) the following new sentence: "If in any such proceeding literacy is a relevant fact it shall be presumed that any person who has not been adjudged an incompetent and who has completed the sixth grade in a school accredited by any State or Territory or the District of Columbia where instruction is carried on predominantly in the English language, possesses sufficient literacy, comprehension, and intelligence to vote in any Federal election as defined in subsection (f) of this section."

(c) Add the following subsection "(f)" and designate the present subsection "(f)" as subsection "(g)":

"(f) Whenever in any proceeding instituted pursuant to subsection (c) the complaint requests a finding of a pattern or practice pursuant to subsection (e), and such complaint, or a motion filed within twenty days after the effective date of this Act in the case of any proceeding which is pending before a district court on such effective date, (1) is signed by the Attorney General (or in his absence the Acting Attorney General), and (2) alleges that in the affected area fewer than fifteen percent of the total number of voting age persons of the same race as the persons alleged in the complaint to have been discriminated against are registered (or otherwise recorded as qualified to vote), any person resident within the affected area who is of the same race as the persons alleged to have been discriminated against shall be entitled, upon his application therefor, to an order declaring him qualified to vote, upon proof that at any election or elections (1) he is qualified under State law to vote, and (2) he has since the filing of the proceeding under subsection (c) been (A) deprived of or denied under color of law the opportunity to register to vote or otherwise to qualify to vote, or (B) found not qualified to vote by any person acting under color of law. Such order shall be effective as to any Federal or State election held within the longest period for which such applicant could have been registered or otherwise qualified under State law at which the applicant's qualifications would under State law entitle him to vote; provided that in the event it is determined upon final disposition of the proceeding, including any review, that no pattern or practice of deprivation of any right secured by subsection (a) exists, the order shall thereafter no longer qualify the applicant to vote in any subsequent election.

"Notwithstanding any inconsistent provision of State law or the action of any State officer or court, an applicant so declared qualified to vote shall be permitted to vote as provided herein. The Attorney General shall cause to be transmitted certified copies of any order declaring a person qualified to vote to the appropriate election officers. The refusal by any such officer with notice of such order to permit any person so qualified to vote to vote at an appropriate election shall constitute contempt of court.

"An application for an order pursuant to this subsection shall be heard within ten days, and the execution of any order disposing of such application shall not be stayed if the effect of such stay would be to delay the effectiveness of the order beyond the date of any election at which the applicant would otherwise be enabled to vote.

"The court may appoint one or more persons, to be known as temporary voting referees, to receive applications pursuant to this subsection and to take evidence and report to the court findings as to whether at any election or elections (1) any applicant entitled under this subsection to apply for an order declaring him qualified to vote is qualified under State law to vote, and (2) he has since the filing of the proceeding under subsection (c) been (A) deprived of or denied under color of law the opportunity to register to vote or otherwise to qualify to vote, or (B) found not qualified to vote by any person acting under color of law. The procedure for processing applications under this subsection and for the entry of orders shall be the same as that provided for in the fourth and fifth paragraphs of subsection (e).

"In appointing a temporary voting referee the court shall make its selection from a panel provided by the Judicial Conference of the circuit. Any temporary voting referee shall be a resident and a qualified voter of the State in which he is to serve. He shall subscribe to the oath of office required by Revised Statutes, section 1757 (5 U.S.C. 16) and shall to the extent not inconsistent herewith have all the powers conferred upon a master by Rule 53(c) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure. The compensation to be allowed any persons appointed by the district court pursuant to this subsection shall be fixed by the court and shall be payable by the United States. In the event that the district court shall appoint a retired officer or employee of the United States to serve as a temporary voting referee, such officer or employee shall continue to receive, in addition to any compensation for services rendered pursuant to this subsection, all retirement benefits to which he may otherwise be entitled.

"The court or temporary voting referee shall entertain applications and the court shall issue orders pursuant to this subsection until final disposition of the proceeding under subsection (c), including any review, or until the finding of a pattern or practice pursuant to subsection (e), whichever shall first occur. Applications pursuant to this subsection shall be determined expeditiously, and this subsection shall in no way be construed as a limitation upon the existing powers of the court.

"When used in this subsection, the words 'Federal election' shall mean any general, special, or primary election held solely or in part for the purpose of electing or selecting any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, presidential elector, Member of the Senate, or Member of the House of Representatives; the words 'State election' shall mean any other general, special, or primary election held solely or in part for the purpose of electing or selecting any candidate for public office; the words 'affected area' shall mean that county, parish or similar subdivision of the State in which the laws of the State relating to voting are or have been administered by a person who is a defendant in the proceeding instituted under subsection (c) on the date the original complaint is filed; and the words 'voting age persons' shall mean those persons who meet the age requirements of State law for voting."

(d) Add the following subsection "(h)":

"(h) In any civil action brought in any district court of the United States under Section 2004 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, and Title III of the Act of May 6, 1960 (74 Stat. 88), wherein the United States is plaintiff, it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the district (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) in which the case is pending immediately to designate a judge in such district to hear and determine the case. In the event that no judge in the district is available to hear and determine the case, the chief judge of the district, or the acting chief judge, as the case may be, shall certify this fact to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) who shall then designate a district or circuit judge of the circuit to hear and determine the case.

"It shall be the duty of the judge designated pursuant to this section to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date and to cause the case to be in every way expedited."

SEC. 3. If any provision of this Act is held invalid, the remainder of this Act shall not be affected thereby.

The letter and portion of the President's message presented by Mr. HART are as follows:

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, D.C., April 2, 1963.

The VICE PRESIDENT,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: It is my privilege to transmit for your consideration and

appropriate reference the text of a draft bill including four of the civil rights proposals recommended by the President and discussed in some detail in his message of February 28, 1963.

The bill includes:

1. A provision for temporary and interim relief, including the appointment of temporary voting referees, in certain circumstances while voting suits are proceeding through the Federal courts.

2. A provision to expedite voting suits brought under the Federal civil rights statutes.

3. A provision to require the application of uniform standards, practices and proceedures to all applicants seeking to register and to vote in Federal elections; to prohibit the disqualification of any applicant because of immaterial errors or omissions; and to require any literacy test given to an applicant for voting in a Federal election to be administered in writing.

4. A provision to establish a presumption in voting suits brought pursuant to subsection (c) of 42 U.S.C. 1971 that any person who has completed the sixth grade in an accredited school where instruction is predominantly in the English language possesses sufficient literacy to vote in any Federal election.

This bill is designed to remedy two major defects which experience has shown exist in the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. While these acts have proven a useful tool in the protection of voting rights, a considerable period of time, measurable in terms of years, frequently elapses between the filing of a lawsuit and its ultimate conclusion. The result is that with respect to specific elections occurring during that period, the right to vote is lost forever. This bill, therefore, would accelerate the enjoyment of voting rights previously recognized by the Constitution and laws of this country, but too long denied to a substantial segment of our population.

Second, this bill would explicitly prohibit the application of arbitrary and discriminatory standards in determining the qualifications of persons seeking to register and to vote in Federal elections. As the President stated in his message, no one can rightfully contend that any voting registrar should be permitted to deny the vote to any qualified citizen through discriminatory administration of qualifying tests, or upon the basis of minor errors in filling out a complicated form which seeks only information. Yet the experience of this Department has been that such arbitrary and discriminatory practices play a major role in the deprivation of the right of otherwise qualified citizens to vote.

The need for legislation to correct this administrative abuse and to alleviate the delay now experienced by many of our fellow citizens in the enjoyment of their right to vote cannot be overemphasized. The Department therefore urges that Congress give prompt and favorable consideration to this bill.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that this legislation is in accord with the program of the President.

Sincerely,

ROBERT KENNEDY,
Attorney General.

I. THE RIGHT TO VOTE

The right to vote in a free American election is the most powerful and precious right in the world—and it must not be denied on the grounds of race or color. It is a potent key to achieving other rights of citizenship. For American history—both recent and past—clearly reveals that the power of the ballot has enabled those who achieve it to win other achievements as well, to gain a full voice in the affairs of their State and Nation, and to see their interests represented in the governmental bodies which affect their future. In a free society, those with the power to govern are necessarily responsive to those with the right to vote.

In enacting the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts, Congress provided the Department of Justice with basic tools for protecting the right to vote—and this administration has not hesitated to use those tools. Legal action is brought only after voluntary efforts fail; and, in scores of instances, local officials, at the request of the Department of Justice, have voluntarily made voting records available or abandoned discriminatory registration, discriminatory voting practices, or segregated balloting. Where voluntary local compliance has not been forthcoming, the Department of Justice has approximately quadrupled the previous level of its legal effort—investigating coercion, inspecting records, initiating lawsuits, enjoining intimidation, and taking whatever followup action is necessary to forbid further interference or discrimination. As a result, thousands of Negro citizens are registering and voting for the first time—many of them in counties where no Negro had ever voted before. The Department of Justice will continue to take whatever action is required to secure the right to vote for all Americans.

Experience has shown, however, that these highly useful acts of the 85th and 86th Congresses suffer from two major defects. One is the usual long and difficult delay which occurs between the filing of a lawsuit and its ultimate conclusion. In one recent case, for example, 19 months elapsed between the filing of the suit and the judgment of the court. In another, an action brought in July 1961 has not yet come to trial. The legal maxim, "Justice delayed is justice denied," is dramatically applicable in these cases.

Too often those who attempt to assert their constitutional rights are intimidated. Prospective registrants are fired. Registration workers are arrested. In some instances, churches in which registration meetings are held have been burned. In one case where Negro tenant farmers chose to exercise their right to vote, it was necessary for the Justice Department to seek injunctions to halt their eviction and for the Department of Agriculture to help feed them from surplus stocks. Under these circumstances, continued delay in the granting of the franchise—particularly in counties where there is mass racial disfranchisement—permits the intent of the Congress to be openly flouted.

Federal executive action in such cases—no matter how speedy and how drastic—can never fully correct such abuses of power. It is necessary instead to free the forces of our democratic system within these areas by promptly insuring the franchise to all citizens, making it possible for their elected officials to be truly responsive to all their constituents.

The second and somewhat overlapping gap in these statutes is their failure to deal specifically with the most common forms of abuse of discretion on the part of local election officials who do not treat all applicants uniformly.

Objections were raised last year to the proposed literacy test bill, which attempted to speed up the enforcement of the right to vote by removing one important area of discretion from registration officials who used that discretion to exclude Negroes. Preventing that bill from coming to a vote did not make any less real the prevalence in many counties of the use of literacy and other voter qualification tests to discriminate against prospective Negro voters, contrary to the requirements of the 14th and 15th amendments, and adding to the delays and difficulties encountered in securing the franchise for those denied it.

An indication of the magnitude of the overall problem, as well as the need for speedy action, is a recent five-State survey disclosing over 200 counties in which fewer than 15 percent of the Negroes of voting age are registered to vote. This cannot continue. I am, therefore, recommending legislation to deal with this problem of judicial delay and administrative abuse in four ways:

First, to provide for interim relief while voting suits are proceeding through the courts in areas of demonstrated need, temporary Federal voting referees should be appointed to determine the qualifications of applicants for registration and voting during the pendency of a law-suit in any county in which fewer than 15 percent of the eligible number of persons of any race claimed to be discriminated against are registered to vote. Existing Federal law provides for the appointment of voting referees to receive and act upon applications for voting registration upon a court finding that a pattern or practice of discrimination exists. But to prevent a successful case from becoming an empty victory, insofar as the particular election is concerned, the proposed legislation would provide that, within these prescribed limits, temporary voting referees would be appointed to serve from the inception to the conclusion of the Federal voting suit, applying, however, only State law and State regulations. As officers of the court, their decisions would be subject to court scrutiny and review.

Second, voting suits brought under the Federal civil rights statutes should be accorded expedited treatment in the Federal courts, just as in many State courts election suits are given preference on the dockets on the sensible premise that, unless the right to vote can be exercised at a specific election, it is, to the extent of that election, lost forever.

Third, the law should specifically prohibit the application of different tests, standards, practices, or procedures for different applicants seeking to register and vote in Federal election. Under present law, the courts can ultimately deal with the various forms of racial discrimination practiced by local registrars. But the task of litigation, and the time consumed in preparation and proof, should be lightened in every possible fashion. No one can rightfully contend that any voting registrar should be permitted to deny the vote to any qualified citizen, anywhere in this country, through discriminatory administration of qualifying tests, or upon the basis of minor errors in filling out a complicated form which seeks only information. Yet the Civil Rights Commission, and the cases brought by the Department of Justice, have compiled one discouraging example after another of obstacles placed in the path of Negroes seeking to register to vote at the same time that other applicants experience no difficulty whatsoever. Qualified Negroes, including those with college degrees, have been denied registration for their inability to give a reasonable interpretation of the Constitution. They have been required to complete their applications with unreasonable precision, or to secure registered voters to vouch for their identity, or to defer to white persons who want to register ahead of them, or they are otherwise subjected to exasperating delays. Yet uniformity of treatment is required by the dictates of both the Constitution and fair play; and this proposed statute, therefore, seeks to spell out that principle to ease the difficulties and delays of litigation. Limiting the proposal to voting qualifications in elections for Federal offices alone will clearly eliminate any constitutional conflict.

Fourth, completion of the sixth grade should, with respect to Federal elections, constitute a presumption that the applicant is literate. Literacy tests pose especially difficult problems in determining voter qualification. The essentially subjective judgment involved in each individual case, the difficulty of challenging that judgment, have

made literacy tests one of the cruelest and most abused of all voter qualification tests. The incidence of such abuse can be eliminated, or at least drastically curtailed, by the proposed legislation providing that proof of completion of the sixth grade constitutes a presumption that the applicant is literate.

Finally, the 87th Congress—after 20 years of effort—passed and referred to the States for ratification a constitutional amendment to prohibit the levying of poll taxes as a condition to voting. Already 13 States have ratified the proposed amendment and in 3 more one body of the legislature has acted. I urge every State legislature to take prompt action on this matter and to outlaw the poll tax—which has too long been an outmoded and arbitrary bar to voting participation by minority groups and others—as the 24th amendment to the Constitution. This measure received bipartisan sponsorship and endorsement in the Congress, and I shall continue to work with Governors and legislative leaders of both parties in securing adoption of the anti-poll-tax amendment.

PATENT POLICY

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to establish a uniform national policy concerning proprietary rights in inventions made through the expenditure of public funds.

The Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights of the Committee on the Judiciary has been engaged for some time in a study of the patent policies and practices of the various Government departments and agencies. The subcommittee has given particular attention to determining what disposition shall be made of patent rights in inventions arising from Government-financed research and development contracts. The need for a determination by the Congress as to this Government's patent policy is made clear by the fact that during the present fiscal year it is estimated that the Federal Government will obligate $14.7 billion for research and development. Government agencies conducting research in related areas have different patent policies. The general policy relating to disposition of such patent rights should be made by the Congress and not left to the discretion of each Government department.

A number of bills have been introduced on this subject. These have ranged from almost total ownership of patent rights by the Government to bills which would almost totally exclude the Government from such ownership. The Patents Subcommittee, during the 87th Congress, held extensive hearings for the purpose of receiving testimony from all individuals and groups who could make a useful contribution. The record of these hearings has been carefully studied and additional proposals have been explored by the subcommittee.

While this subject will require further study and possibly additional hearings, I have concluded that the most appropriate legislation would be a bill which would provide general guidelines to be observed by Government departments in disposing of patent rights. I am also of the view that no informed judgment can be made as to the disposition of patent rights at the time when the contract is negotiated and that such determination should be deferred until the inventions are actually disclosed.

The bill which I have introduced today, in my opinion, constitutes a reasonable solution to a complex question—a question which should be resolved. While the bill reflects what I believe is a sound approach to this matter, I do not pretend that it is perfect. I therefore invite those who are interested in this subject to communicate to the subcommittee their views as to this bill and any suggestions which they have for amendments. After reviewing the entire situation, the subcommitte will decide whether additional hearings are required.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1290) to establish a uniform national policy concerning proprietary rights in inventions made through the expenditure of public funds, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. McCLELLAN, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

AUTHORIZATION FOR SECRETARY OF COMMERCE TO EMPLOY ALIENS IN A SCIENTIFIC OR TECHNICAL CAPACITY

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, by request, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to employ aliens in a scientific or technical capacity. I ask unanimous consent that a letter from the Secretary of Commerce, together with a statement of purpose and need for the proposed legislation, be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the letter and statement will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1291) to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to employ aliens in a scientific or technical capacity, introduced by Mr. MAGNUSON, by request, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The letter and statement presented by Mr. MAGNUSON are as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,
Washington, D.C., March 13, 1963.

Hon. LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
President of the Senate,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: There are attached four copies of a proposed bill "To authorize the Secretary of Commerce to employ aliens in a scientific or technical capacity."

There are also attached four copies of a statement of purpose and need for the proposed bill.

We are advised by the Bureau of the Budget that it would interpose no objection to the submission of this proposed legislation.

Sincerely yours,

LUTHER H. HODGES,
Secretary of Commerce.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE AND NEED

The proposed legislation will provide authority for the Department of Commerce to employ noncitizens in scientific or technical work. Authority, similar to that here sought, was granted by the Congress recently to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Congress has exempted the Department of Defense from the prohibitions against employment of noncitizens. The Departments of State and Agriculture, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the Public Health Service have also been given authority by Congress to employ noncitizens for certain necessary purposes.

On various occasions, agencies of this Department engaged in scientific and technical work of critical national importance have found that the only persons qualified and available to undertake these projects could not be hired because, as noncitizens, they were ineligible for employment by the Government.

The proposed legislation would enable the Department to make the best possible use of available scientific manpower. Any employment under the proposed legislation would, of course, continue to be subject to a prior determination that no qualified U.S. citizen is available for the particular position. The legislation provides adequate authority for investigation to determine the suitability and security status of aliens who may be employed thereunder. The Department of course has even more stringent security standards for aliens than it has for citizen applicants for comparable positions.

While the problems created by the prohibition on the hiring of aliens are present in several of the bureaus of the Department of Commerce, those problems are particularly severe at the National Bureau of Standards.

In certain areas of research now important in the technical program of the National Bureau of Standards, the availability of U.S. citizens with adequate specific training is extremely limited. Two factors have contributed to this situation. In the first place, the well-recognized general shortage of scientists and engineers in the United States has definitely restricted the Bureau's ability to fill important research positions. Secondly, some important Bureau research programs are in areas of the physical sciences that have not in recent years been fashionable or attractive to American students and scientists. In such fields, the training of new research scientists in American universities has been limited and the suppy of new research personnel has therefore continued to decline.

The following examples will illustrate the problems:

1. A number of our most important national programs are increasingly in need of precise data on atomic properties that can be obtained only through an intensive program in atomic spectroscopy. Such information is essential for example, in interpreting the astrophysical data obtained by space vehicles and other astronomical observatories, in measuring the energy and understanding the flow of energy in plasmas such as those involved in thermonuclear fusion research, and in understanding the physical processes involved in rocket propulsion. Programs such as these require information on the precise value of the spectral wavelengths of the radiated energy of the atoms of each of the elements and precise measurements of the rates with which atoms radiate or absorb energy.

The analysis of atomic spectra occupied the majority of the effort of academic physicists during the late 1920's and early 1930's, but most of the physicists trained in atomic spectroscopy during the early 1930's shifted their research interests to nuclear physics later in the decade. Through this change in interest and the retirement of previously active spectroscopists, great laboratories which once made major contributions to the field have drastically reduced their work in atomic spectroscopy. Thus, the recently in-

creased demand for an enormous quantity of precise data falls primarily upon the National Bureau of Standards just at a time when American universities have been producing very few trained personnel in this field.

Although disappearing from American universities, spectroscopy is still an active field of study and research interest abroad. Major institutions are producing qualified atomic spectroscopists in Sweden, Israel, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Spain, and Belgium. While the nationals of some of these countries may be employed by the National Bureau of Standards under the present statutory authorization, it is desirable to extend the authorization to all such countries so that the Bureau may recruit the best-qualified research personnel for its particular programs.

2. A similar situation exists with respect to applied mathematics. In a number of relatively "unfashionable" branches of mathematics, the general shortage of trained mathematicians is aggravated by the lack of interest on the part of American students. Numerical analysis, for example, which involves the use of numerical techniques for the solution of problems of physics, chemistry, and engineering is a relatively new mathematical field in the United States. It has, however, become an important field in recent years because of the availability of powerful computers and the applicability of numerical analysis to extremely difficult problems in science and technology. One of the most valuable sources of trained personnel in this field of mathematics is Switzerland but the National Bureau of Standards is, under the present statute, precluded from the employment of Swiss nationals.

3. The neutron measurement field is another area in which the Bureau could obtain important assistance from Swiss scientists. Many segments of Government and industry look to the National Bureau of Standards for basic information on neutron cross sections and neutron polarization. Such data are of great importance in radiation shielding problems vital to defense and in reactor development. The Bureau has experienced great difficulty in recruiting competent scientists in this increasingly important field. The Bureau is aware of at least two Swiss nationals who are highly qualified for this work and probably would be interested in coming to the National Bureau of Standards if suitable authority was available for their employment.

REPEAL OF SECTION 1(8) OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE ACT

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, by request, I introduce for appropriate reference, a bill which would repeal section 1(8) of the Interstate Commerce Act, known as the commodities clause.

This bill is introduced at the request of the Transportation Association of America, and I ask unanimous consent that a letter from that association as well as statement of justification prepared by that association be included in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the letter and statement of justification will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1292) to repeal section 1(8) of the Interstate Commerce Act, commonly known as the commodities clause, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The letter and statement of justification presented by Mr. MAGNUSON are as follow:

TRANSPORTATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
Washington, D.C., March 15, 1963.

Hon. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
Chairman, Senate Commerce Committee, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN MAGNUSON: You will recall that during the last Congress, you introduced a bill, S. 734, to repeal section 1(8) of the Interstate Commerce Act, commonly known as the commodities clause. This clause presently restricts a railroad from transporting in interstate commerce commodities—other than lumber and the manufactured products thereof—which it owns, produces, or in which it has any interest, except commodities used in its business as a common carrier. A photocopy of your statement on the floor of the Senate when introducing this bill is enclosed, as taken from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 31, 1961.

Since the conditions justifying such legislation are just as valid today as at the time of introduction of this bill, we are hopeful that you will again consent to introduce such a bill. If agreeable, you could use approximately the same statement as given on January 31, 1961, or you might consider remarks along the lines of the enclosed statement. Also enclosed is a copy of the actual language of the bill, which you can note is quite simple.

As you undoubtedly are well aware, the President, in his transportation message of 1962, recommended that this clause be repealed. He stated further:

"The need for this provision, which goes back to the days of oppressive railroad monopoly, has largely passed; and its current effect is to handicap the railroads in competing with other modes of transportation. The antitrust laws can insure protection against the possible abuse by a railroad of its dual status as shipper and carrier."

Since this recommendation is thus part of the President's transport program, we hope that you will include any bill calling for repeal of the commodities clause with the administration's omnibus bill when you schedule the latter for hearings in the coming months. TAA would, of course, like to present testimony in support of repeal of the commodities clause.

Sincerely,

HAROLD F. HAMMOND,
President.

STATEMENT OF JUSTIFICATION

It is recommended that section 1(8) of the Interstate Commerce Act, commonly known as the commodities clause be repealed.

The clause, as it now stands, reads as follows:

"(8) From and after May 1, 1908, it shall be unlawful for any railroad company to transport from any State, territory, or the District of Columbia, to any other State, territory, or the District of Columbia, or to any foreign country, any article or commodity, other than timber and the manufactured products thereof, manufactured, mined or produced by it, or under its authority or which it may own in whole or in part, or in which it may have any interest, direct or indirect, except such articles or commodities as may be necessary and intended for its use in the conduct of its business as a common carrier."

Thus, the commodities clause presently restricts a railroad company from transporting in interstate commerce commodities which it owns (other than timber and the manufactured products thereof), produces, or in which it has any interest, except commodities which may be used in its business as a common carrier.

Since the passage of the clause—over 50 years ago—other acts have been enacted to provide for the regulation of other modes of transportation. None of these acts contain a provision similar to the commodities clause.

Competition between the various types of transport has developed since that time to a point of great intensity. This highly competitive condition in today's transportation field has made this clause an unnecessary and outmoded form of regulation that unfairly burdens the railroads.

The history of the commodities clause indicates that abuses at which it was originally directed would be reached by the antitrust laws or by the Interstate Commerce Commission's control over discrimination and railroad service. Since the clause first became effective, the jurisdiction of the ICC has greatly increased and the Commission now has the power to correct and prevent discrimination and preferential treatment.

The railroads presently occupy no monopoly position in the transport industry; in fact, their relative share of both total freight and passenger traffic has steadily declined since World War II. They are faced with intense competition from thousands of other carriers—both regulated and unregulated—and none of them is prevented from engaging in other nontransport fields by a commodities clause. Nonrail carriers are continuing to expand into many types of nontransport business operations.

Many of the largest and most prosperous corporations in the United States carry their own commodities in their own barges, ships, and trucks. It is estimated that at least one half of the total truck ton-mileage is moved by shippers' privately owned or leased equipment. If the commodities clause were applied in reverse, other industries would be prohibited from performing their own transportation services.

The President, in his transportation message of 1962, specifically called for repeal of the commodities clause. He stated: "The need for this provision, which goes back to the days of oppressive railroad monopoly, has largely passed; and its current effect is to handicap the railroads in competing with other modes of transportation. The antitrust laws can insure protection against the possible abuse by a railroad of its dual status as shipper and carrier."

Therefore, in order to relieve the railroads of an outdated regulation and to help "provide fair and impartial regulation," as called for in the declaration of national transportation policy in the Interstate Commerce Act, section 1(8) of the act should be repealed.

AMENDMENT OF SECTION 64(a)(2) OF THE BANKRUPTCY ACT

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference, a bill to amend section 64(a)(2) of the Bankruptcy Act and ask that it lie over for 3 days for the benefit of those who want to cosponsor this important legislation.

I ask unanimous consent that the accompanying explanation of the bill also be printed immedately following the draft of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and explanation will be printed in the RECORD, and the bill will lie on the desk as requested by the Senator from South Carolina.

Suffrage General

union leaders and teachers who had been working in collusion with the Soviet Embassy, and jailed their leaders.

Second, Soviet economic aid often neglects a nation's basic needs in favor of showy, politically motivated projects. Among the biggest Soviet bloc projects in Guinea are a radio transmitter, a printing plant, a sports stadium, a hotel, an outdoor theater and a citywide loudspeaker system. But the things that countries like Guinea really need are education, vocational training, agricultural development, good roads and small industries. The Soviets helped neither the country's economy nor their own popularity with the Guineans.

Third, the Soviets tried to control the economies of these young countries by means of attractive-sounding barters. It didn't take the Guineans long to find out the the Czechs and others were sending them overpriced and often shoddy equipment in exchange for Guinean products, which were then resold in the West for hard cash. And there's no better way of antagonizing an African than to appear to be taking advantage of him.

Fourth, the Soviet and other Eastern European technicians sent to Africa have had little or no experience in dealing with Africans. They don't understand their ways, they get annoyed with them—and friction follows. Their attitude—a mixture of grumbling and indifference—is resented by Africans, who like strangers to be friendly and relaxed. Word gets around that the Soviets are racists (because they don't mingle), uncultured (because they speak only Russian and their clothes are often dowdy or incompetent (because much of their equipment is inferior in quality to what the Guineans, for example, knew under the French). And when word gets around in Africa, it really gets around.

Finally, the Soviet effort to win over young Africans by giving them scholarships in Communist states has misfired. Africans in Eastern Europe have experienced racial discrimination—where they expected none; they complain about being subjected to long hours of political indoctrination. Back home, they compare notes with students who have gone to the United States, France, or Britain—and wish they had gone West.

So it's more than likely the Soviets are engaged in their own agonizing reappraisal about Africa. Here in Guinea, after 3 years and $125 million in Soviet bloc credits and grants, their record is nothing to brag about: a cluster of half-finished public buildings, a radio station and loud-speaker system that don't work, a stagnant economy, a disillusioned people, an Ambassador expelled and a government turning to the West and to private enterprise for development.

It isn't hard to imagine the uproar in Congress and the press if the United States had expended all this money and effort with similar results.

Knowing the Communists' capacity for taking the long view of history, we can't expect them to give up in Africa. The Chinese are quietly cultivating African leaders and avoiding Soviet mistakes. And the Soviets will never again take the Africans for granted.

But we should not gloat over Soviet failures, nor should we expect that the Africans will necessarily go pro-West. They are and will remain primarily concerned with independence, dignity, progress, and noninvolvement in the struggle of the major powers.

Our task now is to intensify our efforts to help Africans develop their countries in practical, useful ways. We have made a good start, but we need to remember that this is an impatient continent that wants to catch up with the rest of the world. Speed is a more important factor than size in African development programs; if the younger generations can't see signs of progress in cooperation with the West, they may yet be enticed down the Soviet path.

OUR BEST APPROACH

For the moment our best approach to Africa can be summed up in four words—we should try to be firm, friendly, frank, and fast.

We must be firm in our commitment to freedom in Africa; friendly and frank in our dealings with Africa's leaders, and fast in carrying out our promises to give desperately needed help.

Frankness has already paid off. Today most African leaders have overcome their suspicions of the United States and are beginning to realize that what we want for them is what they want for themselves: political independence and economic progress in freedom.

What the Communists want is very different—as the Africans are finding out.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S VOTING COMMISSION

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, democracy cannot exist without the voluntary participation of free citizens in the process of government. In our representative democracy, the will of the public is expressed through voting at the polls for those who are to make and carry out our laws and policies. All over the country on election day, in the smallest hamlets and the largest cities, millions of voters flock to the polls to exercise their right as a free people to select their representatives by secret ballot.

It is with great pride that I point out that Idaho has led the Nation in the last two presidential elections—1956 and 1960—in the percentage of civilians of voting age who actually cast ballots. In 1956, 77.3 percent of Idaho's eligible voters went to the polls and voted. And in 1960, this percentage rose to 80.8. I am confident that one of the major reasons for this extremely high turnout of voters in my State is the liberality of the voter-registration laws. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point tables which rank the States according to their respective voting percentages in the 1956 and 1960 general elections.

There being no objection, the tables were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

How the States ranked in percentage of civilians of voting age who cast ballots in the 1956 presidential election

Rank	State	Percentage	Rank	State	Percentage	Rank	State	Percentage	Rank	State	Percentage
1	Idaho	77.3	14	Washington	71.4	27	New York	65.5	39	North Carolina	47.7
2	Connecticut	76.6	15	New Jersey	70.1	28	Pennsylvania	65.0	40	Tennessee	46.0
3	Utah	76.1	16	Colorado	69.6	29	California	65.0	41	Arkansas	39.9
4	Massachusetts	75.3	17	Wyoming	68.9	30	Ohio	64.9	42	Texas	38.1
5	New Hampshire	75.2	18	Vermont	68.6	31	Nevada	64.7	43	Louisiana	37.3
6	Rhode Island	74.6	19	Oregon	68.5	32	Maine	64.6	44	Virginia	34.2
7	Iowa	74.1	20	Minnesota	67.8	33	Oklahoma	64.0	45	Georgia	30.4
8	Illinois	72.5	21	Kansas	67.7	34	New Mexico	62.1	46	Alabama	28.5
9	Indiana	72.4	22	Missouri	67.5	35	Kentucky	56.7	47	South Carolina	24.6
10	West Virginia	72.4	23	Michigan	67.1	36	Maryland	54.8	48	Mississippi	22.1
11	Montana	72.3	24	North Dakota	67.0	37	Arizona	49.7			
12	South Dakota	72.2	25	Wisconsin	66.6	38	Florida	48.3		National average	60.4
13	Delaware	71.5	26	Nebraska	65.9						

1960 ELECTION SCOREBOARD

Percentage of civilians of voting age who voted in the 1960 presidential election

Rank	State	Civilian population of voting age	Total vote	Percent	Rank	State	Civilian population of voting age	Total vote	Percent
1	Idaho	372,000	300,451	80.766	26	Nebraska	857,000	613,095	71.539
2	New Hampshire	367,000	295,761	80.588	27	Ohio	5,833,000	4,161,859	71.349
3	Utah	469,000	374,981	79.953	28	Oregon	1,089,000	775,462	71.208
4	North Dakota	350,000	278,431	79.551	29	Kansas	1,315,000	928,825	70.633
5	South Dakota	388,000	306,087	78.831	30	California	9,219,000	6,507,082	70.583
6	West Virginia	1,085,000	837,781	77.214	31	Pennsylvania	7,102,000	5,006,541	70.494
7	Minnesota	2,003,000	1,541,887	76.978	32	New York	10,788,000	7,291,079	67.584
8	Connecticut	1,590,000	1,222,883	76.910	33	Oklahoma	1,399,000	903,150	64.556
9	Indiana	2,784,000	2,135,360	76,701	34	New Mexico	491,000	311,118	63.364
10	Massachusetts	3,230,000	2,469,480	76.454	35	Nevada	174,000	107,267	61.647
11	Iowa	1,669,000	1,273,820	76.321	36	Kentucky	1,876,000	1,124,462	59,939
12	Illinois	6,244,000	4,757,394	76.191	37	Arizona	680,000	398,491	58.601
13	Rhode Island	533,000	405,534	76.085	38	Maryland	1,819,000	1,055,349	58.017
14	Wyoming	186,000	140,892	75.748	39	Hawaii	321,000	184,745	57.552
15	Delaware	264,000	196,683	74.501	40	North Carolina	2,521,000	1,368,966	54.302
16	Maine	574,000	421,767	73.478	41	Tennessee	2,079,000	1,051,792	50.591
17	Michigan	4,519,000	3,318,097	73.425	42	Florida	3,099,000	1,544,180	49.828
18	Alaska	83,000	60,762	73.207	43	Louisiana	1,770,000	807,891	45.604
19	Colorado	1,007,000	736,246	73.112	44	Texas	5,329,000	2,311,670	43.379
20	Missouri	2,651,000	1,934,422	72.969	45	Arkansas	1,029,000	428,509	41.643
21	Washington	1,703,000	1,241,572	72.905	46	Virginia	2,244,000	771,449	34.378
22	Wisconsin	2,373,000	1,729,082	72.864	47	South Carolina	1,227,000	386,687	31.514
23	Vermont	230,000	167,324	72.749	48	Georgia	2,342,000	733,349	31.312
24	New Jersey	3,827,000	2,773,111	72.461	49	Alabama	1,825,000	564,242	30.917
25	Montana	387,000	277,579	71.725	50	Mississippi	1,163,000	298,171	25.638

Sources: State election officials, U.S. Census Bureau.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, as indicated by the charts, every election day there is a substantial number of citizens who do not exercise their franchise. In the last presidential election, only 63.9 percent of the potential voters—less than two-thirds—actually went to the polls. In 1952 and 1956 the comparable figures were 62.7 percent and 60.4 percent. This demonstrates that there is a bloc of potential voters, making up practically 40 percent of the electorate, who do not vote. The percentage of nonvoters in State and local elections is even greater.

The existence of this large group of voters should be a source of concern to all of us who want a vital democracy. It has led President Kennedy to recently establish the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation. The purpose of the Commission is to study the causes for the failure of many Americans to exercise their right to vote. The Commission has been asked to give particular attention to laws which restrict registration on the basis of residence, economic status and for other reasons; procedures for registration of voters; absentee voting provisions; causes of nonvoting by persons otherwise qualified to vote.

The Executive order establishing the Commission specifically directs it to avoid consideration of problems involving the denial of registration and voting on the basis of racial or other discriminatory grounds which are within the jurisdiction of the Commission on Civil Rights. The President, in a statement issued at the formation of the Commission, said that "responsible Americans are increasingly concerned with the widespread failure of our citizens to exercise their right to vote and restrictions which prevent many Americans from voting."

The Chairman of the Commission is Richard M. Scammon, Director of the Bureau of the Census. The other members include Bert Bennett, chairman, North Carolina State Democratic Executive Committee, Winston Salem, N.C.; Robert A. Forsythe, State chairman, Republican Party of Minnesota, Edwina, Minn.; Evron M. Kirkpatrick, executive director, American Political Science Association, Bethesda, Md.; James Bradshaw Mintener, attorney and civic worker, Washington, D.C.; Brendan Byrne, executive director, American Heritage Foundation, New York City.

The Commission also includes John Perkins, president of the University of Delaware, Newark, Del.; Mrs. Ruth Schertz Phillips, president, League of Women Voters (national), St. Charles, Ill.; Roy Reuther, director, United Auto Workers' Citizenship-Legislative Department, Detroit, Mich.; Victoria Schuck, professor of political science, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.; and Leon H. Washington, Jr., publisher, Los Angeles Sentinel, Los Angeles, Calif. The Commission is to report its recommendations to the President by November 30, 1963.

This bipartisan assemblage of responsible and knowledgeable citizens have an important task, which I am sure they will fulfill admirably. Their recommendations should be carefully studied by all those concerned with establishing an effective democracy. Let us look at some of the problems confronting them. The respected American Heritage Foundation, whose director is a member of the Commission, estimates that in 1956 more than 6 million citizens were disenfranchised because of moving and thereby failing to meet the residential requirement for registration. Many States make no provision for absentee ballots by the hospitalized and physically disabled. Some 5 million Americans were thus kept from the polls in 1956. It is also estimated that approximately 2,600,000 travelers were prevented from voting because they had no way of obtaining absentee ballots.

Registration requirements, one of the main areas of concern to the Commission, vary widely across the country. It is interesting to note that the 12 States which require only 6 months' residence in the State had an average of 73.5 percent of their potential voting population go to the polls in 1960. The three States, all southern, which required a 2-year residency averaged only 29.2 percent of potential, and the remainder of the States, having a 1-year requirement, averaged 63.3 percent of potential voters casting ballots.

In the 12 States with 6-month residency requirements, 85.8 percent of the potential voters are actually registered to vote. In the 2-year States and in the 1-year States, the comparable figures are 48 and 73.8 percent. There are many factors involved in the motivation of citizens to register and vote, but the above figures indicate that liberalized residency requirements are associated with greater participation in registration and voting.

One of the most difficult areas to study in voting is that of motivation. What impels a citizen to go to the polls or to stay away, aside from legal and procedural impediments? Part of the answer may be tradition and education. England and Canada, for example, have consistently higher turnouts at the polls than we do in America. In the last national election in each country, 8 out of every 10 voters went and cast ballots. Part of the answer, I think, can be found in giving a better education in the responsibilities of the democratic process to our young people. It should spur us to action to discover that Americans between the ages of 21 and 29 have the poorest voting record. I would think that the Commission would

recommend programs designed to correct this problem.

Each of us has a stake in making democracy work. I think that the public-spirited citizens who have agreed to serve on the Commission on Registration and Voting Participation should be applauded for their role in formulating recommendations to make democracy work better. In summing up this discussion, I would like to append an editorial from the Washington Post entitled "Why Don't They Vote?" which outlines the necessity for a study such as that being undertaken by the Commission. An article by the well-known public opinion researcher Elmo Roper is also appended as a factual look at the state of registration and voting procedures and deficiencies. I ask unanimous consent that both of these articles be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY DON'T THEY VOTE?

President Kennedy is quite properly concerned about the 37,500,000 Americans of voting age who do not go to the polls. In the congressional elections the number of stay-at-homes is much larger. Last year only 49 percent of the potential voters actually cast ballots. What kept the majority away? Fortunately, the President's concern has prompted him to name a commission under the chairmanship of Richard M. Scammon, Director of the Census Bureau, to find out why so many avoid the polls and to recommend what should be done about it.

Many millions of Americans lose their votes each year because of changes in their places of residence. Some of this loss is unavoidable in a society on wheels, but an enormous amount of it is a direct result of voting laws carried over from the horse-and-buggy days. In many States the residence requirement for voting is unreasonably long. Others offer inadequate opportunity for registration. So much has been said in recent years about racial bars to voting (which are a special concern of the Civil Rights Commission) that other major impediments have been much neglected.

Another serious weakness is the system for absentee voting as it operates in many of the States. Why should not absentee ballots be made available to all qualified voters who are hospitalized or ill at home and to those who are away from home for any purpose as well as to the personnel of the armed services? Wider use of absentee voters' ballots could add many millions to the list of voters in a general election.

Some allowance always will have to be made for the few who "take a walk" on election day because of irritation with both parties and for those who have not sufficient interest in public affairs to go to the polls. A free country where voting is solely a matter of individual choice can never expect to equal the turnout of a totalitarian country where voting is in fact or in effect compulsory. But a vast improvement in the American voting record could be made by simply modernizing the laws so as to encourage participation instead of making it unnecessarily burdensome.

HOW TO LOSE YOUR VOTE

(By Elmo Roper)

Most people are indignant about the denial of voting rights to Negroes. Such disfranchisement is a glaring evil, an obvious contradiction of the Nation's moral principles, and as such it is easy to react against it passionately. Yet other forms of disfranchisement affecting much larger numbers of Americans arouse merely a public yawn.

There are between 2,500,000 and 4 million victims of poll tax and prejudice disfranchisement; but there are also 3 million Americans who can't vote because they are traveling in or out of the country or living abroad; 5 million who can't get to the polls because of illness or disability; and the largest group of all, 8 million otherwise eligible citizens who have moved too recently to be allowed to vote under our laws.

These victims of what might be called "accidental prejudice" lack partisans and pamphleteers; their cases are undramatic and their plight is taken for granted. But when one tries to formulate the rationale behind denying the vote to people who happen to be away from home, or who are ill, when one asks the relevance of State or local residence to voting in a presidential election, one is quickly forced to conclude that these are clear cases of "discrimination by law."

We pollsters have been complaining for years that only two-thirds of the electorate bother to vote—and that's in good years. This not only limits the democratic process but also inconveniences us by making election prediction more difficult.

Actually, we have been a bit unfair to the electorate, for a large proportion of those berated nonvoters are in that category through no fault of their own. In the 1960 presidential elections, 66 percent of voting-age citizens voted.

But of those citizens who actually met all State voting requirements, a larger 82 percent voted. Clearly, changes in those voting requirements would do more to "get out the vote" than any amount of preaching about the virtues of voting by public opinion pollsters or citizens' groups.

The proof lies in the actual voting records of the various States. In Idaho, where there is permanent tax-free registration and voters are allowed to register up to 3 days before the election, where only 6 months' residence in the State and 30 days in the county are required, where there is a liberal absentee voting law, 81 percent of the voting population voted in 1960.

In contrast, Mississippi, which requires 2 years' residence in the State and 1 year in the election district, which (except for the military) has a poll tax and no absentee voting, and which requires voters "to read, write, and interpret reasonably any section of the State constitution," had a 1960 turnout of 26 percent.

The eight States at the top of the turnout list—Idaho, New Hampshire, Utah, the Dakotas, West Virginia, Minnesota, and Connecticut—all have laws that facilitate voting.

The eight States at the bottom of the list—Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Virgina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and, finally, Mississippi—have laws that raise formidable barriers to voting. In the case of Negroes, these barriers are no doubt raised intentionally, but their effects extend farther than intended.

Around the period of any presidential election a certain amount of public feeling is aroused about such potential sources of voting injustice as the presidential primary and the electoral college.

Even the President recently wrote off any hope of doing anything about the imbedded electoral college, but perhaps enough public concern remains to provide the impetus to change some outmoded State election laws. Here are some changes suggested by experts and supported by the American Heritage Foundation, which might well be passed on to interested groups and legislators:

1. To facilitate the voting of movers in a nation increasingly on the move (a generally well-educated and thus highly qualified voting group), state residence requirements for local, State, and congressional elections should be reduced to 6 months and county requirements to 30 days. Residence requirements for voting in presidential elections should be pared to a minimum (Ohio now requires 40 days' residence), and people who move just before election day should be allowed to vote either in person or by absentee ballot—in the place they moved from.

2. All eligible voters physically unable to get to the polls should be allowed to vote—and register—by mail. Liberalization of the absentee balloting system—a measure supported by a heavy majority of the public—would solve most of the problems of travelers, people living abroad, as well as the sick, disabled and hospitalized.

3. Primaries should be held in late May or early June, instead of the summer, when many people are away on vacation.

4. Ballots should be shortened so that voters are not required to pass judgment on candidates they have never heard of for offices that logically belong under civil service or some other merit system.

5. Uncommunicative legal jargon used to describe propositions and amendments should be replaced by simple, descriptive language.

6. Registration should be permanent and registration lists should be checked annually to avoid fraud.

7. Paper ballots should be eliminated as fast as possible; voting machines or some better device should be substituted.

8. Literacy tests should be prepared by educators and should be objective and discrimination-proof.

If we can get some of the States to make some of these changes, we shall be on our way to that age-old democratic dream: universal suffrage.

FATHER DAMIEN AND THE KALAUPAPA SETTLEMENT

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, 90 years ago this month a young priest arrived at a forlorn settlement in the Hawaiian Islands to dedicate his life to the care of a colony of lepers. For 16 years, Father Joseph Damien de Veuster labored among the lepers until finally he himself became afflicted with the same disease and died a martyr's death.

The poignant story of the "Martyr of Molokai"—his life of self-sacrifice, his indomitable courage in rendering succor and solace to the outcasts in the leper colony—is related in an article which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin last week, under the byline of an able reporter, Chuck Frankel.

Father Damien's memory is held in such high esteem and affection and his work among the lepers regarded as so heroic that his many admirers have suggested a statue of the "Martyr of Molokai" be placed in Statuary Hall in this Capitol.

It is significant that the religious order of which he was a member—the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, more popularly known as the Picpus Fathers—is promoting the cause for Father Damien's beatification so that eventually he may be elevated to the rank of sainthood in the Catholic Church.

In noting the anniversary of the beginning of Father Damien's ministrations on Molokai, where a modern, efficient Hansen's disease settlement stands today, I should like to pay tribute to the

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THE MYSTERY OF A LOST LAW

Did you know that a whole section of the American Constitution has never been carried out? Well, it's true. Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment, which was adopted in 1868 and deals with the voting rights of American citizens, has never been enforced.

Specifically, this constitutional provision, which was one of many adopted after the Civil War to give full citizenship rights to the former slaves, provides that any state abridging or denying its citizens' right to vote shall have its quota of congressmen in the House of Representatives reduced proportionately. Thus, if state "X" is entitled by population to a quota of 10 congressmen, but 20% of its citizens are denied the right to register because they are Negroes, then under the Fourteenth Amendment state "X" should send only eight members to the House.

If Section 2 has never been carried out, it is not because there were no grounds for it. Quite the contrary; Negroes have been denied their voting rights in some states ever since the Fourteenth Amendment was first adopted. Today, only about one fourth of the non-whites in 12 Southern states are registered to vote. In 129 counties with heavy Negro populations, less than 10% of adult Negroes are registered to vote and in 23 counties not a single Negro is registered to vote.

Now, 95 years after the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted, two separate moves are afoot to begin to carry it out. In the Congress, Senator McNamara of Michigan has submitted a bill to implement it. And in the courts, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is seeking a court test to enforce it. But, at best, justice will still be delayed. The word from Congress is that short of an avalanche of popular support for the McNamara Bill it is destined to be strangled by those famous gold-dust twins, the reactionary Republicans and Southern Democrats. And in the courts, even if the NAACP wins its suit, the provisions of Section 2 cannot be carried out until after 1970, when the next national census will be taken. That's why the adoption of President Kennedy's civil rights bill, which boosts the Negro's chance of registering to vote in the South, is so important right now. It at least provides effective relief until the full weight of the Constitution can be brought into the battle. But, in the long run, both measures are needed if the voting rights of all Americans are to be safeguarded.

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"On that day we rest, and to us it is the Sabbath of the Lord—its decent observance in a Christian community is that which ought to be expected.

"It is not perhaps necessary for the purposes of this case to rule and hold that the Christian religion is part of the common law of South Carolina. Still it may be useful to show that it lies at the foundation of even the article of the Constitution under consideration, and that upon it rest many of the principles and usages, constantly acknowledged and enforced, in the courts of justice."

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court, in *Updegraph* v. *The Commonwealth*, 11 Sergeant and Rawle, 400, made this declaration:

"Christianity, general Christianity, is, and always has been, a part of the common law of Pennsylvania; Christianity, without the spiritual artillery of European countries; for this Christianity was one of the considerations of the royal charter, and the very basis of its great founder, William Penn; not Christianity founded on any particular religious tenets; not Christianity with an established church, and tithes, and spiritual courts; but Christianity with liberty of conscience to all men."

And subsequently, in *Johnson* v. *The Commonwealth*, 10 Harris, 111:

"It is not our business to discuss the obligations of Sunday any further than they enter into and are recognized by the law of the land. The common law adopted it, along with Christianity, of which it is one of the bulwarks."

In *Arkansas*, *Shover* v. *The State*, 10 English, 263, the Supreme Court said:

"Sunday or the Sabbath is properly and emphatically called the Lord's Day, and is one amongst the first and most sacred institutions of the Christian religion. This system of religion is recognized as constituting a part and parcel of the common law, and as such all of the institutions growing out of it, or, in any way, connected with it, in case they shall not be found to interfere with the rights of conscience, are entitled to the most profound respect, and can rightfully claim the protection of the lawmaking power of the State."

The Supreme Court of Maryland, in *Judefind* v. *The State*, 78 Maryland, 514, declared:

"The Sabbath is emphatically the day of rest, and the day of rest here is the Lord's Day or Christian's Sunday. Ours is a Christian community, and a day set apart as the day of rest is the day consecrated by the resurrection of our Saviour, and embraces the 24 hours next ensuing the midnight of Saturday. But it would scarcely be asked of a court, in what professes to be a Christian land, to declare a law unconstitutional because it requires rest from bodily labor on Sunday (except works of necessity and charity) and thereby promotes the cause of Christianity."

If now we pass from the domain of official action and recognition to that of individual acceptance, we enter a field of boundless extent, and I can only point out a few of the prominent facts:

Notice our educational institutions. I have already called your attention to the provisions of the charters of the first three colleges. Think of the vast number of academies, colleges and universities scattered through the land. Some of them, it is true, are under secular control, but there is yet to be established in this country one of those institutions founded on the religions of Confucius, Buddha or Mohammed, while an overwhelming majority are under the special direction and control of Christian teachers.

Notice also the avowed and pronounced Christian forces of the country, and here I must refer to the census of 1890, for the statistics of the census of 1900 in these matters have not been compiled: The population was 62,622,000. There were 165,000 Christian church organizations, owning 142,000 buildings, in which were sittings for 40,625,000 people. The communicants in these churches numbered 20,476,000, and the value of the church property amounted to $669,876,000. In other words, about one-third of the entire population were directly connected with Christian organizations. Nearly two-thirds would find seats in our churches. If to the members we add the children and others in their families more or less connected with them, it is obvious that a large majority were attached to the various church organizations. I am aware that the relationship between many members and their churches is formal, and that church relations do not constitute active and paramount forces in their lives, and yet it is clear that there is an identification of the great mass of American citizens with the Christian church. It is undoubtedly true that there is no little complaint of the falling off in church attendance, and of a lukewarmness on the part of many, and on the other hand there is a diversion of religious force along the lines of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Christian Endeavor Society, and the Epworth League. All these, of course, are matters to be noticed, but they do not avoid the fact of a formal adhesion of the great majority of our people to the Christian faith; and while creeds and dogmas and denominations are in a certain sense losing their power, and certainly their antagonisms, yet as a vital force in the land, Christianity is still the mighty factor. Connected with the denominations are large missionary bodies constantly busy in extending Christian faith through this Nation and through the world. No other religious organization has anything of a foothold or is engaged in active work unless it be upon so small a scale as scarcely to be noticed in the great volume of American life.

Again, the Bible is the Christian's book. No other book has so wide a circulation, or is so universally found in the households of the land. During their century of existence the English and American Bible societies have published and circulated 250 million copies, and this represents but a fraction of its circulation. And then think of the multitude of volumes published in exposition, explanation and illustration of that book, or some portion of it.

You will have noticed that I have presented no doubtful facts. Nothing has been stated which is debatable. The quotations from charters are in the archives of the several States; the laws are on the statute books; judicial opinions are taken from the official reports; statistics from the census publications. In short, no evidence has been presented which is open to question.

I could easily enter upon another line of examination. I could point out the general trend of public opinion, the disclosures of purposes and beliefs to be found in letters, papers, books, and unofficial declarations. I could show how largely our laws and customs are based upon the laws of Moses and the teachings of Christ; how constantly the Bible is appealed to as the guide of life and the authority in questions of morals; how the Christian doctrines are accepted as the great comfort in times of sorrow and affliction, and fill with the light of hope the services for the dead. On every hilltop towers the steeple of some Christian church, while from the marble witnesses in God's acre comes the universal but silent testimony to the common faith in the Christian doctrine of the resurrection and the life hereafter.

But I must not weary you. I could go on indefinitely, pointing out further illustrations both official and nonofficial, public and private; such as the annual Thanksgiving proclamations, with their following days of worship and feasting; announcements of days of fasting and prayer; the universal celebration of Christmas; the gathering of millions of our children in Sunday Schools, and the countless volumes of Christian literature, both prose and poetry. But I have said enough to show that Christianity came to this country with the first colonists; has been powerfully identified with its rapid development, colonial and national, and today exists as a mighty factor in the life of the republic. This is a Christian nation, and we can all rejoice as truthfully we repeat the words of Leonard Bacon:

"O God, beneath thy guiding hand
Our exiled fathers crossed the sea,
And when they trod the wintry strand,
With prayer and psalm they worshiped Thee.

"Thou heardst, well pleased, the song, the prayer—
Thy blessing came; and still its power
Shall onward through all ages bear
The memory of that holy hour.

"Laws, freedom, truth, and faith in God
Came with those exiles o'er the waves,
And where their pilgrim feet have trod,
The God they trusted guards their graves.

"And here Thy name, O God of love,
Their children's children shall adore,
Till these eternal hills remove,
And spring adorns the earth no more."

Suff. Ben.

AMERICAN BAR FOUNDATION PRIZE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW ESSAY

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, each year the American Bar Foundation sponsors the Samuel Pool Weaver Constitutional Law Essay Competition; and the winning essay for 1962 is one which every Member of the Senate should read. This paper, entitled "Free Elections and the Power of Congress Over Voter Qualifications," by Prof. Wilfred J. Ritz, of the Washington and Lee University Law School, has been published in the most recent issue of the American Bar Journal. Mr. Ritz, who is an acknowledged authority in the field of constitutional law, received his A.B. degree from Washington and Lee University, his LL.B. degree from the University of Richmond, and his master of laws and doctor of juridical science degrees from Harvard University.

In his essay, Professor Ritz traces the history and development of the Constitution's provisions relating to qualifications of voters; and he concludes that Congress should not legislate and, indeed, cannot legislate constitutionally, to alter the qualifications as prescribed by the States. Such an alteration is, of course, exactly what is provided for in title I of S. 1731, the administration's civil rights bill. This invidious proposal evidently evolved from the Civil Rights Commission's report and recommendations of 1961. It is interesting to note, however, that in its 1959 report the Commission recommended that the same objective be accomplished by the time-honored and only constitutional method of doing so—by amending the Constitution. I do not know what precipitated the Commission's remarkable turnabout; but I do know that if title I is adopted, it will be the first time in history that Congress has attempted to shortcut the amendment process and to prescribe qualifications by legislation.

Professor Ritz is not the first constitutional law professor to hold that congressional legislation in this area would be unconstitutional. The Subcommittee on

Constitutional Rights, in preparing for the hearings on the administration's so-called literacy bill, S. 2750, during the last Congress, requested opinions on the constitutionality and desirability of the measure, from constitutional law professors at every accredited law school in the country. At least half of the replies from professors, including those from distinguished law schools, such as the University of Michigan and George Washington University, agreed with Professor Ritz' thesis. S. 2750 did not pass either House in the 87th Congress, and I trust that the fate of title I of S. 1731 in this Congress will be equally deserved.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Professor Ritz' essay, from the October 1963, American Bar Association Journal, be printed at this point in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREE ELECTIONS AND THE POWER OF CONGRESS OVER VOTER QUALIFICATIONS

(By Wilfred J. Ritz, professor of law, Washington and Lee University)

The group of Americans meeting at Philadelphia in 1787 to draft a Federal Constitution did not have a crystal ball to reveal the parts of their final product that would endure and those that would soon become obsolete. The course of future events soon demonstrated, though, that one of the constitutional provisions was unsatisfactory and essentially unworkable. This was the third clause of article II, section 1, providing for the election of a President and a Vice President.

No other provision of the Constitution was as lengthy; none was more detailed or drafted with greater care. And yet, in this provision, the Founding Fathers had entirely failed to foresee the rise of political parties.[1] As a result, the constitutional machinery for election of the Chief Executive worked well only while the people were agreed that a national hero should be the President—a phenomenon extremely rare in American life.[2]

After President Washington had retired from political life, the system survived the close election of 1796,[3] but very nearly broke down in the election of 1800, when the electoral votes were equally divided between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Cooler heads prevailed and the tie was broken without disruption of the American experiment in government.[4] Nevertheless, if the situation had been oft repeated, the developing passions of the period most probably would soon have torn the American system of government apart.

After due deliberation, Congress in December of 1803 submitted to the States a proposed amendment to the Constitution to remedy the situation. The proposal received the speedy consideration it deserved, and by the end of July 1804, had been ratified by three-fourths of the States. As the 12th amendment it was operative for the next presidential election, held in November 1804.[5]

Unlike the lengthy and detailed clause covering the method of election of a President and Vice President which so quickly proved unsatisfactory, the original Constitution contains short and simple clauses covering the elections of Senators and Representatives. Their very simplicity, suggesting casualness of draftsmanship, can be misleading. Actually, the clauses are among the most carefully constructed in the document, and they are designed to carry out a basic constitutional purpose, a purpose that was continued when the 17th amendment was added in 1913.

The records of the Convention[6] show that it was deeply concerned with problems relating to the election of officials of the Federal Government. The Convention adopted a plan for the indirect election of the President and Vice President by use of an electoral college. Article II provides: "Each State shall appoint in such mannner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors," thereby leaving the method of selection and qualifications to the States, although Congress was authorized to establish the time of their choosing.

In the election of Member of Congress, the Convention was concerned with four principal problems: (1) the method of election of Senators, which was resolved by giving the power to the State legislatures; (2) the method of election of Representatives, which initially involved a decision as to whether they should be chosen by the people or by the legislatures; (3) after popular election of Representatives had been decided upon, it was necessary to establish the qualifications of their electors; and (4) the extent to which the States and Congress, respectively, should participate in regulating the times, places and manner of holding elections of Senators and Representatives.

On May 29, 1787, Edmund Randolph on behalf of the Virginia delegation presented the resolutions known as the Virginia plan, which provided the basic framework for the Constitution.[7] Randolph proposed a national legislature to consist of two branches, the members of the first to be elected by the people of the several States and the members of the second to be elected by the first branch from persons nominated by the State legislatures. The National Executive was to be elected by the National Legislature.[8]

Sitting on May 31 as a Committee of the Whole House, the Convention approved the resolution calling for a National Legislature to consist of two branches. It then considered and debated the resolution calling for election of the first branch by the people, adopting it by a vote of six States to two, with two States divided.[9] A few days later the Convention reconsidered, and again upheld popular election, this time by a vote of eight States to three.[10]

The New Jersey (or Patterson) plan, presented to the Convention on June 18, did not differ from the Virginia plan on this subject,[11] but during its consideration still another attack on popular election was narrowly defeated, when another motion to reconsider was voted down by six States to four, with one divided.[12] The Convention then agreed to election by the people of the first branch, with nine States in favor, only New Jersey opposed, and Maryland divided.[13]

On July 24 the Convention named a committee of detail to report a constitution conformable to the resolutions that had been adopted, among which were those calling for election of the Members of the first branch of Congress by the people and of the second branch by the State legislatures.[14] Election of Senators by the State legislatures, without more, established the qualifications of electors of Members of one branch of the Congress. In order to provide for popular election of Representatives, the committee had to consider alternative methods of defining the qualifications of their electors.

CONSIDERATION OF ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES

The papers of the committee of detail show considerations was given to setting forth in the Constitution qualifications based on citizenship, manhood, sanity, residence, possession of real property or military service.[15] The committee also considered adopting the qualifications established by the States, with Congress given authority to alter or suspend them.[16] The final draft shows that the committee considered and deliberately struck out of its report a provision under which Congress would have been given the power to alter and supersede State provisions as to the qualifications of electors. Instead, the committee defined the qualifications of electors in the Constitution, denying the power of change to either the States or to Congress. This was done by providing that electors for the most numerous branch of the State legislatures should be electors for Representatives.[17] Except for minor stylistic changes, the final draft of the committee of detail was printed and delivered to the Convention on August 6.[18]

When the Convention on August 7 considered the report an effort was made to limit the suffrage to freeholders. After full and extended debate, the motion to make the change was defeated by the vote of seven States, with only Delaware in favor and Maryland divided.[19] On the following day further doubts were expressed as to the wis-

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[1] Cunningham, "The Jeffersonian Republicans" 3–32 (1957); Miller, "The Federalist Era," 99–125 (1960).

[2] George Washington received all the electoral votes in the elections of 1789 and 1792.

[3] The electoral college gave votes to 13 candidates. John Adams with 71 electoral votes was elected President and Thomas Jefferson with 68 votes was elected Vice President.

[4] The electoral vote was 73 for Jefferson and 73 for Aaron Burr, thus throwing the election into the House of Representatives, where on the 36th ballot Jefferson was elected, receiving the vote of 10 States to 4 for Burr, with two not voting. Miller, op, cit. supra note 1, at 268.

[5] Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, the Constitution of the United States, 39–41 (1961); Corwin, "The Constitution of the United States of America," S. Doc. No. 170, 82d Cong., 2d Sess. 942 (1953).

[6] Farrand, "The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787," 4 vols. (rev. ed. 1937), hereinafter cited as "Farrand."

[7] 1 Farrand 20.

[8] 1 Farrand 20–21, 27–28.

[9] 1 Farrand 46, 47–50, 54–55, 56, 60. Election by the people was favored by Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. New Jersey and South Carolina were opposed. Connecticut and Delaware were divided.

[10] 1 Farrand 118, 124, 130, 132–138, 140–141, 142–144, 145, 147. The six States previously favoring popular elections were joined by Delaware and Maryland, while Connecticut voted with the States favoring election by the State legislatures.

[11] 1 Farrand 291, 300.

[12] 1 Farrand 353, 358–360, 364–365, 367, 368. The motion was defeated by the votes of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. The motion was favored by Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, and South Carolina. Maryland was divided.

[13] 1 Farrand 353, 360, 365. Before the final vote General Pickney withdrew a motion that the election by the people should be "in such mode as the legislatures should direct," when it was hinted that this might properly be left to the Committee on Detail, 1 Farrand 360.

[14] 2 Farrand 106, 129.

[15] 4 Farrand 40; 2 Farrand 151.

[16] 2 Farrand 153, 163–165.

[17] 2 Farrand 163–165.

[18] 2 Farrand 176, 177, 178–179.

[19] 2 Farrand 194, 201–208, 209–210.

dom of popular election, but the provision was approved without any State dissenting.[20] This ended the debate on the qualifications of voters.

On August 9 the Convention considered the power to be given to Congress to supersede State regulations as to the time, place, and manner of holding elections. The debate shows Congress was given power to do so to insure the fair conduct of elections in the event some State legislature should attempt manipulation for selfish or nefarious purposes and that the provision has nothing to do with voter qualifications.[21]

On September 8 the Convention named a committee of style, which rearranged the articles and phrased them somewhat more felicitously.[22] With only one change, made by the Convention to deny Congress any power over the place of election of Senators,[23] the provisions relating to elections were adopted and became a part of the completed Constitution.[24]

CONSTITUTION USES TERM "ELECTORS"

In summary, then, it can be said that under the original Constitution Representatives were the only Federal officials to be elected by the people directly. Article I, section 2, provides that Representatives shall be "chosen every second year by the people." The phrase "by the people" simply means that Representatives are to be elected by the people and not by State legislatures.

A different term is used to define the electorate, that is, the group of individuals who may actually vote for Representatives. This term, used throughout the Constitution, is "electors." Article I, section 2, also expressly defines, indirectly, the qualifications of electors for Representatives. It says that "the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature."

The very simplicity of the clause invites use of a shorthand form of expression, and has led to statements to the effect that the States establish the qualifications of electors for Representatives. As the U.S. Supreme Court pointed out in *United States* v. *Classic*, 313 U.S. 299 (1941), "in a loose sense, the right to vote for Representatives in Congress is sometimes spoken of as a right derived from the States." Nevertheless, as the *Classic* case also pointed out, the qualifications of electors for Representatives are defined in the Constitution and are not defined by the States. The definition is in imperative terms—"the electors shall have."

Under article I, section 2, a State has no power to deny the right to vote for a U.S. Representative to a person qualified to vote as an elector for the most numerous branch of a State legislature, nor any power to give the right to vote for a Representative to a person who is not so qualified. Just as clearly, Congress has no power to deny the right to vote for a Representative to a person who is qualified to vote as an elector for the most numerous branch of his State's legislature, nor any power to give the right to vote to a person who is not so qualified.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS ON VOTING ARE MANY

Elections and voting have been the subject of more constitutional amendments than any other single topic, as a listing of the amendments shows:

The 12th amendment, ratified in 1804, revised the method of electing the President and Vice President.

The 14th amendment, ratified in 1868, affects the subject in two respects: It provides for a reduction of representation in the House of Representatives whenever the right of male citizens 21 years of age and over to vote is abridged by a State for any reason other than participation in rebellion or other crimes. It disqualifies from further Federal or State officeholding any officeholder who, having sworn to support the U.S. Constitution, engages in insurrection or rebellion. The first provision has never been invoked to deny representation to a State, and the second has become obsolete with the passage of time.

The 15th amendment, ratified in 1870, prohibits denial or abridgment of the right to vote on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The 17th amendment, ratified in 1913, provides for the popular election of Senators. It follows the pattern set forth in the original Constitution by defining the qualifications of electors for this office. The electors in each State shall "have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures."

The 19th amendment, ratified in 1920, prohibits denial of the right to vote on account of sex.

The 20th amendment, ratified in 1933, revises and clarifies the method of election of the President in unusual situations.

Two of these amendments, the 15th and 19th, place direct restrictions on the qualifications the States may require of electors for State officials, and so indirectly these restrictions become limitations on the qualifications, as defined in the original Constitution and in the 17th amendment, of electors for Representatives and Senators. Otherwise, there are no constitutional restrictions on the qualifications the States may require of electors for State officials, and so also of electors of Federal officials.

In the summer of 1962 Congress adopted Senate Joint Resolution 29 proposing to the States another constitutional amendment dealing with voting qualifications. The proposed amendment prohibits the denial of a right to vote for President, Vice President, Senator or Representative because of a failure "to pay any poll tax or other tax."[25] In this resolution the pattern of previous amendments is departed from, in that a State is permitted to establish a different qualification for electors to the most numerous branch of its own State legislature than the State can establish for the election of Federal officials. The proposed amendment, however, continues the present policy of denying to Congress all power to establish or change the qualifications of electors for Federal officials.

COURT DECISIONS DEAL WITH SUFFRAGE QUESTIONS

Since the Constitution so clearly defines the qualifications of the persons who shall be electors for Federal officials, no litigation involving the point could arise until after the adoption of the 14th and 15th amendments. In *Minor* v. *Happersett*, 88 U.S. (21 Wall.) 162 (1875), a woman claimed that, since presidential electors in Missouri were elected by the people, she as a citizen of the United States was entitled to vote in such elections, so that the denial of the vote to her was prohibited by the privileges and immunities clause of section 1 of the 14th amendment. In accordance with the authoritative construction placed on that clause in the *Slaughter-House Cases*, 83 U.S. (16 Wall.) 36 (1873), the Supreme Court rejected the contention, pointing out that the 14th amendment did not confer a right of suffrage on anyone. If the 14th amendment had done so, the 15th amendment would have been unnecessary.

The 15th amendment, as it applies to State elections, was construed by the Supreme Court in *United States* v. *Reese*, 92 U.S. 214 (1876), in which the Court said: "The 15th amendment does not confer the right of suffrage upon anyone. It prevents the States, or the United States, however, from giving preference in this particular, to one citizen of the United States over another on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Before its adoption, this could be done. It was as much within the power of a State to exclude citizens of the United States from voting on account of race, etc., as it was on account of age, property, or education. Now it is not."[26]

In a series of cases the U.S. Supreme Court has considered the power of Congress under article I, section 4, of the Constitution to regulate the manner of holding elections. In these cases the Supreme Court has repeated time and again that the qualifications of electors are defined in the Constitution, and so are not subject to change either directly by the States or directly or indirectly by Congress. In a leading case, *Ex parte Yarbrough*, 110 U.S. 651 (1884), the Court said: "The States in prescribing the qualifications of voters for the most numerous branch of their own legislatures, do not do this with reference to the election for Members of Congress. Nor can they prescribe the qualifications for voters for those to nomine. They define who are to vote for the popular branch of their own legislature, and the Constitution of the United States says the same persons shall vote for Members of Congress in that State. It adopts the qualifications thus furnished as the qualifications of its own electors for Members of Congress."[27]

This 1884 interpretation has not been departed from. The Supreme Court has recognized the power of the States to determine voter qualifications through the use of literacy tests[28] and poll taxes.[29] The Court has rejected the contention that since they are Federal officials some undefined power over the elections of Senators and Representatives rests in Congress.[30]

IMPLICATION OF CLASSIC CASE IS UNSUPPORTED

The principal judicial support for a view that Congress has some power over voter qualifications is found in a dictum by Chief Justice Stone (then an Associate Justice) in *United States* v. *Classic*, wherein he said: "While, in a loose sense, the right to vote for representatives in Congress is sometimes spoken of as a right derived from the States, * * * this statement is true only in the sense that the States are authorized by the Constitution to legislate on the subject as provided by section 2 of article I, to the extent that Congress has not restricted State action by the exercise of its powers to regulate elections under section 4 and its more general power under article I, section 8, clause 18."[31]

The implication that the powers of Congress under section 4 of article I may be used to restrict the powers of the States under section 2 of the same article is entirely without support in the history of the Federal convention of 1787 or in the prior decisions of the Court. If the reference had been to the power of the States to legislate un-

[20] 2 Farrand 213, 215–216, 225.

[21] 2 Farrand 229, 239–242, 244.

[22] 2 Farrand 547, 553, 554, 590, 592.

[23] 2 Farrand 613.

[24] 2 Farrand 651, 653.

[25] S.J. Res 29, 87th Cong., 2d sess., 108 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 16589.

[26] See also, *United States* v. *Cruickshank*, 92 U.S. 542 (1876).

[27] See also, *Swafford* v. *Templeton*, 185 U.S. 487 (1902).

[28] *Guinn* v. *United States*, 238 U.S. 347 (1915); *Lassiter* v. *Northampton County Board of Elections*, 360 U.S. 45 (1959).

[29] *Breedlove* v. *Suttles*, 302 U.S. 277 (1937). See also *Pirtle* v. *Brown*, 118 F. 2d 218 (6th Cir. 1941), *cert denied*, 314 U.S. 621 (1941); *Butler* v. *Thompson*, 341 U.S. 937 (1951), *aff'g* 97 F. Supp. 17 (E.D. Va. 1951).

[30] *Newberry* v. *United States*, 256, U.S. 232 (1921).

[31] 313 U.S. at 315.

der section 4, instead of section 2, the statement would have been in complete accord with the language and history of the Constitution and the judicial precedents. Consequently, there is a strong probability that the reference to section 2 was a slip rather than a considered citation.

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION MAKES RECOMMENDATIONS

In its 1961 report the Civil Rights Commission made a general finding No. 1: "There are reasonable grounds to believe that substantial numbers of Negro citizens are, or recently have been denied the right to vote on grounds of race or color in about 100 counties in 8 Southern States."[32] To eliminate this discrimination a majority of the Commission recommended that Congress adopt legislation prohibiting the States from denying the right to vote to any citizen of the United States "except for inability to meet reasonable age or length-of-residence requirements uniformily applied to all persons within a State, legal confinement at the time of registration or election, or conviction of a felony."[33] Two Commissioners dissented from this recommendation.

The Civil Rights Commission unanimously recommended that Congress adopt legislation specifically directed at State literacy tests. A sixth-grade education, under the proposed legislation, must be accepted by a State as sufficient compliance with a literacy test so as to qualify the applicant to vote.[34] A bill to carry out this recommendation was introduced into the second session of the 87th Congress, but, in the face of a southern filibuster, failed of adoption. It has been argued, as by the Attorney General, that such legislation would not establish a voting qualification, but only substitute "an objective and easily ascertainable requirement" for determining a previously established voter qualification,[35] and so is within the constitutional power of Congress. This argument has been vigorously opposed.[36]

Technically, the subject of what is or is not a voter qualification is outside the scope of this paper. However, since the purpose of legislation, such as that proposed in 1962 to restrict State use of literacy tests, is to permit persons to vote who otherwise would not be allowed to do so, the legislation necessarily restricts State control over voter qualifications to some extent. In this sense, whatever the particular terminology used, the proposed legislation gives Congress some control over voter qualifications. Consequently, it is appropriate to inquire into the reasons being offered for giving Congress power of this nature over voter qualifications.

ARGUMENTS FOR LEGISLATION ARE FOUND TO BE WEAK

Essentially, the arguments in favor of Congress having power to establish voter qualifications are two: (1) to eliminate restrictions on the exercise of a right of suffrage, such as the poll tax; and (2) to eliminate discrimination in the qualification of voters, as in the administration of a literacy test.

The force of the first reason is relatively weak, as is shown by the fact that the constitutional amendment proposed by the 87th Congress regarding poll taxes wholly prohibits the use of a tax as a voter qualification in Federal elections, leaving no discretion with Congress to abolish or establish this type of qualification. Consequently, the principal argument for having Congress assert some power over voter qualifications is based on the thought that the exercise of the power will enable Congress to eliminate discrimination in the administration of qualification tests more effectively than can be done under its present powers.

This raises the question whether there are not other remedies now available to eliminate discrimination. Ever since the post-Civil War period there has been Federal legislation, which has been frequently augmented, designed to protect American citizens in the exercise of their right to vote. The effectiveness of this legislation has been debated. After Attorney General Kennedy, in testimony before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee holding hearings on the literacy test bill, referred to particular examples of discrimination, the following verbal exchange took place between him and the chairman, Senator ERVIN, of North Carolina:

"Senator ERVIN. And I think all those situations could be cleared up with a few old-fashioned criminal prosecutions in the Federal courts.

"Attorney General KENNEDY. Well, I appreciate your support on that, Mr. Chairman, but I tell you we are bringing those, but it is going to take a long, long period of time.

"And I would like to have you join us in attempting to try to get rid of it so that it just does not go on, and we can pass legislation to deal with that problem and get rid of it much quicker than we could by bringing lawsuit after lawsuit."[37]

This colloquy shows that even the proponents of congressional power over voter qualifications recognize that the Federal Government already has sufficient power to eliminate voter discrimination. The basic disagreement is not whether discrimination is to be eliminated, but how soon and by what methods.

Recent Federal court decisions do not show any lack of power in the Federal Government to eliminate voter discrimination. The activities of the Civil Rights Commission have been sanctioned by the U.S. Supreme Court.[38] Powers given by Congress to the Attorney General to inspect Federal election records have been upheld and implemented.[39] Furthermore, when the Federal courts have found discrimination to exist as a fact, they have affirmatively ordered the registration of persons qualified to vote.[40]

The establishment of voter qualifications under the Federal Constitution is based on the principle that complete objectivity and self-interest are mutually exclusive concepts. Since the Members of Congress have a large self-interest in their own elections, and in certain instances they may be required to participate in the election of the President and Vice President, Congress can never take a wholly disinterested view toward the subject of voter qualifications.

This was recognized by the Federal Convention of 1787, and so power over voter qualifications was entirely denied to Congress. Similarly, in 1913, when the Constitution was amended so as to require popular election of Senators, the policy of denying to Congress power over voter qualifications was continued.

Conditions have changed since 1787. As time has gone by, the right to vote has been accorded ever greater significance in the pattern of American Government. Even so, the primary, if not the only, purpose to be served by having Congress assert power to fix voter qualifications seems to be to provide an additional weapon against voter discrimination. Discrimination must be eliminated and can be with the powers now available to Congress. As important as the objective is, an even more fundamental right is involved.

The basic right guaranteed to the people of the United States by the Federal Constitution, particularly by article I, section 2, and the 17th amendment, is a right of free elections. Truly free elections can exist only if the elected cannot influence their continued election by manipulation of the members of the group that constitutes their electors. For this reason, the Constitution establishes the qualifications of electors for Federal officials by a readily ascertainable and completely objective standard. This objective standard is beyond the power of the Federal Government to change, except by going to the States and the people to seek a change through the process of constitutional amendment. History demonstrates that when change has been needed, the necessary constitutional amendments have been forthcoming.

Under the Federal Constitution the people have reserved to themselves power to change the qualifications of voters for Federal officials. Since this is the fundamental principle on which the American system of free elections is based, the present constitutional guarantee of free elections should not be weakened by giving Congress power to establish voter qualifications.

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[32] 1961 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report, Book 1, voting 135.

[33] Id. at 139.

[34] Id. at 141.

[35] Hearings on S. 480, S. 2750, and S. 2979 Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 87th Cong., 2d sess. 263, 265, 310 (1962).

[36] See, for example, comments made by Senator ERVIN during testimony of Attorney General Kennedy. Hearings, supra note 41, at 261–291.

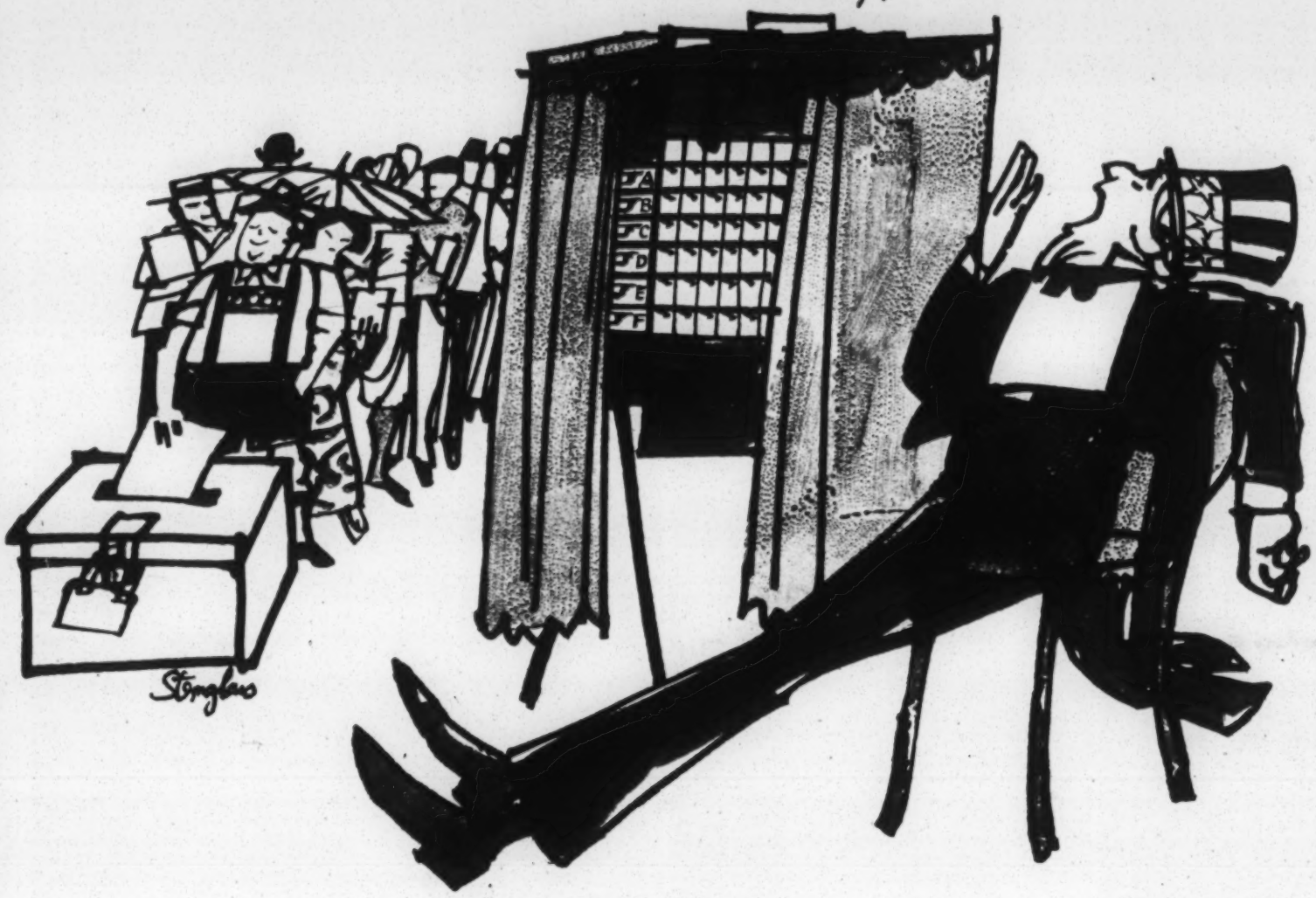
[37] Id. at 273.

[38] *Hannah* v. *Larche*, 363 U.S. 420 (1960).

[39] *Kennedy* v. *Lynd*, 306 F. 2d 222 (5th Cir. 1962); *Kennedy* v. *Bruce*, 298 F. 2d 860 (5th Cir. 1962); *Dinkens* v. *Attorney General*, 285 F. 2d 430 (5th Cir. 1961); In re *Coleman*, 208 F. Supp. 199 (S.D. Miss. 1962).

[40] *Alabama* v. *United States*, 304 F. 2d 583 (5th Cir. 1962). On October 22, 1962, the U.S. Supreme Court granted certiorari in this case and in a per curiam opinion affirmed the judgment below. 371 U.S. 37. *United States* v. *Manning*, 206 F. Supp. 623 (W.D. La. 1962).

NYT Mag. 11/17/63 Suff. Gen.



"Unlike other folks, too many Americans 'just don't give a damn'."

Drawing by Arno Sternglass.

Why One Third of Us Don't Vote

Of those who seldom enter a polling booth, a large number are kept away by political and mechanical barriers that should be removed.

By RICHARD M. SCAMMON

IT is a sad fact of our American politics that we just don't go to the polls the way other folks do. For years comment by observers here and overseas has underlined the relatively low percentage of our adults who participate in the decision-making of democracy by going to the polls to mark a ballot or pull a lever. Some say the business of getting registered and voting is just too cumbersome, others that many Americans "just don't give a damn." A Presidential Commission on Registration and Voting Participation is shortly to report on these problems. Meanwhile, just what is our score?

In November, 1960, there were 107 million civilians of voting age in the United States. Just under 70 million of these went to the polls — about 65 per cent. Compare this figure with the turnout last spring in elections in Austria and Italy. In these two countries better than 90 per cent voted. Our neighbors in Canada also voted last spring — and they turned out 80 per cent.

Now admittedly some of this difference is statistical rather than real. The 107 million who were of voting age here in 1960 included aliens, transients, people who didn't pay poll tax, and others who weren't legally eligible to vote anyway. But even making these allowances, our turnout in the Kennedy-Nixon 1960 contest was nothing to brag about. Our voting in the 1962 off-year elections was even lower, as it always is in the presumably less glamorous, less exciting non-Presidential years.

Looking at the record, one may well ask: Who are these Americans who don't vote? What keeps them from the polls?

Women are one major group of nonvoters. As far back as 40 years ago an elections expert, Prof. Harold Gosnell, discovered that three-quarters of the unregistered adult citizens in Chicago were women, and that a good number of these were deliberate antisuffrage nonvoters.

TODAY this antisuffrage group would be very much smaller, but the voting participation of women remains markedly lower than that of men—a full 10 per cent lower. Though there are several million more adult women than men in America today, official records and survey estimates agree that a Presidential election sees about an equal number of each at the polls. In part, this may still be due to the feeling from an older era that voting, or having anything to do with politics and public affairs, is "unladylike." The larger reason probably lies in the generally less active role of women in our public life; again and again polls tell us women are less well informed about our politics, less interested in politics, less concerned with political activity. (This is not a purely American phenomenon; it is true of most countries.) If it were not for the devoted work of organizations like the League of Women Voters the differential might be even greater.

Young people are another group whose turnout rate lowers the national average. The age curve for active voters rises sharply to 30, then more slowly to a peak somewhere between 50 and 65. After 65 it drops off gradually. All this is perfectly understandable. Youngsters just finishing school, just getting started in jobs or shifting them, young men involved in problems of military service — these young citizens could hardly be expected to vote with the same frequency as their fathers and mothers. And they don't. As they grow older, marry, begin families, settle down and get involved in public affairs, up goes their voting percentage.

Besides women and young voters, participation is low among what might be generally called "the disadvantaged," the citizens of low income or low education or, most frequently, of both. In a city like Albany, N. Y., with its highly efficient political organization, there may be an almost universal turnout. But this is the exception. Most areas have differentials in voter participation, and these differentials are most frequently a reflection of income and education.

In the Northern states, voting also tends to be generally lower in the city than in its suburbs, and frequently lower in the city than in small towns and in rural America. Though these trends are often reversed in the South, it is notable that the five states with the best voter turnout record in 1960 were Idaho, Utah, New Hampshire, and the two Dakotas; in all five states taken together there is only one place (Salt Lake City) with more than 100,000 people.

TO cite other examples of these turnout trends: In Hennepin County, Minnesota, the adults in Minneapolis voted 71 per cent in 1960; those in the suburbs outside Minneapolis voted 84 per cent. In Cuyahoga County, Ohio, Cleveland had a turnout of 61 per cent, the suburbs 79 per cent. In Illinois' close 1960 Presidential vote, Chicago showed a turnout of 72 per cent, suburban Cook County 81 per cent. *Both* these figures were lower than in a number of counties in rural southern Illinois, some of which ran up over 90 per cent voter participation.

But geographically the nonvoter is found first and foremost in the South. Here race, one-party politics and mechanical obstacles have combined to keep voter participation low. While many parts of the South have free, open voter-registration systems, with any citizen entitled to register and to vote, there are still areas, especially in the rural segments of the Deep South, where Negro voting ranges from difficult to impossible. The various reports of the Civil Rights Commission have documented this melancholy story in place after place. Though there have been increases in Negro registration in parts of the South, in many counties the Negro citizen is simply not allowed to vote in any significant numbers.

But the Southern nonvoter is also white; even disregarding the Negro, voter participation has been low in the South for generations. It is rising now; in the past 20 years the voter turnout in the Southern states has built up much more rapidly than elsewhere. While the rest of the country has changed only marginally, the Southern states have all shown marked gains. Of course, it may be said this is because the South has further to go, but the fact of gain is there—and it is a gain in white as well as in Negro voting.

MUCH of this Southern gain, and the relatively low turnout among women, young people and "the disadvantaged," are due in part to a set of factors we might call "involvement." A political party organization can mobilize voters for an election; plain sense of duty may call out others. But for many this isn't enough. There must be more, and that something more may be called interest or caring—involvement.

Caring may arise from a variety of sources—party dedication, issues, personalities, *(Continued on Page 56)*

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Why One Third Don't Vote

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these are a few. There is no question that a person with a high sense of party identification is more likely to vote than a generally uncommitted citizen.

Issues represent another strong potential in developing maximum voter interest and involvement. In 1958 referenda on "right-to-work" legislation helped to bring out heavy votes in Ohio and California. The state lottery voting next March in New Hampshire is widely expected to bring an increased turnout in that state. Many observers would argue that the "issue" of religion added to the voter participation in the 1960 Presidential race.

Personalities as well as issues can develop new areas of involvement. Al Smith in 1928 and Dwight Eisenhower in 1952 are two cases in point from the national scene, and almost every state and locality has examples of the way in which an individual can stimulate response from what were usually regarded as "uncaring" citizens.

IN the South increased participation may come from still a different source — the growth of a two-party, meaningful political system, at least at the Presidential level. The average citizen doesn't see much point in voting if there isn't anything to vote for, and for many years the monopoly of political power in the South was with Democrats. General elections didn't mean much, and primary elections often saw a higher turnout than did the November "contest."

But most of these reasons for a citizen's not voting involve not caring. They are personal, even psychological. Some may involve deliberate abstention, but most are indicative of a lack of interest. Just as important—maybe more so—are the mechanical barriers to voting, and perhaps the greatest of these is registration.

IN the great majority of our states, Americans have to register to vote. This requirement is not universal; in North Dakota and rural Minnesota, for example, you just go to the polling place and ask for a ballot. But the frauds so prevalent many years ago in our country led to widespread demands for personal registration by the voter, and that's the law today in most states. While Americans consider this a normal-enough procedure, it isn't the practice in other, high-turnout, countries. There it is the job of the local authorities to put every qualified person on the list of voters, automatically. All the voter has to do is show up on election day, ready to vote. This automatic registration of voters is perhaps the most important single factor in the high voter-participation figures in so many other countries.

Not only do most Americans have to register to vote, often they find the closeout date for final registering is weeks — or even months—before Election Day. Sometimes potential voters are allowed to register only "downtown," and possibly only during working hours. In some communities these limitations may be deliberately designed to cut

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down registration, but in the great majority they are simply a reaction to major cost problems or an example of bureaucratic apathy.

Another part of the "mechanical" problem in getting a bigger voter turnout at our polls is the long residence requirement—in one state it is two years — that disqualifies many. One in five of our people move in any year, and many lose their votes in the process. Then, too, voting is a working-day proposition in this country, and getting time off to vote is still sometimes a problem. This is especially true in those states which close the polls early; voting studies indicate the states with a late closing hour usually have the higher turnout.

LITERACY tests applied so as to discourage voting, complex absentee-voter laws, long lines on Election Day, all these are "institutional" hurdles to better American voter turnout. Among these there must still be counted the poll tax, but anticipated favorable action on a pending constitutional amendment should eliminate this obstacle.

But these are all institutional handicaps to voting. Even were these to go, turnout would not be perfect — even if we wanted it so. In Canada, where the automatic enumeration of voters lists nearly every eligible from Labrador west to Vancouver, there are still 20 per cent of these eligibles who don't vote. Even in Idaho, the present American voter-turnout champion, there

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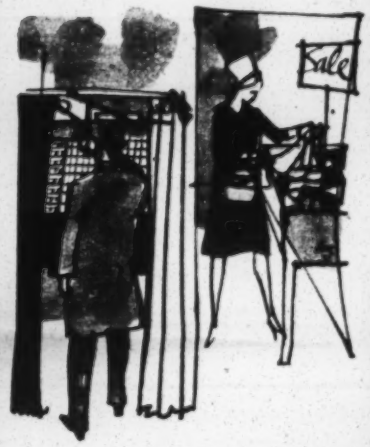
are still a lot of eligible Idahoans who don't vote. In 1964, if America had a perfect system of listing our voters, we would still find millions who would not vote, even in the excitement and hurly-burly of a Presidential campaign.

For those potential voters who skip their chance to vote because of lack of interest, lack of caring—those who just "don't give a damn" — there probably isn't much that can be done. Indeed, there is very likely a limit beyond which there is not much that *should* be done. Active though the parties may be, and interested as the great majority of citizens may be, some people will always be found in the non-participating category.

Basically, such citizens are not interested enough in public affairs to have many ideas about anything. They are the ones who show up in public-opinion polls as "no opinion" or "don't care." Indeed, they



might be called examples of *lumpenwähler,* or electoral bums. If they had any interest or ideas they would probably have some opinions, but without the former, they haven't the latter. For these people there is not much to do, and the democratic process is probably just as well off without them.

Moreover, not voting is their privilege, and very few would urge a system of compulsory voting to goad these reluctant electors to the polls. In our democracy there is as much right not to vote as there is to join in the decision-making of democracy.

BUT for the others, those disfranchised by restrictive legislation, institutional barriers can be torn down — and they should be torn down. Like the Berlin Wall, they are an affront to the democratic idea. Obstacles to voting by people who *do* give a damn, who *do* want to vote, who *do* seek to play a role in our American democracy can and should be eliminated. No unwilling voter need be dragged kicking and screaming to the polls. Equally, no willing voter should ever be able to say "they" kept him from exercising his right to vote.

11-18-63

HOW THE VOTING WENT IN IMPORTANT AREAS

In the elections: Racial, civil-rights resentments flaring in Philadelphia, Kentucky and elsewhere indicate re-election problems ahead for President Kennedy. Here is a look at key voting areas.

Suff. General

PHILADELPHIA

Election analysts are in agreement that President Kennedy has been hurt politically in this important city by his intensive drive for civil rights.

Examining the election figures of November 5, these men see signs that, if present trends continue, Mr. Kennedy may be hard put to win Pennsylvania's 29 electoral votes in 1964. Their loss would be a serious blow to the Democratic cause.

The voting showed that Negroes are standing stanchly behind the President and the Democratic Party, as seen in the accompanying table.

To a lesser extent, so, too, are voters of the Jewish faith. These groups identify Mr. Kennedy and the Democratic Party as the defenders of civil rights.

Troubles elsewhere. Democratic troubles come in other areas. White voters, especially among lower-income minority groups—Italians, Poles, Irish—are reacting against the President's effort to force integration of races by law.

Voters appear to reflect Negro encroachments in their residential areas, with an accompanying drop in property values. They apparently fear a loss of jobs to Negroes, under the President's plan. There is opposition to forced integration of schools.

These circumstances combined to slash usual Democratic pluralities in Philadelphia, and gave Mr. Kennedy a defeat of a peculiarly personal nature.

The Democratic nominee for mayor, James H. J. Tate, won by 61,000 votes. Four years ago, the Democrat's margin was 205,000. In 1960, Mr. Kennedy took the city by more than 331,000.

At the same time, he took the State by 116,000. To win Pennsylvania, it was necessary to score overwhelmingly in the city. This is a perennial situation in Pennsylvania politics. It will be the same next year.

The Philadelphia election was a personal setback for the President because, less than a week before Election Day, he came to Philadelphia to urge Mr. Tate's election. On Election Day, sound trucks, placards and leaflets urged a vote for Tate as a vote for Kennedy.

Democratic politicians are taking comfort in the fact that the party organization produced enough votes to elect Mr. Tate. It also was noted, however, that Mr. Tate, colorless as a campaigner, himself was running against a lackluster campaign of Republican James T. McDermott, a candidate with a record of past electoral defeats.

Tense city. Philadelphia has been a city of racial tension and sometimes

VOTE SHIFTS IN KEY PHILADELPHIA WARDS

In the race for mayor—

	Democratic percentage of major-party vote	
	In 1959	In 1963
32nd ward—heavily Negro, scene of Negro rioting late in October	77.8%	78.8%
28th ward—also heavily Negro, near area of October rioting	79.4%	80.3%
26th ward—largely Italian, many voters critical of Negroes	60.9%	46.9%
48th ward—mainly Italian; also Irish, Jewish, Polish. Unions strong	58.9%	44.3%
52nd ward—heavily Jewish. Middle and upper class	77.2%	71.0%
54th ward—predominantly Jewish. Middle class; row and twin houses	74.7%	61.6%
45th ward—lower middle class. Many Poles and Irish. Negroes moving in	60.8%	47.8%
18th ward—lower middle class. Another area where Negroes are moving in	59.0%	40.4%
41st ward—middle class. Many new homes. Swinging to Republicans	60.5%	45.4%

Of these nine key wards, all of which went heavily Democratic 4 years ago, five switched to the Republican candidate this time. Republicans showed percentage gains in all but two.

—Wide World Photo

In Philadelphia, Democrat James H. J. Tate won the election for mayor by 61,000 votes. Four years ago, the Democrat was elected by 205,000 votes.

—"Louisville Courier-Journal" Photo

In Kentucky, Democrat Edward T. Breathitt won the Governorship by about 15,000 votes. Four years ago, the State went Democratic by 180,000.

—"Jackson Daily News" Photo

In Mississippi, Democrat Paul B. Johnson, Jr., won the Governorship. But a Republican who ran against him got an impressive 38 per cent of the total vote.

violence for more than a year. Unemployment is substantial, and the competition for jobs between the races has increased. Tension has mounted over mixing the races at school.

Negroes carried out sit-ins in Mayor Tate's office. Pressure was brought to bear on the building-trades unions to admit Negroes. Work on several construction projects was stopped.

Not long before the election, a Negro robbery suspect was killed by a white policeman. Negro rioting swept over areas of North Philadelphia.

Resentment also built up among whites against what they call one of the most militant National Association for the Advancement of Colored People organizations in the country. The NAACP leader endorsed Mr. Tate.

After the 1960 election, Republican strategists figured that, to win a Statewide election in Pennsylvania, they must have 40 per cent of the Philadelphia vote. Republican Senator Hugh Scott scored 41 per cent to win in 1958. Last year, Republican Governor William W. Scranton drew 43.2 per cent and was elected. Mr. McDermott's percentage in the voting of November 5 was about 46.

Of course, Mr. Kennedy, running for President next year, is expected to roll up a much more impressive total than did Mr. Tate. Whether he can win the city by enough to take the State also is the problem bothering Democrats.

LOUISVILLE, Ky.

A Republican appeal to segregationist sentiment almost won a gubernatorial election in Kentucky, with trouble plainly ahead for Democrats and President Kennedy next year.

The Democratic candidate, Edward T. Breathitt, won by about 15,000 in a State that four years ago went Democratic by 180,000. The losing Republican was Louis B. Nunn.

In addition to the race issue, a growth of Republican voting in recent years and factionalism among Democrats contributed to Mr. Nunn's strong showing.

Mr. Nunn based his strategy on these facts:

Since 1952, he had noticed, Republicans were winning federal elections in Kentucky. Dwight D. Eisenhower took the State in 1956, and Richard M. Nixon won by 81,000 in 1960. In the period 1952-62, Senator Morton and Senator John Sherman Cooper, both Republicans, were elected twice each. Meanwhile, Democrats were winning State and local races.

Mr. Nunn's decision was to run on federal issues.

Target: rights order. A handy weapon was a recent executive order issued by Governor Bert T. Combs opening establishments under State license to Negroes. The issuance of the order was, Mr. Nunn said, dictatorial, unconstitutional and an arbitrary act.

At the same time, he attacked the Kennedy Administration and sought to link it with Governor Combs's action. He also attacked the Supreme Court for its decision outlawing prayers in the schools.

These issues proved effective in the depressed areas of southeastern Kentucky and the southwestern part of the State where sympathies are highly Southern.

Kentucky's Negro population is relatively small. Most of the Negroes live in Louisville and surrounding Jefferson County. It was here that Mr. Nunn miscalculated.

This area is usually Republican. The Nunn camp had expected to carry Jefferson County by as many as 20,000 or more votes. But the Negroes were for the Combs executive order and hence for Mr. Breathitt. Mr. Nunn won in Jefferson County by a bare 5,000 votes.

When the county vote had been tabulated on election night, Mr. Nunn realized that he was in serious trouble, and conceded the election. This concession he withdrew a few hours later, charging voting frauds in several areas. He asked for recounts in these sections.

That leaves Mr. Breathitt with the executive order barring discrimination on his hands. The order was early tied up in litigation and never has been enforced. Mr. Breathitt said in his campaign that the subject had best be left to the legislature. It meets in January. When the executive order goes to the legislature for action, Negro leaders are planning a "march on Frankfort" to put pressure behind the issue.

The Democratic factionalism came from former Governor A. B. ("Happy") Chandler. Mr. Breathitt defeated him in the primary election. Mr. Chandler, who cherishes his grudges, organized a "Democrats for Nunn" group. Its activities are thought to have cost Mr. Breathitt votes in the bluegrass country.

INDIANAPOLIS

The civil-rights issue was present in a virtual Republican sweep of mayoral elections in Indiana. However, some people argued about the extent of its influence.

"If anything," said one knowledge-

(continued on next page)

[continued from preceding page]

able observer, "the city voting shows that Kennedy has lost strength. So many Indiana Democrats are really 'Dixiecrats,' and Kennedy's civil-rights program just doesn't set well with them."

Civil rights was not openly an issue in any of the mayoral campaigns. Spokesmen for both parties said the Democrats appeared to hold much of the Negro vote as in the past.

In this setting, the Republicans elected 62 mayors to 49 for the Democrats. In 1959, the score was 71 Democrats to 37 Republicans. Three new cities elected mayors for the first time.

This was considered a big shift. Republicans called it the forerunner of "smashing Republican victories in 1964."

Indiana is traditionally considered a Republican State. However, it has two Democratic Senators, one elected in 1958 and the other in 1962. It also has a Democratic Governor, elected in 1960.

Nevertheless, Richard M. Nixon took Indiana and its 13 electoral votes in 1960 with a plurality of 222,762 votes. Many observers think Republican dominance now is being restored.

How cities went. The Republican triumph was most apparent in the State's 23 largest cities. Four years ago, the Democrats won 22 of the 23. This time, they won only seven.

Indianapolis, the largest city, stayed in the Democratic column by 5,600 votes—or 13,000 fewer than in the election of 1959.

Statewide, the principal issue was a 2 per cent sales tax that took effect in October. It now is under attack in the courts. Each party blamed the other for the bill. The Republican Lieutenant Governor broke a Senate tie in favor of the impost. The Democratic Governor, Matthew E. Welsh, signed the tax measure and defended it personally when unions sought to upset it in the courts.

The importance of the municipal voting lies in the city-hall patronage that can be thrown into next year's elections. From this point of view it was a distinct Democratic loss.

JACKSON, Miss.

For the first time since Reconstruction days, Republicans challenged the dominant Democratic Party here in Mississippi and were jubilant at the results.

Their candidate for Governor, Rubel Phillips, emerged with about 38 per cent of the vote.

As a result, party leaders hailed the arrival of a two-party system in the Deep South, especially when combined with a Republican's capture of 49.1 per cent of the vote in an Alabama election for a U S. Senate seat last year.

Mr. Phillips promised to support the nomination and election of Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater to the Presidency.

The winning Democrat, Lieutenant Governor Paul B. Johnson, Jr., like Mr. Phillips, is a stanch segregationist. He promised to support the massive-resistance policies of Governor Ross R. Barnett on racial integration.

Mr. Johnson argued against the establishment of a two-party system. It would, he said, "split white conservatives" and give moderates and Negroes the balance of power.

Write-in votes for a Negro candidate were declared illegal and not counted. After the election, civil-rights leaders said they would conduct a massive campaign to register 80,000 Negroes.

TRENTON, N. J.

The election left some gloomy Democrats in New Jersey, including Governor Richard J. Hughes.

In the first place, the voters turned down the Governor's proposal for 750 million dollars in bond issues for State institutions and highways.

In addition, Republicans took solid control of both branches of the State legislature.

The party gained four seats in the State senate. It had been ahead in the senate by 11 to 10. Now it is 15 to 6.

The Republicans also picked up 13 seats in the general assembly. They now get 33 seats to 27 for the Democrats. It had been: Democrats 37, Republicans 20, with 3 vacancies.

Defeat on the bond issues left Governor Hughes some knotty problems on raising revenues. He must seek Republican co-operation to get anything controversial accomplished. Republicans opposed the bond issues, are expected to come up with an alternative.

The Governor also has a tall job ahead soothing county and local leaders who consider that his insistence on the bond issues caused defeat in the legislative contests. The Governor was elected in 1961 by a bare 38,500 votes out of more than 2 million cast. He will be up for election again in 1965.

In Congress: taxes, civil rights and a logjam. Page 74.

IN THE PRESIDENT'S HOME TOWN—

BOSTON

Here in President Kennedy's home town, an election battle resulted in a repudiation of forced integration in public schools.

The battle had run all summer. On one side was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. On the other was the local school committee, which controls public schools.

The Boston branch of the NAACP had charged that local schools were segregated because some were predominantly Negro. It demanded that some children be transferred from their neighborhood schools in order to bring racial "balance."

The chairman of the school committee, Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, refused to permit discussion of the charges in open committee meetings, ruling that there was no segregation in the schools.

Three others on the five-member committee supported Mrs. Hicks. One, Arthur J. Gartland, favored hearing the charges.

Committee re-elected. At the polls on November 5, Mrs. Hicks won a thumping victory for re-election, getting more votes than any other citywide candidate. With 128,000 votes, she outpolled even Mayor John F. Collins, who won a sweeping victory with 108,000 votes.

—Wide World Photo

Mrs. Hicks celebrates election

All five committee members were re-elected. Mr. Gartland received the smallest vote of the five. A Negro social worker, seeking a seat on the committee, finished seventh among 10 candidates.

Pressures brought by the NAACP produced strong feelings on each side. Several thousand children stayed out of school for one day in June. In September, eight pickets sat all night in the headquarters of the school committee.

Cabbage Town

I first began working in Cabbage Town around the end of May. To give myself an excuse for taking with people, and also just to gather some information, I began by taking a housing survey around. Spending up to forty-five minutes with each person, we would get into all sorts of subjects. I was very careful not to say anything about organizing at this point, since I didn't know how suspicious people wuld be. In general, though, they were quite friendly. After about a week, as a cover for returning to the same people, I composed a second questionnaer asking bout the problems the person had mentioned, what he/she hd tried to do about them and if they felt that some people together could accomplish things where they alone had failed. People were receptive enough that I didn't need the survey as a cover to discuss this idea.

On May 31, we held our first meeting in Cabbage Town. Only three people came (all women). In that m ting, we planned for all of us to continue taking the survey, and when we got enoug interested people, we would draw up lists of complaints for each landlord and get a delegation to present them to the landlords. It wasa good plan, but it failed because of the ladies' husbands. I have found that the women tend to be much more active there than the men. I'm not sure why, but the husbands all x prohibited their wives from doing anything further. (In part, this was due to the women's attraction to a new young man with part of a college education; the men resented me.)

After that meeti g's failure, I continued my survey on my own to find sme new people, which I did. We planned several meetings, none of which materialized. I still don't know why, since people readily agreed that we should get together to talk about our problems. By the endof June, I came up wth one person who was interested enough in these problems to do something about them.

Vine City

It wasn't until around the second week of June that I began to really get anywhere in Vine City. On June 9, several t enagers came to us and asked for help in

getting a recreation center for them. After their intial reauest, though, they let the matter drop, so that it was left to me to follow it up. In the next few weeks, I got to know several of them by sitting in the back lot drinking b eer or home brew. Whenever I felt it appropriate, I brought up the subject of the recreation center, but I didn't want to qush anything too much.

During this time, my days were divided between relaxing wth the block boys in Vine City, and working in Cabbage Town. However, on the day Helen Howard qualified, three guys and I went downtown to see Jack Delius of the Department of Parks. We held a two hour conversence with him. This was the beginning of some action. For the next week or so, we went to see the other city and EOA officials. Everywhere we went, they told us we should see somebody else, so finally we just decided to see the Mayor. About ten of us went. They told us he was busy; somebody said we would wait; sothey got us Dan Sweat - a Mayor's Aid. After two conferences with him, it became clear to everybody that they weren't going to do anyt ing.

Mainly because I'm living in Vine City, I found that when there was work to be done in Cabbage Town and Vine City, I tended to do the Vine City work. So when things began to happen in Vine City, I found myself spending lessand less time in Cabbage Town.

For weeks, I talked with the guys and tried to get them to do something. The most I could get them to do was to go out and use a recreation center in Peachtree Hills.

On July 14, however, something finally began to happen, through the action of sometteenagers in Mechanicsvill. After they blocked the streets, we got together to discuss working together for a recreation center in both areas. Their action stimulated several teenage guys here. On Saturday, July 16, we held our first demonstration here. Several guys from Mechanicsvill came over and joined in. A demonstration we planned to have over there for several days later kept getting postponed to wait for meetings with some officials or other. I think some of the guys working on it got disappointed that

we were neither accomplishing xxx something, nor demonstrating. So when the city came up with a compromise offer of renovating an old house, if we could find one, they decided to accept. I think they were wrong - that this is just in keeping with the pattern of the Negroes getting the scraps while they have the nice new building out in Peachtree Hills. But I didn't say anything because I had already pushed too much.

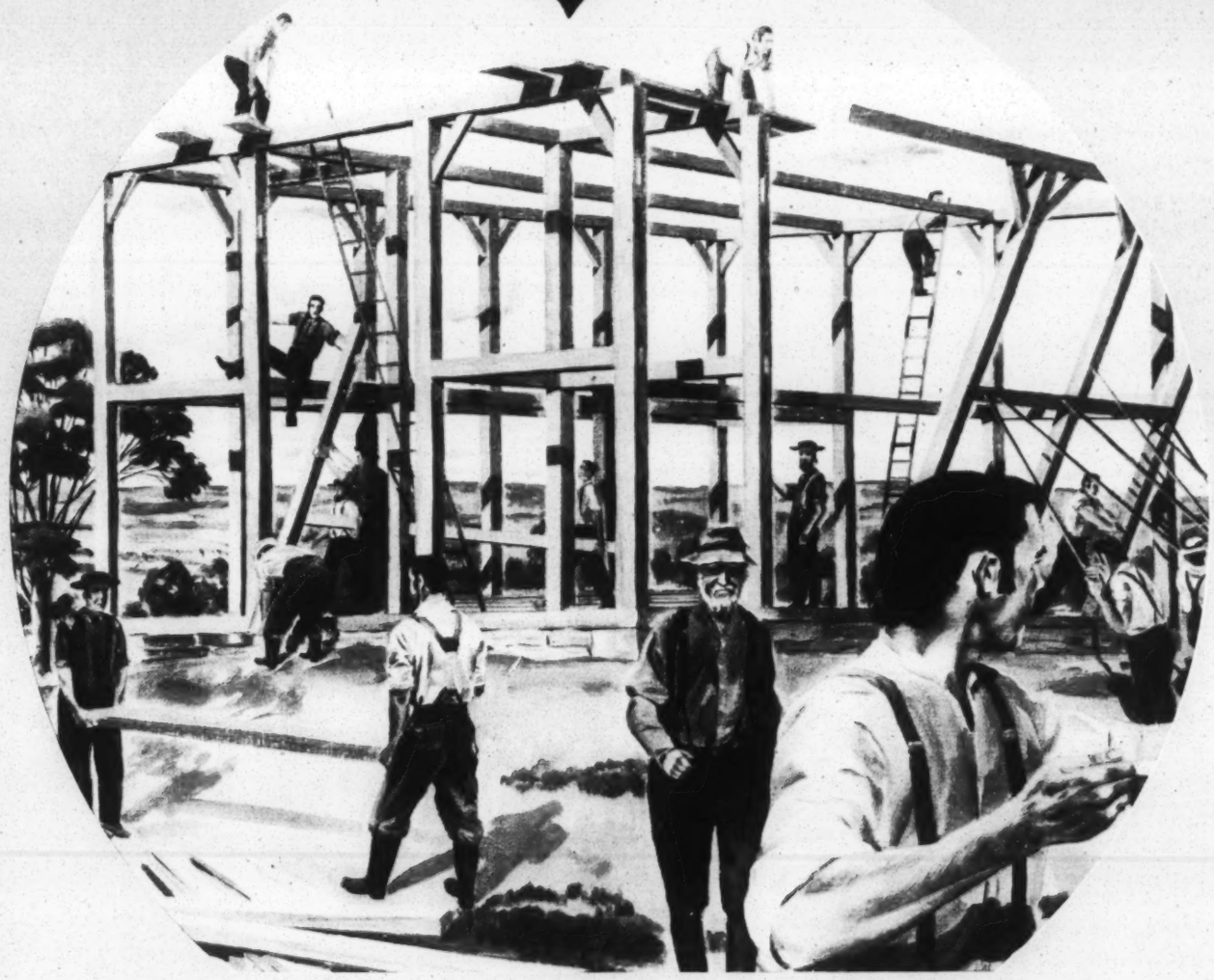
Right now, I'm not really sure what is going to happen. I don't think the guys are very happy with the settlement they agreed on, and they haven't even had the initiative to go out and look for a building - something I don't intend to do myself. Perhaps if the guys in Mechanicsvill get their center, that will stimulate those here in Vine City.

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL Guide

Nov., 1949
Vol. 7, No. 2

OHIO FARM BUREAU COLUMBUS, OHIO

farmers build together



When we work as a team, it is easy to get the job done. Farmers have learned long ago that they must work together if they want to prosper. Farm organizations are an important part of farm life. Here in Ohio we need to build an even stronger FARM BUREAU to meet the problems ahead. We need teamwork today more than ever before.

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL Guide

Jan. 1950
Vol. 7, No. 4

OHIO FARM BUREAU COLUMBUS, OHIO

MARKETING OUR OHIO CROPS

Marketing our crops efficiently is one of the most important jobs facing Ohio farmers today. Farm output in 1948 is about 40 per cent above the 1935-39 average, but the population has increased only about 15 per cent. The threat of surpluses may break the market if we do not learn to market better the things we grow.

Farm prices are already down 20 per cent from their peak in 1947 and they may fall another 15 per cent in 1950.

Today farmers are only getting 49 cents out of each dollar that consumers spend. We may get less next year.

These are a few of the facts which stare us in the face today. The problem is to find some way to market our crops at a better price. Many of us are using farmer marketing cooperatives to increase our farm income.

HOW FAR SHOULD WE GO IN MARKETING OUR VARIOUS FARM PRODUCTS THROUGH COOPERATIVES?

HOW CAN WE MARKET OUR FARM PRODUCTS AT A BETTTER PRICE?

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL Guide

Mar. 1950
Vol. 7 No. 6

OHIO FARM BUREAU COLUMBUS, OHIO

DO WE NEED MORE EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT?

We own a 257 billion dollar debt.

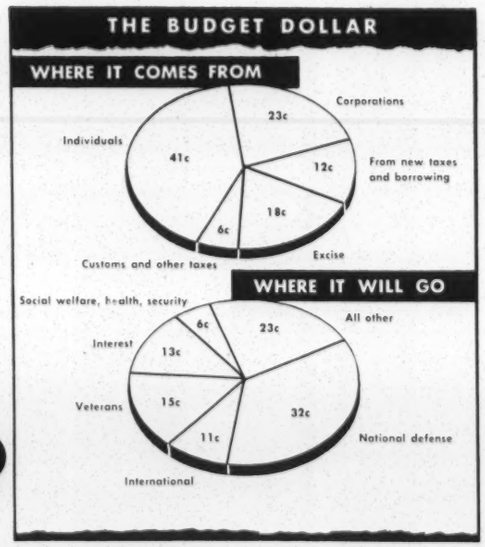
Our Government will spend around 42½ billion dollars this year.

In the coming year Uncle Sam will collect and spend over 20 percent of our national income.

Even this will leave a 5 billion dollar deficit.

Our total tax bill for federal, state and local government adds up to 28 percent of our national income.

The Hoover Commission reports that many activities of our Government are poorly organized and wastefully administered.



e are shareholders of the biggest business of all time,—the U. S. Government. We are going into debt for it to the tune of 257 billion dollars. We are willing to pay this price because our freedom and our way of life are threatened. To us this freedom means more than cash.

We have a big job on our hands of keeping this freedom alive in the world.

To do this we have to keep ourselves and our nation strong.

In time of war we have to turn to our Government for defense. Two world wars have forced us to strengthen the arm of Government. In 1910 our nation struck its first billion dollar budget and billion dollar debt. The new budget is 42½ billion dollars, and the 257 billion dollar debt is going up.

George Washington supervised 9 agencies. Harry Truman is supposed to keep tab on over 70. With new and bigger problems rolling into Washington, the Government family grew up like Topsy. We can't say that Government bigness is necessarily an evil. We are a big and powerful country and we need big Government. But we shouldn't expect a twentieth-century America to be run by eighteenth-century governmental machinery. Many claim this machinery needs to be modernized.

We would not put up with broken-down machinery on our farm. We couldn't get the work done. Why should we try it in government, when it means so much to our national safety and prosperity? We need to keep our democratic government running smoothly in order to achieve our political, economic and social aspirations.

Is our national debt a threat to our strength?

Are we paying too much for our national security?

Are we getting all we pay for?

Are we loading too many of our problems onto our Government?

Do you see any weak spots in our government? If so, what can we do about it?

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL Guide

May, 1950
Vol. 7, No. 8

OHIO FARM BUREAU COLUMBUS, OHIO

BUILDING A SOUND FARM PROGRAM

Ohio farmers are worried about the future. Farm prices continue to drop while the things farmers buy remain high. For the first time since 1941 farm prices have fallen below parity. Farmers are asking, "What kind of a farm program should we have in the United States?" What can we do to help ourselves?

What things should the Government help us with?

Farmers are not alone in their concern about the farm problem. Everyone who eats food and wears clothes is interested. All want a fair solution to the farm problem.

During the war farmers were urged to increase production. The results were immediate. Production in 1948-49 climbed to 138 percent of the 1935-39 prewar level. Now more food and fibre are being grown than can be sold at a fair price. The question to be decided now by the American people is:

What is to be done with actual and potential surplus farm production in order to keep farm prices and farm income in a reasonable relationship with non-farm prices and incomes?

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL GUIDE
July, 1950
Vol. 7, No. 10
OHIO FARM BUREAU COLUMBUS, OHIO

MEET

Farm and city people have much in common, but they meet so seldom that it is not surprising that misunderstandings often arise. Everything should be done to remove these misunderstandings. One way to do it is by bringing farm and city people together more often in small groups where they can talk over their problems. This Advisory Council Guide, "*Where Farm and City Meet,*" offers a number of practical suggestions. In your discussions you will find other ways of building better relations between farm and city people.

Do you feel that people in town and on the farm need to understand each other better and work together more?

Is this something your Council can do something about?

"RESOLUTIONS WHY and HOW"

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL GUIDE
Aug., 1950
Vol. 7, No. 11
OHIO FARM BUREAU COLUMBUS, OHIO

o doubt there are a lot of things which need to be done in your community. You know what many of these problems are. It may be that your rural roads are poor; that you have a school problem which is serious; or health conditions are bad and need attention.

There are several attitudes which we can take as we face problems in the community.

We can say "Let George do it—leave it to someone else."

Or we can throw up our hands and say "That problem is beyond me."

Or we can say "Let's get together with our neighbors and tackle the problem together."

Our Farm Bureau Advisory Councils are made to order for tackling problems. We meet together each month and discuss local and national issues. We know each other well enough to say what we think and feel. We have learned that when we work as a group we get things done which would be impossible to accomplish alone.

No doubt your Council has a long record of successful projects.

hat do you consider the outstanding thing your Council has done to help your community?

hat are some projects you might carry out that would help your community?

SOLVING COMMUNITY PROBLEMS TOGETHER

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL GUIDE
Vol. 7, No. 12
Sept., 1950
OHIO FARM BUREAU ★ COLUMBUS, OHIO

"IN THIS TIME OF WORLD CRISIS OUR COUNTRY NEEDS THE BEST THINKING OF HER CITIZENS ON ISSUES THAT WEIGH SO HEAVILY ON THE FUTURE OF OUR NATION"

FARMERS LOOK AHEAD TO '51

At a time when the United States is facing a possible third world war, it is difficult to sit down together and try to make constructive plans. Yet, in this time of world crisis our country needs the best thinking of her citizens on issues that weigh so heavily on the future of our nation. Through our Council discussions on these matters we are making a vital contribution to human freedom.

Last month Councils talked about local issues. Hundreds of good suggestions are pouring in to county resolutions committees, where they will be acted on before annual meetings are held. This month we want to look at problems farther away from home, but which are just as important to us.

Next January the Ohio Assembly will meet in Columbus to consider many proposed laws which will directly affect farmers. Now is the time for us to talk over some of the proposals which are likely to be made and see where we stand. How can your Council help make Ohio, the United States, and the rest of the world a better place to live?

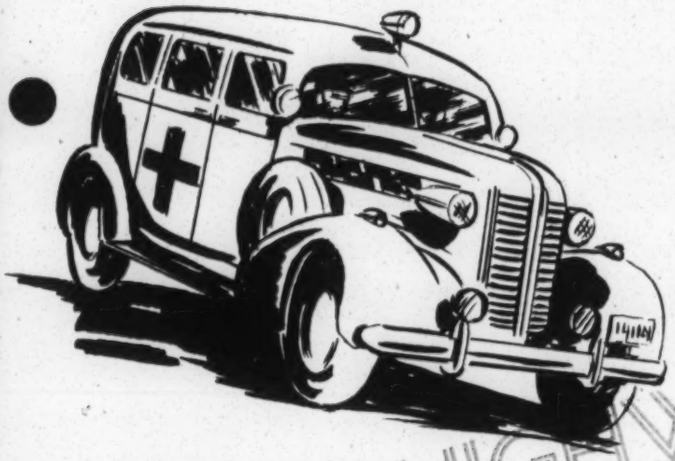
"RESOLUTIONS—STATE, NATIONAL, INTERNATIONAL"

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL GUIDE

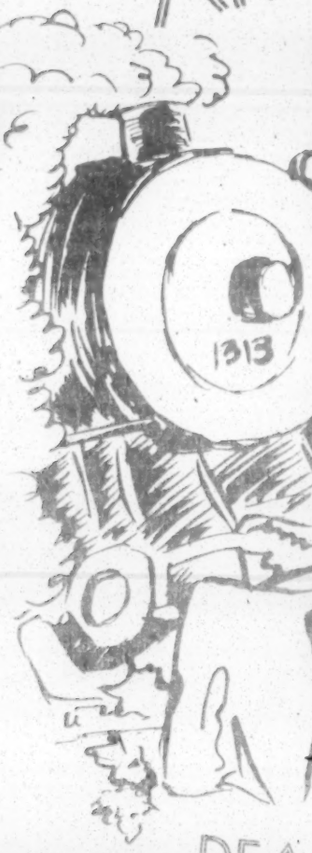
Vol. 8, No. 1

Oct., 1950

OHIO FARM BUREAU COLUMBUS, OHIO



YOUR HIGHWAY MANNERS ARE SHOWING



Are you surprised to learn that traffic deaths to youth under 25 in one year exceed the combined death toll of the San Francisco fire, the sinking of the Titanic, the Johnstown flood and all crashes of scheduled airlines since aviation began?

Nearly 7,500 auto drivers under 25 lose their lives each year in traffic deaths. In terms of money this loss probably costs the nation almost as much as $600,000,000 cost of all fires.

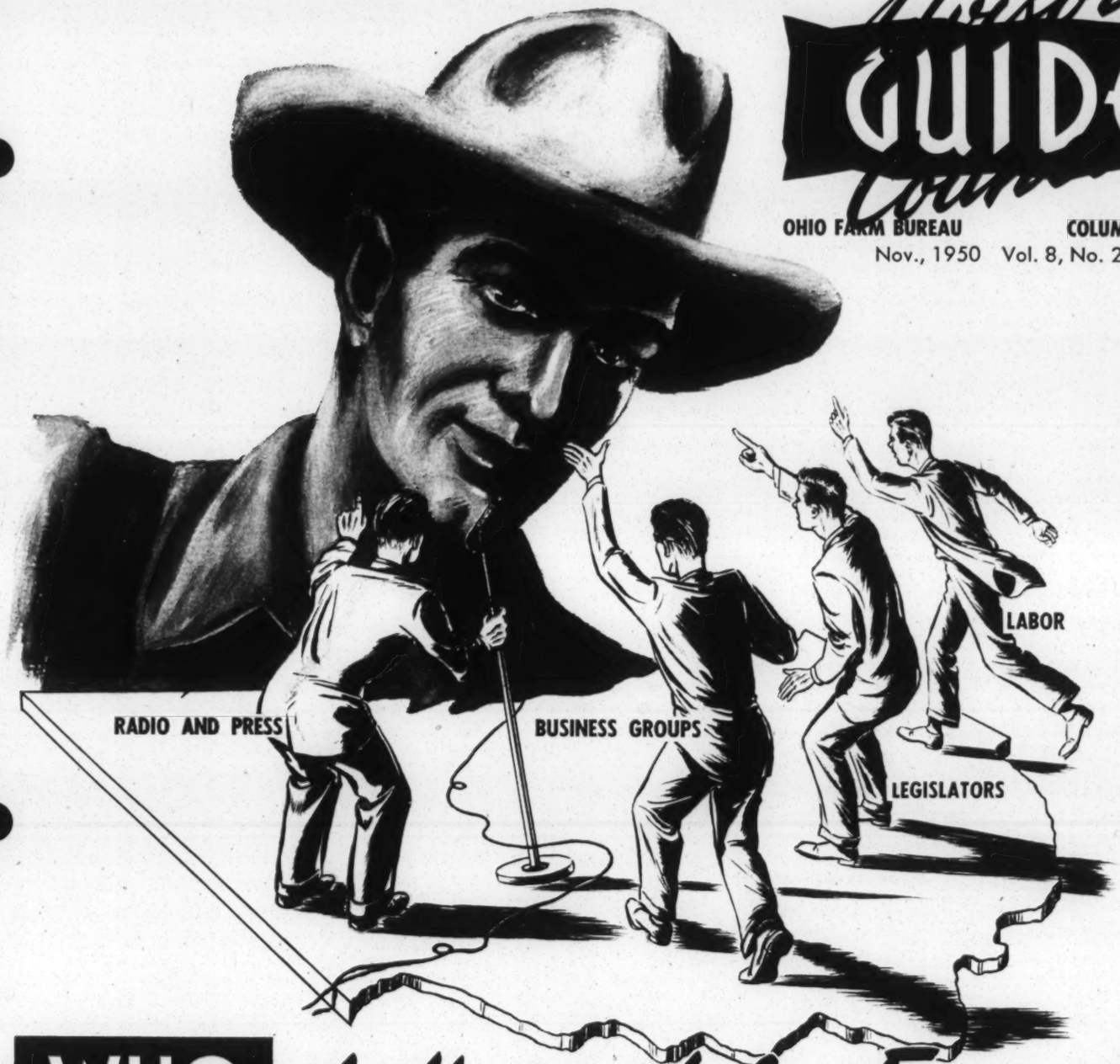
A car in the hands of a teen-ager is, roughly, twice as dangerous as a car driven by a mature adult.

Result: higher insurance rates if a driver under 25 is to operate the car. A year or so ago some 40 states allowed insurance companies to hike the premiums on drivers under 25.

Reports from 28 states in 1948 show that 31 percent of the drivers involved in all fatal accidents were under 25 years of age — that's nearly one out of three. The Inter-Highway Safety Committee reports that the 16-20 age driver group will have 5 times as many accidents as the 45-50 age group. 16-year-old drivers have *nine* times as many accidents at the 45-50 year group.

DEATH BEHIND THE WHEEL

Advisory GUIDE Journal
OHIO FARM BUREAU COLUMBUS, OHIO
Nov., 1950 Vol. 8, No. 2



WHO shall speak for Farmers?

Today we are in the midst of a world struggle to keep our democracy alive. To win this fight we are forced to do a lot of things through our government. This means government regulations and controls—a temporary loss of some of our liberties.

We gladly make these sacrifices to protect our freedoms. But we want to make sure we do not lose our freedoms in the process.

Freedom is not won by guns. It's something we have to build.

The battlefront for human rights stretches from Korea to every home in America.

1. How can we do our part on the home front in the battle for a free world?

2. How can farmers as citizens make their voices heard in the legislature?

Many folks outside the farming business are ready and eager to speak for farmers. Legislators, business groups, labor, the press,—all are willing to say how the 18 percent of Americans on farms should be treated: how their economy should be set up; what kind of a government program they should have.

This interest is all to the good, but as farmers we want to speak for ourselves. Agriculture affects all other groups, and their own welfare depends on the well-being of farmers. Let us help them to become well informed about farm problems.

But when it comes to speaking for farmers, can other groups do that? Can labor? Can business? Can government? Or should we do that ourselves through our farm organizations? Why shouldn't the 200,000 and more farm families in Ohio have the strongest voice in matters that vitally affect their pocketbooks and their daily lives?

Advisory Council
GUIDE
OHIO FARM BUREAU COLUMBUS, OHIO
Jan., 1951 Vol. 8, No. 4

New frontiers in farming

RESEARCH HAS INCREASED FARM PRODUCTION

THINK BACK TO THE WAY OUR FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS DID THINGS AS COMPARED WITH OUR PRESENT METHODS OF FARMING. HOW MUCH OF THIS PROGRESS IS DUE TO RESEARCH?

In America, we have made great progress in farm production. In 1800, it took 373 man hours to produce 100 bushels of wheat, while in 1940, it took only 47 man hours. Under the pressure of war, improvements have been even more startling. Today's production compared with the 1935-39 average is 36% higher for beef; 51% higher for wheat; and 75% higher for chickens. By one new development alone, hybrid seed corn, we have added $750 million a year to farm income!

Study and research, plus the readiness of farmers to put these new discoveries to work, have made these amazing strides possible. Specialists have tested seeds to find which give best results; they have improved livestock strains. New ways to improve the soil have been found. In laboratories and at experimental farms, research people have patiently searched for better and better ways to farm. Through our reading, the work of our county agents, discussion meetings and over the line fence, we have learned of these new ways and put them into practice.

Advisory Council
GUIDE
OHIO FARM BUREAU COLUMBUS, OHIO
Feb., 1951 Vol. 8, No. 5

PLANNING FOR OLD AGE

More People Are Older Now

Do you know that more people in America are living to an older age? In 1900, 4.1% of the population were 65 and over. By 1949, 7.6% were 65 and over. Today, more than 11 million Americans are over 65, and by 1980 it is expected that there will be over 20 millions in this group. Because of the wonders of modern medicine, many of us can expect to live longer than our grandparents did.

Opportunity to live longer is a mark of progress. On the other hand, the increasing number of older people brings a new problem to our families, our communities and our nation. The problem is this:

Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life for which the first was made:
Our times are in His hand
Who saith, "A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half; trust God: see all nor be afraid!"
—Robert Browning, from "Rabbi Ben Ezra"

how can we help ourselves and others make best use of our later years?

16-Human Rights

Jules 2

25

JUDAISM

and

RACE EQUALITY

Issued by

THE COMMISSION ON JUSTICE AND PEACE
of the
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

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JUDAISM AND RACE EQUALITY

MAN derives his worth from the fact that he is created by God in the image of God. This is an unconditional status. It is not dependent on any other circumstance. He may be black, yellow or white; he may worship nature or the spirit within nature; he may be born on mountainside or on the plains. He is still equal in the sight of God. Any differences in his worth are those he creates himself by his utilization of his potentialities through learning and industry. But these are only evaluative differences. They are not essential. In no way do they limit the inalienable rights inherent in man's status as a child of God.

These teachings were burned into the soul of Israel by his experience with Egyptian slavery. From the very beginning of his national existence he knew the heart of the stranger, and the leitmotif of his social discipline was, "Thou shalt have one law for the stranger and for him that is home-born."

We rejoice that the President's Committee on Civil Rights has recognized a similar emphasis in American history. In the foreword to its magnificent report, "To Secure These Rights," we read:

> "The central theme in our American heritage is the importance of the individual person. From the earliest moment of our history we have believed that every human being has an essential dignity and integrity which must be respected and safeguarded. Moreover, we believe that the welfare of the individual is the final goal of group life. Our American heritage further teaches that to be secure in the rights he wishes for himself, each man must be willing to respect the rights of other men. This is the conscious recognition of a basic moral principle; that all men are created equal as well as free. Stemming from this principle is the obligation to build social institutions that will guarantee equality of opportunity to all men. Without this equality freedom becomes an illusion. Thus the only aristocracy that is consistent with the free way of life is an aristocracy of talent and achievement."

We heartily commend the President's Committee for placing the spot-light of its inquiry on the faults and failures of our American democracy: lynching, Jim Crow, poll tax, the virtual peonage of tenant farmers, the inadequacy of educational, health and housing facilities for large sections of our population. We share the Committee's concern that the Bill of Rights is not as available to the non-white races in the American population as it is to the white race. We recognize the vicious cycle by which the denial of these rights forces the racial minorities into social degradations which make it all the more difficult for them to attain these rights. We endorse the Committee's recommendation that the Federal Government use its present constitutional powers to abolish Jim Crow in the District of Columbia and to preserve the right to the ballot to all Negro citizens of the South. We endorse the Committee's recommendation that the proper restitution and compensation be made to the Japanese citizens who were forcibly removed from their homes during the war. We likewise affirm the Committee's recommendation to strengthen the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice so that its regional offices may be of more assistance to local officers who wish to protect the citizen's basic rights under the Constitution.

We are encouraged to note that the New York State Commission Against Discrimination is singled out as an example of the way in which administrative agencies can grant civil sanctions to remedy the denial of the right to employment to members of minority groups. Our Conference must be all the more resolute in supporting the movements to establish similar agencies in all the states of the Union.

We rejoice in the Committee's recommendation that Federal Grants-in-Aid to public or private agencies be withheld if they practice discrimination and we commend the President's Committee on Higher Education for making a similar proposal. Proposals such as these coming from distinguished bodies appointed by the highest officer of our government cannot but help to change the climate of opinion which has heretofore passively tolerated, when it has not actively sanctioned, the violations of our Bill of Rights.

Economic opportunity, political equality, social dignity for our racial minorities can be only partially guaranteed by strengthening our laws and implementing our administrative agencies. The major resistance to necessary changes lies in the moral weakness, in the prejudices and bigotries of many of our citizens. Legal sanctions, criminal investigations, Federal pressures will never be able to sterilize the seed bed of these prejudices. Since the cause is largely the moral weakness and ignorance of individuals, the remedies must be largely in the hands of our homes, our schools, and our churches.

The difference between the equalitarian promise of the American dream as revealed in our Declaration of Independence and in our Bill of Rights and the inequalities of American practice measures the challenge to the churches and synagogues of the land. We must ignore the pessimism of the cynical who regard this gulf between word and action as proof of the hopeless hypocrisy of human beings. Our faith must inspire and sustain us in our endeavor to bridge this gap. It was faith in the ultimate goodness of the average man that led our Founding Fathers to erect a structure of government for the people and by the people. We must justify that faith by removing the barriers of prejudice and ignorance which frustrate the fulfillment of the American dream. We have evidence today as we have never had it before that racial discrimination is not only a heavy drain on the human wealth and national competence of this country, not only militates against America's moral leadership of countries populated by non-white races, but is bringing about the steady erosion of the moral fibre of the nation. The persistence of discrimination and segregation justifies many of our citizens in holding to the belief that the victims of discrimination are basically inferior. This creates a split which goes through the whole structure of our democracy and threatens it with ultimate destruction.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis commits its membership to the ceaseless struggle for the abolition of economic, political and social discrimination. A decent regard for the integrity of our faith demands it. Loyalty to the spiritual foundations of American democracy requires it.

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Additional copies of this statement may be secured by writing to Rabbi Julius Mark, chairman, Commission on Justice and Peace, CCAR, 136 Seventh Ave., N., Nashville, 3, Tenn.

Human Relations Education

Library of Jewish Information
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Ave., New York City

May 3, 1951

INTERGROUP EDUCATION
A Selected Bibliography

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Immigration

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RECEIVED
APR 21 1952
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
APR 21 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dear Sir and Brother:

The Congress of the United States is presently preparing revisions in our immigration policies and procedures which have been in operation for over twenty years. The new codified law will cover the whole field of immigration legislation.

In as much as our immigration policies have both domestic and international significance, it is essential that the new law be both consistent with our democratic traditions and a credit to us in the eyes of our friends abroad - while the security of our country is properly safeguarded.

The McCarran and Walter bills presently under discussion in Congress contain provisions that will seriously endanger the rights of United States citizens as well as antagonize the people of other countries - without any corresponding advantage to us. We are enclosing an analysis of these bills.

It is because of these important shortcomings of the McCarran and Walter bills that the Humphrey-Lehman and Roosevelt bills were introduced. An analysis of these bills is also enclosed. These bills are in the best tradition of our democratic ideals and provide for procedures that will properly secure our national interests.

-over-

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46

Organized labor has always been concerned with basic human rights and individual freedoms, and is a potent factor in winning the friendship of people throughout the world for democracy. We therefore deem this legislation of vital concern to you. Your serious consideration of this legislation is essential for the welfare and reputation of our country.

Fraternally yours,

Jacob Pat

JACOB PAT
Executive Secretary,
Jewish Labor Committee

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Immigration

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
327 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILL.
212 FIFTH AVENUE
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RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Alexander Brooks and Sol Rabkin

DATE: May 7, 1952

SUBJECT: Article on McCarran Legislation

Enclosed is an article reprinted from the Nation, and written by a staff member of the Civil Rights Department of the American Jewish Committee, dealing with the McCarran omnibus immigration bill, now pending in the Senate and due to be debated very soon. The Walter bill, the McCarran bill's counterpart, was adopted in the House on April 25, by a vote of 206 to 68, after three days of debate, and it is expected that the McCarran bill will give rise to much controversy in the Senate. The enclosed article analyzes the restrictive and racist features of the McCarran bill and points to the liberal provisions of the Humphrey-Lehman bills, also up before the Senate.

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
327 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 4, ILL.
212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

To: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

From: Sol Rabkin and Frances Levenson

Date: April 30, 1952

Subject: Rhode Island Civil Rights Legislation

In the closing minutes of the 1952 session, the upper house of the Rhode Island Legislature approved a bill passed unanimously several weeks earlier by the lower house changing the name of the State Fair Employment Practices Commission to the State Commission Against Discrimination, and broadening its authority to include curbing racial and religious discrimination in places of public accommodation. This action was taken by the Rhode Island Senate by the narrowest possible margin --one vote. The bill now awaits signature by the Governor of Rhode Island.

The bill follows the pattern set in New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts and New York of enlarging the jurisdiction of the administrative agency enforcing the state laws against discrimination in employment to permit the agency to receive, investigate, and adjust complaints of discrimination in places of public accommodation. Under the Rhode Island bill, such places as theatres, hospitals, eating places, hotels, stores, saloons and public housing projects are included within the definition of a place of public accommodation.

B'nai B'rith in Rhode Island played a leading role in the campaign of education prior to the enactment of this legislation.

Joint Memorandum

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212 FIFTH AVENUE
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TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Frances Levenson

DATE: April 23, 1952

SUBJECT: Integration Achieved in Public Housing in Sacramento, California

Sacramento, the capital of California, has recently joined the constantly increasing number of cities which are ending racial segregation in public housing. Last November, a small committee on segregation in public housing was formed by the local NAACP. The committee made a survey of the public housing projects and found that a pattern of racial segregation was being followed. Discussions with the executive director and members of the Housing Authority proved fruitless with the city officials refusing to change their existing policy.

The NAACP committee then formed a new, larger committee broadly representative of all segments of the community including the various minority groups, religious groups, labor unions, social worker groups and liberal groups. The committee also had among its members prominent individuals including the local rabbis and a number of Catholic priests and Protestant ministers.

This committee released a public statement exposing the racial segregation that existed in public housing projects. This release was made available to local editors including church and labor publications. The committee also undertook to raise funds to finance publicity as well as the filing of a suit to compel termination of segregation. In addition, meetings were arranged with the housing authority, the city council, the city manager and even the Governor's legislative secretary.

When all these conferences resulted in no change of policy, the committee found three plaintiffs and brought court action attacking the constitutionality of the segregation policy.

The Housing Authority agreed to a consent judgment and bound itself to end racial segregation. It is noteworthy that in the stipulation ending the suit the Housing Authority of the City of Sacramento did not admit that it had engaged in racial segregation and stated that it had the right to "limit the occupancy" of its housing units "by 'non-whites' to a percentage of the total housing units determined in accordance with the housing needs in the area served by such projects." The plaintiffs accepted this quota provision only because they believed it to have no binding legal effect and because they thought it would help achieve integrated housing projects by making all-Negro ones less probable.

With the signing of the consent judgment, the committee worked in cooperation with the Authority in preparing the general community and the project tenants to accept interracial housing. Integration was instituted smoothly and is continuing with no adverse reaction whatever.

Meanwhile, the committee continues to watch the situation and to give what help and support it can to the Authority in advancing the policy of racial integration in all its projects.

The events in Sacramento and in other cities where a change-over from racial segregation in public housing to integration has been accomplished, underscore the need for and the strength of broadly constituted citizen groups in securing reform. In most instances, it is not until a committee is organized and brings pressure that city officials are wont to change existing patterns. Dire predictions of riots and disorders often deter Housing Authorities from acting to institute integration. It is only after they are assured that the community wants and is willing to fight for unsegregated public housing that a housing authority will change its policy. Experience then shows that integration can almost invariably be accomplished peaceably.

A city ordinance or a state law barring discrimination in public housing is to be desired but the Sacramento story is an example of what can be accomplished even without a statute so long as there is an alert and organized citizenry.

Finally, after a long uphill fight by community groups, segregation is also being ended in the public housing projects of Los Angeles County. (Racial integration has always been the rule in the city projects in the City of Los Angeles.)

Immigration

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May 9, 1952

Dear Friend,

You may be interested in the enclosed summary and analysis of the recent three-day debate in the House of Representatives on the Walter Omnibus Immigration bill. The analysis may also be helpful in summarizing the arguments of those who favor this type of legislation.

Shocking, however, is the barely concealed anti-Semitism, race prejudice and xenophobia which is described here in detail.

Sincerely,

Will Maslow

Will Maslow

Enclosure

STATEMENT
of
Alexander F. Miller, Southern Director Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
before
President's Committee on Immigration & Naturalization
Atlanta, Ga., October 17, 1952

My name is Alexander F. Miller. I am the Southern Director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. B'nai B'rith is America's oldest civic organization of American Jews. It represents a membership of 300,000 men and women and their families.

The Anti-Defamation League is the educational arm of B'nai B'rith. It is a creative organization seeking to build in the lives of all Americans those basic attitudes on which good human relations are founded. It is an action organization aiming for the continual expansion of democratic horizons.

I am grateful for this opportunity to express my views with reference to our immigration and naturalization laws. We believe it is healthy and significant that from time to time we examine objectively our procedures, our policies and our laws, to determine whether they are consonant with the democratic patterns established so wisely by our forefathers.

It is our belief that the current immigration and naturalization laws are at variance with the democratic process. We believe that our immigration policies are a paradox which not only tend to undermine our international and domestic situation, but are also an affront to our morality and to our ethic.

The several reasons for our opposition to the current immigration and naturalization policies have been rehearsed before this commission many times. It is my intention today to list these reasons but briefly in order to give background and perspective for the specific testimony I shall attempt to offer with regard to the Southern scene.

The three main features of our present immigration laws are: (A) the principle that persons who may be harmful to our country, such as criminals, subversives, diseased, are absolutely excluded; (B) the principle of limitation of the

number of immigrants permitted to enter the United States in any year; and (C) the system of racial and national exclusion and preferences by which quotas are assigned to some lands and denied to others.

As to the first of these principles, the right to exclude undesirables, we think that it has the solidest support of American public opinion. Americans quite properly insist that immigrants be good human material.

The second of these principles, the idea of a numerical limitation upon the total volume of immigration in the United States, was an outgrowth of the isolationist and know-nothing thinking of the early '20s. During the past quarter of a century, that attitude of necessity has been profoundly modified. Not only have opinions changed on the whole problem of "isolationism," but more specifically that part of the American public that has given serious thought to immigration problems has begun to doubt the value of any blanket numerical limitation upon immigration. The time is close at hand when reconsideration of the principle of total limitations will be in order.

The third principle of our immigration laws, the principle of racial and national exclusions and preferences, has been repudiated by every decent American. The principle of racial preference came to be recognized after 1933 as Hitlerism. It is diametrically opposed to our Declaration of Independence, which proclaims that all men are created equal. Even the McCarran-Walter Act, which has been sharply criticized by many groups throughout the country for its restrictive and backward looking features, gives grudging acceptance to the public wish to rid our immigration policies of racism. Indeed, it was to a large extent on the basis of the provisions eliminating the bar against the immigration and naturalization of Asiatics that Senator McCarran made his spurious appeal for support of the bill.

As Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland pointed out recently, "There are no superior races. There are no races endowed by nature with superior qualities of mind and character. The doctrine of racial superiority was used by the Nazis and

Fascists as a cover for their vicious deeds in the last World War. Racial conceits and pretensions have frequently been used by the forces of privilege, darkness and reaction — and the great religions of mankind have always warned mankind against them." "God created only one Adam," declared a Jewish sage, "in order that in the future no man shall be warranted in saying: 'I come from better stock than you do.'" And St. Paul declared in a magnificent summary of the Judeo-Christian tradition on the subject of race: "The God that made the world and all nations therein...has made of one blood all nature and men to dwell on the face of the whole earth."

To remedy the defects in our immigration policies the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, acting together with The American Jewish Committee, has outlined a four-point program.

1. The establishment by law of a national immigration policy commission whose members would be partly selected from the Senate and the House and partly appointed by the President. This Commission would set the maximum number of immigrants to be admitted to this country each calendar year. In so doing, the Commission would be required by law to set a number no lower than 300,000 or .2% (2/10's of 1%) of our total population. The criteria for the number of immigrants admitted each year should be determined by:

A. The demand for immigration visas in each country by qualified bonafide applicants for immigration registered at our consulate in that country.

B. The extent of our economic and military commitments in the various countries.

C. The impact of a particular quota on the implementation of our foreign policy.

D. The relationship of immigration from a particular country to our domestic and economic needs.

2. The establishment of a Visa Review Board to which persons denied visas by an American Consul may appeal. We believe that it is contrary to the basic principles of Democracy to allow any subordinate official of the United States to have unlimited power over other persons, subject to no review.

3. The revision of deportation laws so that only those situations should be declared grounds for deportation where the interest of the United States clearly

requires deportation. Deportation has long been recognized as a drastic punishment which may be tantamount to imprisonment or death and which therefore should be used with circumspection and with due regard to the interest of all individuals involved.

4. The elimination of all disabilities suffered by naturalized citizens because they are not native born. Naturalized citizens now suffer many inequities from which our citizens by birth are free. There have actually been established two classes of citizenship. The very existence of classes and levels of citizenship is a detriment to democracy.

One aspect of our immigration laws which has run counter to the general policy in force since 1924 has been the special legislation which has permitted the immigration of displaced persons during the post-war era. I believe that an examination of the effect of the influx of these displaced persons provides us with a handy test tube in which we can examine whether the proposals advanced to liberalize immigration policy would be fortuitous for this country.

I am certain that testimony with regard to the integration into the fabric of this country of these refugees from totalitarianism has been advanced to this commission. The splendid effect of this broad-visioned Displaced Persons policy upon our foreign relations has been documented.

It is my purpose, today, to examine the Displaced Persons policy against the background of the Southern area to attempt to determine whether an enlarged flow of immigrants coming from countries whose residents are normally restricted from journeying to these shores has been helpful or hurtful.

Let us first take a brief look at the South itself, its need, its capacity, its desire to absorb new immigration.

The South is in a period of transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy. The South can no longer be classified as it was only 15 short years ago as the nation's Number One economic problem. The South is prosperous and its

industry is expanding rapidly. There is great need for more industry, more capital, more technicians, more skilled workers, both in industry and on the farm. The present population cannot fully meet the labor demand. Examine, if you will, the want ads of the daily papers through the South and you will note the tremendous demand for skilled people to man the gears of our expanding economy. No better pool of skilled manpower can be found than among the reservoir of those desiring to enter these shores.

Population-wise, the South is far from being over-inhabited. There are vast areas that need settlement in order to bring the land to its fullest productivity and fruitfulness. Take an automobile ride in any area of the South, and you will note how thinly the land is populated.

A great minister of this city, Reverend Pierce Harris, has on the bulletin board of his church, "And the people are friendly." I think the same thing can be said generally of our Southern folk. They are noted for their friendliness and hospitality. The settlement of immigrants under the DP bill caused, as far as I have been able to discover, neither tension nor irritation. Southern hospitality for the stranger within our gates has become, with justification, a by-word in our country's language.

Unfortunately, some of the actions of a few of our irresponsible and violent elements have been used with telling effect by the Communist publicists in their efforts to undermine American prestige throughout the world. A cross-burning, a flogging, a Klan parade has been grist for the Red propaganda mill in Asia, in Africa and in Europe. Effective efforts by the South to curb the Klan through anti-mask and anti-crossburning laws and through the prosecution of Klan leaders have hardly been whispered abroad.

What better way to demonstrate that the Klan and the Klan mentality represent the deviation rather than the pattern, than by taking the Klan philosophy out of our immigration laws. The successful adjustment of immigrants in our South has

been and will continue to be a living lie to world-wide Communist propaganda.

In conclusion, may I present to you some figures to illustrate my thesis, These figures are based on the adjustment of Jewish displaced persons in the South.

During the time the displaced persons law was effective, some 6,500 Jews were settled in the Southern area. Of this number, according to the United Service for New Americans, the agency which was in charge of settling them, not one has been a recipient of public charity. The average length of time that these immigrants have received private charity has been only three months. This represents a period just long enough for the immigrants to become acclimated and to learn enough of the language to hold a job. Almost uniformly these immigrants — these New Americans — have enriched the South through their industry, their culture, their scientific and technical knowledge, and above all, through their loyalty and devotion to their newly adopted land. Some of these immigrants, because of their special talents, have started unique industries which have provided employment and income for thousands of Southerners.

For example, take the case of Mr. A.,,a paint chemist. In partnership with a native Southerner, he started a paint factory which offers a highly unique and important service to Southern industry. This paint factory is not in competition with other paint manufacturers. As a matter of fact, Mr. A., because of his special knowledge is called in to help other paint manufacturers to solve some of their knotty problems. He has invented formulae which permit the application of paint to machines being operated at extreme temperatures. His factory now gives employment to a number of native Southerners. His contribution has supplemented and aided and helped industry in this area to expand.

Other immigrants, trained as doctors, scientists and physicists have also been extremely useful. There is a tremendous demand for doctors to serve in our rural areas. A number of the new Americans have settled in agricultural communities, where they are performing valued and needed services. One of the greatest needs of

all in the field of medicine is for selfless, devoted doctors to serve in state-operated mental institutions. These mental institutions find it difficult for a number of reasons to attract sufficient doctors. A number of Southern mental hospitals now have as residents new immigrants. Nor is there any need to detail for this commission the valued services of the physicists and other scientists who have worked at various Southern atom-bomb projects, nor to outline the histories of several uniquely trained scholars who occupy important niches in a number of Southern colleges and universities. It is important to underline, however, that there is still a tremendous need for added services in the South -- needs which can only be filled by the acceleration of a flow of talented immigrants to these shores.

May I reiterate once more the deep and fervent hope of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith that this Commission hearing will serve to lead to a nation-wide discussion of how our immigration and naturalization laws and policies measure up against our democratic principles and how these laws and policies can be made to conform more closely to our democratic ideals. Out of this discussion we hope will come a democratic, humane, intelligent and far-sighted immigration and naturalization policy which will aid in building democracy, not only in our country but throughout the world, and which will enable our country as a leader of the democratic forces of the world to play its proper role in the elimination of want and fear everywhere.

RESOLUTIONS ON IMMIGRATION AND MCCARRAN-WALTER ACT

RESOLUTION ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION ADOPTED BY NATIONAL AFL CONVENTION, SEPTEMBER, 1952, NEW YORK CITY

The Walter Omnibus Immigration and Nationality Bill enacted by the last session of Congress represented a culmination of four years of study of our entire immigration and naturalization system and an attempt to encompass in a single law the many enactments of the past thirty years. Representatives of our National Legislative Committee appeared before the Congressional committees considering these bills and effectively presented our views on these questions of vital concern to labor.

The law, as finally passed, represented the first comprehensive revision of our immigration and naturalization laws in nearly three decades. Such a sweeping effort can neither be wholly satisfactory nor can it revolve the many current problems arising from the pressures of world population. We ask that the American Federation of Labor renew in the 83rd Congress its efforts to bring about sound improvements and necessary revisions of the immigration and naturalization law.

With these comments, your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

RESOLUTION ON IMMIGRATION POLICY ADOPTED BY NATIONAL CIO CONVENTION, DECEMBER, 1952, ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

In many respects the United States stands unique among nations. It was created by the immigration to our shores of men of many and diverse races and creeds. Large scale immigration enabled this country to grow from a wilderness into a great and powerful nation and afforded haven and a new life to millions of the oppressed and impoverished of the Old World.

This country, too, has long avowed two great principles - that our government shall not discriminate on the basis of race, religion or color, and that it shall deal fairly and justly with all.

Yet increasingly these principles, and our whole tradition of a liberal immigration policy, have, in the drafting of our immigration and naturalization laws, gone into the discard. Beginning in 1924, Congress not only severely restricted numbers of immigrants permitted to enter each year, but established quotas for each country, these quotas being set to favor immigrants from Northern European countries and to discriminate against immigrants from elsewhere. In addition, Asiatics had earlier been entirely excluded from immigration, and those already here from naturalization.

During the last two years the immigration and naturalization laws have been extensively amended by Congress. Unfortunately, the revisions, passed over President Truman's veto, constitute, as a whole, an even less liberal immigration policy than the prior laws. In addition they make second class citizens of all naturalized citizens and deny to aliens resident in this country the fair protection of our laws.

Under these new statutes even fewer immigrants will enter the country than under the 1924 Act. The issuance of visas is impeded by technicalities and red tape. The national origin quota system established by the 1924 Act is continued, together with its discrimination in favor of immigrants from Northern Europe. Asiatics are given a token quota and are, with belated justice, accorded the privilege of naturalization. This nod towards racial equality is offset, however, by an offensive new concept of racial origin, as distinguished from national origin, which is made applicable to Asians, and by new discriminations against Negroes.

The new law also contains broad provisions barring from immigration to this country persons who were once totalitarian adherents, no matter how long ago, or in what circumstances, and without regard to what their proven opinions may be now. The new law accepts, as a ground for exclusion, criminal convictions by foreign courts, even those of totalitarian countries which resort to framing political opponents. These provisions bar forever from this country the many individuals who have broken with communism and are now prepared to devote their lives and their knowledge to fighting it. Such an immigration policy impairs our capacity to appeal to the people behind the iron curtain to renounce the communist allegiance which has been forced upon them.

The Constitution contemplates that once immigrants are naturalized and admitted to the rights and duties of American citizenship, they shall stand on the same footing as natural born citizens, save only as regards eligibility for the Presidency. But the McCarran-Walter Act makes second class citizens out of all naturalized citizens by subjecting them to denaturalization on various grounds such as contempt of Congress.

The new legislation also greatly expands the grounds for deportation for aliens who are residents here but have not yet become naturalized. Many of these new grounds for deportation are, contrary to every principle of justice, made retroactive so that persons can now be deported for conduct which was perfectly legal when undertaken.

These resident aliens may have lived here for many years, and many be married to Americans, and have children who are American citizens. Their deportation may inflict great hardship on their families, but no discretion is granted by the law to the immigration officials to take humanitarian considerations into account.

This restrictive immigration policy and this virulently anti-foreign legislation comes at a peculiarly inapposite time. For us, when we are striving to build a mutual security system in cooperation with our allies abroad, to make our immigration and naturalization laws ever more isolationist and anti-foreign, not only makes very little sense; it embarrasses us in the pursuit of the wider objectives of our foreign policy. Both our national interest and the deep humanitarianism which has always characterized Americans as a nation require that we reverse this trend of the last two years, and establish a new policy on immigration and naturalization which will be consistent with 20th century conditions and ideals.

During the recent Presidential campaign, both candidates declared their opposition to the McCarran-Walter Act and pledged their support for a new and more liberal immigration policy.

This policy should be liberal, and democratic, and make no distinction among immigrants on grounds of race, religion or color. This immigration policy should encompass a liberal permanent, or long-run, immigration policy. In addition, there is the immediate need for special relief for the persons displaced by World War II who still, more than 7 years after the war's end, have not found permanent homes. We can be proud that our country has already given refuge to large numbers of those displaced by World War II, but we should not rest until the problem is completely solved. We cannot longer leave these people in temporary refuges. This country, along with others, must do its share toward providing them with permanent homes.

We need also a special program for aiding the brave refugees who are now reaching Western Europe from the countries behind the iron curtain. The courage and the determination to live in freedom shown by these people should be rewarded and encouraged. They have, at grave risk to themselves, proven their devotion to democracy and their enmity to communist totalitarianism. Both humanitarianism and common sense dictate that we, in cooperation with other free lands, find homes for these people.

We are confident that, in the present state of our economy the United States could admit each year a substantial number of immigrants without danger to the national economy or to American wage scales and standards of living.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. The CIO urges that the McCarran-Walter Act be repealed and replaced by a new policy on immigration and naturalization which will be consistent with 20th century conditions and ideals.

2. This new immigration policy should provide for the admission each year of substantial numbers of immigrants, without discrimination based on race, color or religion. Pending complete elimination of the national origins quota system, we urge, at the least, that unused portions of quotas be made transferrable. The new immigration policy should, in addition, provide for special relief for the persons displaced by World War II who still have not found permanent homes, and for the refugees currently escaping through the iron curtain.

3. Congress should enact a new law on naturalization according to naturalized citizens the same rights and privileges as native born citizens, as intended by the Constitution.

4. We urge that Congress likewise enact legislation to provide that resident aliens can be deported only for serious crimes, and to give the immigration authorities discretion to administer the deportation laws in a humanitarian manner.

* * * *

Immigration

ADL

SOUTHERN OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

11 PRYOR ST. S. W. ATLANTA 3, GA.

October 27, 1952

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Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Friend:

Since the passage of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act by Congress recently over President Truman's veto, there has been a great deal of interest evolved in the whole problem of our immigration policy.

President Truman has appointed a special Commission to study our immigration and naturalization policies. This Commission has been holding hearings in various cities throughout the country.

On October 17th, the Commission held its only Southern hearing in Atlanta, Georgia. You may be interested in the attached statement made by the Director of our Southern Office, as it summarizes our position and also offers a number of proposals for altering our immigration policy.

I would deeply appreciate any comments or suggestions you may have regarding this important matter.

Sincerely yours,

William P. Bloom

William P. Bloom
Chairman, Southern Regional Board

WPB/fs

Encl.

STATEMENT
of
Alexander F. Miller, Southern Director Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
before
President's Committee on Immigration & Naturalization
Atlanta, Ga., October 17, 1952

My name is Alexander F. Miller. I am the Southern Director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. B'nai B'rith is America's oldest civic organization of American Jews. It represents a membership of 300,000 men and women and their families.

The Anti-Defamation League is the educational arm of B'nai B'rith. It is a creative organization seeking to build in the lives of all Americans those basic attitudes on which good human relations are founded. It is an action organization aiming for the continual expansion of democratic horizons.

I am grateful for this opportunity to express my views with reference to our immigration and naturalization laws. We believe it is healthy and significant that from time to time we examine objectively our procedures, our policies and our laws, to determine whether they are consonant with the democratic patterns established so wisely by our forefathers.

It is our belief that the current immigration and naturalization laws are at variance with the democratic process. We believe that our immigration policies are a paradox which not only tend to undermine our international and domestic situation, but are also an affront to our morality and to our ethic.

The several reasons for our opposition to the current immigration and naturalization policies have been rehearsed before this commission many times. It is my intention today to list these reasons but briefly in order to give background and perspective for the specific testimony I shall attempt to offer with regard to the Southern scene.

The three main features of our present immigration laws are: (A) the principle that persons who may be harmful to our country, such as criminals, subversives, diseased, are absolutely excluded; (B) the principle of limitation of the

number of immigrants permitted to enter the United States in any year; and (C) the system of racial and national exclusion and preferences by which quotas are assigned to some lands and denied to others.

As to the first of these principles, the right to exclude undesirables, we think that it has the solidest support of American public opinion. Americans quite properly insist that immigrants be good human material.

The second of these principles, the idea of a numerical limitation upon the total volume of immigration in the United States, was an outgrowth of the isolationist and know-nothing thinking of the early '20s. During the past quarter of a century, that attitude of necessity has been profoundly modified. Not only have opinions changed on the whole problem of "isolationism," but more specifically that part of the American public that has given serious thought to immigration problems has begun to doubt the value of any blanket numerical limitation upon immigration. The time is close at hand when reconsideration of the principle of total limitations will be in order.

The third principle of our immigration laws, the principle of racial and national exclusions and preferences, has been repudiated by every decent American. The principle of racial preference came to be recognized after 1933 as Hitlerism. It is diametrically opposed to our Declaration of Independence, which proclaims that all men are created equal. Even the McCarran-Walter Act, which has been sharply criticized by many groups throughout the country for its restrictive and backward looking features, gives grudging acceptance to the public wish to rid our immigration policies of racism. Indeed, it was to a large extent on the basis of the provisions eliminating the bar against the immigration and naturalization of Asiatics that Senator McCarran made his spurious appeal for support of the bill.

As Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland pointed out recently, "There are no superior races. There are no races endowed by nature with superior qualities of mind and character. The doctrine of racial superiority was used by the Nazis and

Fascists as a cover for their vicious deeds in the last World War. Racial conceits and pretensions have frequently been used by the forces of privilege, darkness and reaction — and the great religions of mankind have always warned mankind against them." "God created only one Adam," declared a Jewish sage, "in order that in the future no man shall be warranted in saying: 'I come from better stock than you do.'" And St. Paul declared in a magnificent summary of the Judeo-Christian tradition on the subject of race: "The God that made the world and all nations therein...has made of one blood all nature and men to dwell on the face of the whole earth."

To remedy the defects in our immigration policies the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, acting together with The American Jewish Committee, has outlined a four-point program.

1. The establishment by law of a national immigration policy commission whose members would be partly selected from the Senate and the House and partly appointed by the President. This Commission would set the maximum number of immigrants to be admitted to this country each calendar year. In so doing, the Commission would be required by law to set a number no lower than 300,000 or .2% (2/10's of 1%) of our total population. The criteria for the number of immigrants admitted each year should be determined by:

A. The demand for immigration visas in each country by qualified bonafide applicants for immigration registered at our consulate in that country.

B. The extent of our economic and military commitments in the various countries.

C. The impact of a particular quota on the implementation of our foreign policy.

D. The relationship of immigration from a particular country to our domestic and economic needs.

2. The establishment of a Visa Review Board to which persons denied visas by an American Consul may appeal. We believe that it is contrary to the basic principles of Democracy to allow any subordinate official of the United States to have unlimited power over other persons, subject to no review.

3. The revision of deportation laws so that only those situations should be declared grounds for deportation where the interest of the United States clearly

requires deportation. Deportation has long been recognized as a drastic punishment which may be tantamount to imprisonment or death and which therefore should be used with circumspection and with due regard to the interest of all individuals involved.

4. The elimination of all disabilities suffered by naturalized citizens because they are not native born. Naturalized citizens now suffer many inequities from which our citizens by birth are free. There have actually been established two classes of citizenship. The very existence of classes and levels of citizenship is a detriment to democracy.

One aspect of our immigration laws which has run counter to the general policy in force since 1924 has been the special legislation which has permitted the immigration of displaced persons during the post-war era. I believe that an examination of the effect of the influx of these displaced persons provides us with a handy test tube in which we can examine whether the proposals advanced to liberalize immigration policy would be fortuitous for this country.

I am certain that testimony with regard to the integration into the fabric of this country of these refugees from totalitarianism has been advanced to this commission. The splendid effect of this broad-visioned Displaced Persons policy upon our foreign relations has been documented.

It is my purpose, today, to examine the Displaced Persons policy against the background of the Southern area to attempt to determine whether an enlarged flow of immigrants coming from countries whose residents are normally restricted from journeying to these shores has been helpful or hurtful.

Let us first take a brief look at the South itself, its need, its capacity, its desire to absorb new immigration.

The South is in a period of transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy. The South can no longer be classified as it was only 15 short years ago as the nation's Number One economic problem. The South is prosperous and its

industry is expanding rapidly. There is great need for more industry, more capital, more technicians, more skilled workers, both in industry and on the farm. The present population cannot fully meet the labor demand. Examine, if you will, the want ads of the daily papers through the South and you will note the tremendous demand for skilled people to man the gears of our expanding economy. No better pool of skilled manpower can be found than among the reservoir of those desiring to enter these shores.

Population-wise, the South is far from being over-inhabited. There are vast areas that need settlement in order to bring the land to its fullest productivity and fruitfulness. Take an automobile ride in any area of the South, and you will note how thinly the land is populated.

A great minister of this city, Reverend Pierce Harris, has on the bulletin board of his church, "And the people are friendly." I think the same thing can be said generally of our Southern folk. They are noted for their friendliness and hospitality. The settlement of immigrants under the DP bill caused, as far as I have been able to discover, neither tension nor irritation. Southern hospitality for the stranger within our gates has become, with fortification, a by-word in our country's language.

Unfortunately, some of the actions of a few of our irresponsible and violent elements have been used with telling effect by the Communist publicists in their efforts to undermine American prestige throughout the world. A cross-burning, a flogging, a Klan parade has been grist for the Red propaganda mill in Asia, in Africa and in Europe. Effective efforts by the South to curb the Klan through anti-mask and anti-crossburning laws and through the prosecution of Klan leaders have hardly been whispered abroad.

What better way to demonstrate that the Klan and the Klan mentality represent the deviation rather than the pattern, than by taking the Klan philosophy out of our immigration laws. The successful adjustment of immigrants in our South has

been and will continue to be a living lie to world-wide Communist propaganda.

In conclusion, may I present to you some figures to illustrate my thesis. These figures are based on the adjustment of Jewish displaced persons in the South.

During the time the displaced persons law was effective, some 6,500 Jews were settled in the Southern area. Of this number, according to the United Service for New Americans, the agency which was in charge of settling them, not one has been a recipient of public charity. The average length of time that these immigrants have received private charity has been only three months. This represents a period just long enough for the immigrants to become acclimated and to learn enough of the language to hold a job. Almost uniformly these immigrants -- these New Americans -- have enriched the South through their industry, their culture, their scientific and technical knowledge, and above all, through their loyalty and devotion to their newly adopted land. Some of these immigrants, because of their special talents, have started unique industries which have provided employment and income for thousands of Southerners.

For example, take the case of Mr. A...,a paint chemist. In partnership with a native Southerner, he started a paint factory which offers a highly unique and important service to Southern industry. This paint factory is not in competition with other paint manufacturers. As a matter of fact, Mr. A., because of his special knowledge is called in to help other paint manufacturers to solve some of their knotty problems. He has invented formulae which permit the application of paint to machines being operated at extreme temperatures. His factory now gives employment to a number of native Southerners. His contribution has supplemented and aided and helped industry in this area to expand.

Other immigrants, trained as doctors, scientists and physicists have also been extremely useful. There is a tremendous demand for doctors to serve in our rural areas. A number of the new Americans have settled in agricultural communities, where they are performing valued and needed services. One of the greatest needs of

all in the field of medicine is for selfless, devoted doctors to serve in state-operated mental institutions. These mental institutions find it difficult for a number of reasons to attract sufficient doctors. A number of Southern mental hospitals now have as residents new immigrants. Nor is there any need to detail for this commission the valued services of the physicists and other scientists who have worked at various Southern atom-bomb projects, nor to outline the histories of several uniquely trained scholars who occupy important niches in a number of Southern colleges and universities. It is important to underline, however, that there is still a tremendous need for added services in the South -- needs which can only be filled by the acceleration of a flow of talented immigrants to these shores.

May I reiterate once more the deep and fervent hope of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith that this Commission hearing will serve to lead to a nation-wide discussion of how our immigration and naturalization laws and policies measure up against our democratic principles and how these laws and policies can be made to conform more closely to our democratic ideals. Out of this discussion we hope will come a democratic, humane, intelligent and far-sighted immigration and naturalization policy which will aid in building democracy, not only in our country but throughout the world, and which will enable our country as a leader of the democratic forces of the world to play its proper role in the elimination of want and fear everywhere.

STATEMENT OF PHILIP MURRAY BEFORE THE
PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION

October 28,1952
****

My name is Philip Murray. I am President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and appear here on its behalf.

I appreciate this opportunity to appear before the Commission and to give our views on the important public issues which this Commission is considering. I shall deal with the major questions of policy involved, rather than with the minutiae of legislation which is now on the books. If agreement can be reached on the basic principles, their implementation will be relatively easy. The problem, then, is to decide on what basic principles our immigration and naturalization laws should rest.

Immigration Policy

The CIO favors a liberal immigration policy. We favor such a policy both from humanitarian motives and because we think such a policy is in the best interests of the United States.

In all frankness, how could the Congress of Industrial Organizations conceivably take any other position? Had this country not generously extended welcoming arms to me, I might have spent my life trying to eke out a meagre existence in the coal mines of Scotland.

The heads of several of our International Unions, besides myself, immigrated to this country. Many of our members did. In other cases it was their parents or grandparents who came over. It is a truism that if we go back far enough, all Americans are descendants of immigrants.

We who have come to this country from other countries know that immigration has benefited us. We know that it has, over the years, benefited millions of others by permitting them to leave the poverty and tyranny of the old world and start life anew in a free country whose boast is equality of opportunity for all.

We sincerely believe, moreover, that immigration has not only benefitted the immigrants but has benefited the United States as well. The great trans-continental railroad construction of the 19th century was made possible only by the back-breaking toil of tens of thousands of Irish and Chinese immigrants. The farms of the middle west, which have become the granary of the nation, were hewn from the wilderness by German and Scandavian immigrants. During the latter part of the 19th century and during this century our great industrial plants have in considerable part been manned by immigrants or the sons of immigrants,Italians and Slavs, and men of many other races.

Nor have immigrants contributed only their muscle. Many of this nation's finest scientists today are men who were born across the seas. Dr. Albert Einstein's vital contributions in many fields, including the development of atomic energy, are well known. And only this last Friday the Nobel Prize for medicine and physiology was awarded to Dr. Waksman of Rutgers for his discovery of streptomycin. Dr. Waksman came to this country from the Russian Ukraine as an immigrant 42 years ago.

That is why we favor a liberal immigration policy.

This liberal immigration policy should, we think, encompass three separate situations. There is, first, the need for a liberal permanent, or rather long-run, immigration policy. Secondly, there is the immediate need for special relief for the persons displaced by World War II who still, more than 7 years after the war's end, have not found permanent homes. Thirdly, there is the current problem of offering special refuge to the streams of refugees who continue to find their way through the iron curtain.

I shall address myself first to these last two phases of our immigration policy.

Surely this country should, on an emergency and special basis, open its gates and afford haven to the displaced of World War II who have not yet found homes. We can be proud that our country has already given refuge to large numbers of those displaced by World War II, but we should not rest until the problem is completely solved. We cannot longer leave these people in temporary refuges. This country along with others, must do its share toward providing them with permanent homes.

We need, too, a special program of aiding the brave refugees who are now reaching Western Europe from the countries behind the iron curtain. The courage and the determination to live in freedom shown by these people should be rewarded and encouraged. They have, at grave risk to themselves, proven their devotion to democracy and their enmity to communist totalitarianism. Yet as these new pilgrims reach the promised land of the west they are simply herded into the old DP camps, where they wait for months or years, unemployed and without hope. This intolerable condition must be ended. Both humanitarianism and common-sense dictate that we, in cooperation with other free lands find homes for these people.

I come now to the question of what our permanent long-range, immigration policy should be.

I have said that we in the CIO favor a liberal immigration policy. What do I mean by liberal? I mean that we should be willing to admit to our shores each year a generous number of immigrants, and that in their selection there should be no discrimination based on color, religion, or racial origin.

I am, of course, aware that there was a time when the labor movement of this country was fearful that unrestricted immigration would undermine union wage standards. I do not know whether these fears were ever well-grounded. In 1940-41, the five states with the largest number of immigrants had an average annual per capita income of $891, or about twice the $453 per capita income of the five states with the smallest number of immigrants.

It may be that large sdale immigration stimulates production and rising wages. This country, until it adopted a policy of sharply restricting immigration in 1924, admitted immigrants whose numbers annually (except during World War I) approximated 1% of the current population. I do not believe that any evidence has ever been adduced that immigration on this scale adversely affected wage scales in this country or the economy of the country: if anything the evidence seems directly to the contrary. Hence it appears that this country could, without danger to its wage scales or economy, absorb each year a very substantial number of immigrants. If results harmful to the United States should develop from too large scale immigration, Congress could always reconsider the question.

I have said that we should extend the right to immigrate to all of the world's peoples without regard to race, religion or color. We in the CIO believe that one man is as good as another, regardless of his race or his religion or the color of his skin. We in the CIO not only believe that: we practice it. Our unions are open to all, and all are accorded equal treatment, equal rights, and equal opportunity. We believe, moreover, that no race has any monopoly on virtue or talent, and that the various cultures can each make great contributions to our civilization, given freedom to develop and stimulation to achievement.

This means, of course, that we oppose the national origins quota system which has been utilized in this country since 1924. We do not see any virtue in limiting immigration according to the percentages of various racial stocks in this country at a particular period of time, as 1920 under the present legislation. During the 345 years

since Europeans first settled in this country, the racial composition of the country and of various parts of it have undergone numerous and far reaching changes. Indeed the idea that the racial composition of our population can be frozen, which seems to underlie the racial origins quota, is childish in the extreme. We are unable to see, however, that these changes in racial stocks have done this country any harm in the past, and see no reason to anticipate harm from such changes in the future.

The choice of 1920 as the year embodying the ideal composition of racial stocks shows the fanciful nature of the whole concept. Are we to suppose that in that year the country's population reached an all-time high in virtue, intelligence, and physical well-being? There is, of course, nothing to support such a conclusion, or to indicate that whatever attributes the 1920 population may have had had any thing to do with the then prevailing distribution of racial origins.

Another important issue of general immigration policy has to do with the qualifications which immigrants should be required individually to meet. There is, I should suppose, general agreement as to the exclusion of criminals, those having communicable disease,etc. The controversy which has raged about this issue in the last few years has revolved rather about the question of what consequences should be made to attach to a would-be immigrant's past political views and associations.

Here, too, we in the CIO believe that a liberal policy should be followed.

Certainly, we should take care to exclude from immigration to this country communist spies or saboteurs. It is, however, quite another thing to say that we will not admit anyone who was ever a totalitarian adherent no matter what his or her proven opinion may be now.

This country has in the past demonstrated its capacity to absorb and to convert to our democratic system of government people of diverse political persuasions. To say that we cannot do so now is to doubt the vitality of our democratic faith and the power of our society to demonstrate its advantages to those who have known another system. The very fact that people choose to leave the society in which they were born to come to this country is itself some indication that they were favorably disposed to our institutions.

We should remember, moreover, that people brought up in certain countries at certain periods may have become communists or nazis virtually automatically. There are probably few adults now in the confines of the Soviet Union, and few among the thousands of immigrants currently escaping through the iron curtain, who are not excluded from admission by the political standards of our present laws. These individuals may have broken irrevocably with communism, and now be prepared to devote their lives and knowledge to fighting communist agression. By treating them as forever tainted in our eyes, we deprive ourselves of their help and make ourselves ridiculous and unreasonable in the eyes of the foreign nations and people we seek as allies. We likewise greatly impair our capacity to appeal to others behind the iron curtain to abandon their communist allegiance in favor of democracy. For how can we hold out our hand to them and at the same time turn our back?

Naturalization, Denaturalization, and Deportation

Let me now outline somewhat more briefly the policy the CIO thinks this nation should pursue as regards naturalization, denaturalization and deportation.

The principle in which the CIO believes, and which controls our attitude on these issues, is a very simple one. We believe that the

naturalized citizen should have the same rights and be treated the same way as native born citizens. We adamantly oppose the conception that naturalized citizens are second class citizens, and that their rights are less than those of native born citizens. We strongly object, therefore, to such provisions as that in recent legislation making naturalized citizens subject to denaturalization for contempt of Congress. Once a person has been naturalized and admitted to the rights and privileges of American citizenship, we believe that his citizenship should be subject to forfeit on only two grounds: (1) fraud in the procurement of the citizenship, or (2) as a punishment for crime, as in the case of natural born citizens.

Nor would we permit these principles to be whittled away by treating as fraud trivial or incidental misrepresentations. The only sort of fraud which should be permitted to vitiate citizenship is deliberate and intentional fraud on an issue which would have prevented naturalization.

What I have said about denaturalization applies, too, to deportation following denaturalization. Once a man has become an American citizen and has, as he must to become an American citizen, foresworn his allegiance to the country from which he came, he is, in our view, entitled to remain in this country and is its responsibility.

At this point, indeed, another consideration, in addition to justice to the individual, enters the picture. What basis has this country for asking another country to take back individuals who renounced their allegiance to that country and became American citizens years ago, even though they may now have turned out to be undesirable citizens? We believe that other countries are quite within their rights in refusing to take back their former citizens.

If naturalized citizens are guilty of crimes they should be punished as are other citizens. Punishment should not include denaturalization and deportation: else they are denied the full status of American citizens.

The final point to which I wish to address myself has to do with the deportation of resident aliens, that is of immigrants who may have lived here for years but have never been naturalized.

I am advised by counsel that people in this category enjoy very little in the way of Constitutional or legal protections, because the Supreme Court has held that for an alien to reside here is a matter of privilege and not of right, and that deportation is not "punishment" so that it can be inflicted without regard to the rights to which a defendant in a criminal trial is entitled. But regardless of what the legal rights of alien residents may be, it is our moral obligation to treat them fairly and decently.

There are two principles which, it seems to me, should be observed in framing a policy on deportation. The first is that the grounds for deportation should not be changed retroactively. As I understand it, during the recent revisions of the immigration laws, new grounds for deportation were added and were made retroactive. That means that a resident alien, who came into this country perfectly legally years ago, can now be deported for reasons that did not bar his entry when he came in. This seems to me grossly unfair and unjust, and to violate the principle against ex poste facto legislation. Deportation is in fact a punishment, whether or not it is so as a matter of legal technicality.

Even worse, under these new revisions of the immigration laws, a resident alien can be deported for conduct which not only did not bar his entry, but which may have occurred, and been repented, long ago. It seems to me difficult to conceive legislation more grossly unfair than this.

The other principle which seems to me should guide us with regard to deportation is that the authorities administering the law should have sufficient discretion to enable them to take humanitarian considerations into account. These resident aliens about whom we are talking may have lived in this country for years, may have married spouses who are American citizens, and may have children who are American citizens. Deportation of the alien may mean intolerable

hardship for the family. The officials enforcing the laws should therefore have authority to look at the whole picture and decide whether, in the light of all the circumstances, the national interest will or will not be served by deportation of an individual. The laws should be administered in a liberal and humanitarian, rather than a technical and punitive,spirit.

CONCLUSION

Each passing decade has shown that our nation cannot live in isolation from the rest of the world. We cannot be prosperous while the rest of the world starves; we cannot be militarily secure if the rest of the world succumbs to aggression. Increasingly, the well-being of this nation has become interwoven with that of other nations.

Our immigration policy is a part of our overall national policy. For us, at the very time when we are striving to build a mutual security system in cooperation with our allies abroad, to make our immigration and naturalization laws ever more virulently isolationist and anti-foreign, not only makes very little sense; it embarrasses us in the pursuit of the wider objectives of our foreign policy. Both our national interest and the deep humanitarianism which has always characterized Americans as a nation require that we reverse this trend of the last two years, and establish a new policy on immigration and naturalization which will be consistent with 20th century conditions and ideals.

THREE-FAITH STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES
REGARDING AMERICAN IMMIGRATION POLICY*

We believe in an affirmative immigration policy for America - one which will welcome, without racial, national, religious or other discriminations, those who seek to immigrate and become part of our national life; one which will provide the ever new life-blood which America needs and by which, throughout its history, it has been enriched; one which will assure to new immigrants the basic rights guaranteed to its citizens and will welcome permanent residents into citizenship; one which will express America's active concern to cooperate with other nations in providing a fair share of resettlement opportunities in the U.S.A., as well as in other countries, for those oppressed for freedom's sake.

Such an immigration policy would:

-Be free from any implications of superiority or inferiority as between peoples such as are inherent in the national origins quota system, without sacrificing the right of the United States to grant preferences and priorities;

-Safeguard basic American rights and privileges to immigrants and insure equal status for native and naturalized citizens;

-Welcome new immigrants to the U.S.A. in substantial numbers determined not only on the basis of America's ability to absorb new immigrants and her need for workers of hand and brain but also including her participation in providing opportunities for the victims of oppression overseas, for completing the reunion of families, as well as providing for new-seed immigrants;

-Be closely integrated with our policies of international cooperation, foreign relations and mutual assistance;

-Recognize the tragic plight of uprooted people in the world as a continuing problem and the urgent need for the continuation of America's traditional policy of helpfulness in providing a haven for the oppressed.

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* Adopted November 25, 1952 by Policy Committee on Immigration, consisting of representatives of the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faiths and the operating agencies in the field of immigration.

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

Suggested Activities for Local Programs on U.S. Immigration Policy

I. Structure

A. Establishment of a local or state community-wide "Citizens Committee to Revise McCarran Immigration Law" or "Committee on Immigration' with representatives of religious, nationality, civic, labor and veterans groups, under the chairmanship or co-chairmanship of prominent civic or religious leaders. Sub-committees of such a group might be appointed to set up a speaker's bureau, prepare and distribute materials and literature, secure necessary financing, and conduct other necessary aspects of the public relations campaign.

II. Program of Activities

A. Channels for bringing this issue to the attention of the community include the following activities, all of which should be well publicized.

1. Forums and conferences at organization, neighborhood and community-wide level. Local Congressmen should be invited to speak to community-wide meetings and, if they cannot attend, to send their views in a message or relegram.

2. Discussions, interviews and debates over local radio and T.V. stations and discussions by commentators.

3. Local general as well as minority, foreign-language and sectarian press. This would include letters to the editor, favorable editorials, feature stories, etc.

4. Joint inter-faith statement and press conference by leaders of religious groups in the community.

5. Resolutions by local unions, service organizations (Lions, Kiwanis); bar association, if possible, veterans groups; civic associations.

6. Sermons by clergymen of all faiths.

7. Formal proclamations by governors and mayors.

8. Resolutions by city councils and state legislatures memorializing U.S. Congress to revise the McCarran Immigration Act.

B. Themes for above activities.

1. Report of President's Commission on Immigration.

2. Significance of a humane U.S. immigration policy to reinforce our foreign policy needs in cold war against Communism.

3. Local case histories on evils of McCarran Act.

4. Racist implications of McCarran Act.

C. Where possible, activities can be tied in with special days and celebrations. Examples for forthcoming weeks are:

1. Lincoln's Birthday
2. Brotherhood Week
3. Washington's Birthday

D. It may be desirable to tie activities in with local historical sites and traditions of significance. Examples are (1) Boston-Plymouth Rock; (2) New York-Statue of Liberty;(3) Philadelphia-Liberty Bell; (4) Washington, D.C.-Washington Monument, Lincoln Memorial; and (5) San Francisco-anniversary founding of U.N. (symbolizing U.S. world leadership); etc.

the new Leader

DECEMBER 15, 1952

Revise the McCarran Act

By Jules Cohen

After being a campaign issue, the Immigration Act should now be rewritten so as to eliminate its unfair and discriminatory features

THE IMMIGRATION and Naturalization Act of 1952, Public Law 414 (the McCarran-Walter Bill), was adopted over a slashing veto by the President, against a backdrop of almost complete Congressional and public apathy and ignorance regarding U.S. immigration policy.

It is true that the study of our general immigration laws by the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization, which resulted in the McCarran Immigration Act, was initiated in 1947. It is also true that many major religious, racial, nationality and civic groups testified at Congressional hearings on earlier versions of this measure, and objected to all or parts of it. Nevertheless, the public was largely unaware of the fact that the Act not only continues the anti-alien policy which the United States has been following since 1924, but strengthens suspicion and fear of the immigrant by its innumerable restrictive and discriminatory provisions. Except for the few Senators and Representatives who served on the Immigration and Naturalization Subcommittees of both houses and the handful who opposed the bills under the leadership of Lehman and Humphrey in the Senate and Javits and Roosevelt in the House, it appears from the tone of the debates and the limited numbers of those who listened, let alone participated in them, that the bulk of our national legislators had neither read nor studied the measures and cared little about them.

In favor of this controversial Act, it must be said that it does give us a single immigration and naturalization code. It eliminates sex discrimination. On its face at least, it seems to have eliminated racial discrimination, since it provides quotas, if tiny ones, for all the countries which had no quotas before. Also, the Act removes citizenship disability from aliens in the United States of Japanese origin, who were ineligible for naturalization heretofore.

There was strong opposition to the Act because, in general, it makes immigration more difficult while it facilitates deportation and denaturalization. Specifically:

1. The Act continues to use the discriminatory national-origins quota system as the formula for determining the numbers of immigrants who are permitted to enter the United States from various countries. Under this formula, each country is given an annual quota within the total annual ceiling of about 154,000 allowable visas. Using 1920 as the base year, the great bulk of the quotas are assigned to England, Ireland and the countries in Northwestern Europe, which do not need and have not used their high quotas. Southern and East European countries have ridiculously low quotas under this system, although these are the countries which have the greatest emigration problem. This formula was adopted in 1924 on the theory, which was openly advanced and accepted at the time, that the people from the countries of Southern and Eastern Europe are racially inferior to those from the countries considered "Nordic."

2. The Act does not eliminate racial discrimination. On the contrary, it continues the pattern of the "Asia-Pacific Triangle" provision, under which anyone with

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NEW CITIZENS: LET US BE A PLACE OF REFUGE AGAIN

one parent from a country within the Triangle must apply for entry into the United States under the Triangle quota of 100 and not under the quota of the country of birth. Also, it adds a new form of discrimination against Negroes, by limiting to 100 annually the number of colonials from the West Indies who formerly could enter the U.S. under the quota of the mother country.

3. The Act provides for deportation retroactively. Certain of its deportation provisions are unnecessarily harsh and based upon such vague criteria as "the opinion of the Attorney-General," and make liable for deportation aliens who "might" be guilty of certain offenses *in the future.*

4. The Act makes no provision for appellate procedures to review possible arbitrary acts of Government officials. It neither makes the Board of Review statutory nor provides for a Visa Review Board.

5. The Act revokes statutes of limitation.

6. The Act places naturalized citizens in a second-class status by denying to them the same rights that are accorded to native Americans.

7. The Act gives undue preference to skilled labor.

8. The Act puts under the quota system professors who formerly enjoyed a non-quota status.

9. The Act continues the inequitable 1920 census as the base for computing quotas, as against the up-to-date 1950 census.

Factors other than general apathy worked against the proponents of a decent immigration policy. Time was against them. The advocates of the McCarran-Walter bills rushed them through Congress before the people could become sufficiently informed about the issues. And such was the power of Senator McCarran that he refused to hold hearings on the liberal Humphrey-Lehman substitute measure; a motion to recommit the McCarran-Walter legislation to the Judiciary Committee, so that such hearings might be held, was defeated 44 to 28.

Lack of unity among the private organizations also played into Senator McCarran's hands. On March 24, 1952, President Truman, in a special message to Congress, called for the enactment of a liberal and humane immigration law. Representative Emanuel Celler (D.-N. Y.) and Senator Hendrickson (R.-N. J.) introduced identical bills calling for the admission of 300,000 escapees, refugees, expellees and "surplus" populations of Europe into the United States within a three-year period. Immediately, some of the strength of the opposition to the McCarran-Walter bills was siphoned off through the creation of the American Committee for Special Migration, which was organized in support of the Celler and Hendrickson bills. It was the mistaken judgment of the leaders of this movement that such emergency legislation would be adopted by the Eighty-second Congress more readily than a liberal basic immigration code. The members of many nationality groups, which until then had been solidly united behind the effort to defeat the McCarran-Walter bills and to enact the Humphrey-Lehman measure, found themselves in the impossible position of striving to defeat one measure while trying to enact a decent basic immigration code and special emergency legislation all at the same time!

The reactionary character of the Eighty-second Congress insured the success of Senator McCarran's effort to have his restrictive bill adopted. The *Congressional Record's* account of the debates in both Houses shows clearly that Representative Walter and Senator McCarran were in complete control. The mood in the lower house was one of hostility to all suggestions for significant amendments to the Walter bill. Amendments which were introduced were knocked down with the rapidity of ten pins in a bowling alley; Mr. Walter, merely by indicating that a given amendment was unacceptable to him, insured their defeat. In a debate noted for its anti-Semitic overtones, the few liberal members who led the opposition, but who were not well organized, were put to a complete rout in three days (April 23-25) and the bill, with only three minor amendments, was adopted by a vote of 206 to 68.

In contrast, the opposition to the McCarran bill in the Senate was herculean. Senators Lehman and Humphrey were inspired in their effort to defeat the McCarran bill or to have it sent back to the Judiciary Committee for further study. The time will undoubtedly come when the American people will acknowledge their deep indebtedness to Senators Lehman and Humphrey and to the handful of valiant Republican and Democratic Senators who fought with them, against overwhelming odds. The Senate debate lasted eight afternoons over a period of two weeks, from May 9 to May 22, when the McCarran bill was adopted by a voice vote.

The opposition to the McCarran bill, in and out of the Senate, was labeled "Communist." Senator McCarran, who must know better, drew attention to the fact that the Senators who opposed his immigration measure were, by and large, the same Senators who had opposed another bill of his which became the Internal Security Act of 1950, the clear implication being that this group was soft on Communism. The irony of this smear is that the responsible religious, nationality and civic groups which opposed the McCarran measure are strongly anti-Communist, and were completely successful in their scrupulous effort to keep the Communists and their front organizations at a distance. (In this connection, it is interesting to note that a coalition of "patriotic" organizations which supported the McCarran-Walter measures was composed largely of extreme right-wing groups, including some with little or no following. A notable exception is the reputable Japanese-American Citizens League, which must have been most uncomfortable in such dubious company.)

On June 25, President Truman vetoed the bill, the Senate and House versions of which had been reconciled

by a conference committee of both houses. As expected, the House overrode the veto on the afternoon of June 26. Upon receiving word of the House action, the Senate, by unanimous consent, agreed to vote on the bill the next afternoon. It is to the everlasting credit of the opposition that the bill was passed by a vote of 57 to 26, just two short of the one-third necessary to sustain the veto.

The prospects for amending Public Law 414 in the Eighty-third Congress are favorable. Developments since the Law's enactment have created an atmosphere better than that which existed last spring. The American people now know more about the Law's harmful implications, and a larger number of Senators and Representatives are now aware of the need for a constructive change in immigration policy.

In September, President Truman appointed a Commission on Immigration and Naturalization to study the whole question and to submit its recommendations by January 1, 1953. Between September 30 and October

IKE: 'THE McCARRAN LAW MUST BE REWRITTEN'

28, the Commission held hearings in New York, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, St. Paul, St. Louis, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Washington, to ascertain the views of the people. All points of view were solicited by the Commission, which heard more than 400 witnesses testify as individuals, but in most cases on behalf of major religious, labor, veterans, racial, nationality and civic groups. More than 90 per cent of these witnesses objected to one or more provisions of PL 414 and urged the Commission to recommend its speedy revision.

It was acknowledged at the Commission hearings that there must be a ceiling on the total number of immigrants who can be permitted to enter the United States annually, limited by our capacity to absorb those who qualify after screening for security, health and moral reasons. There was an almost unanimous demand for a change in the Law's anti-alien philosophy, witness after witness condemning it not only on religious, ethical and moral grounds but also as inimical to the domestic and foreign policies of our country. The restrictive and discriminatory nature of PL 414 was underscored and the national-origins quota system singled out for a particular heavy attack. This system was branded as being scientifically unsound and out of harmony with American concepts of equality; its elimination was called for, along with its replacement by a non-racist formula.

Some witnesses suggested that the concept of deportation, as a form of "banishment" held over from the Dark Ages, should be dropped entirely, except in cases of fraud or illegal entry. Many urged that the harsh and retroactive deportation provisions of PL 414 should be considerably tempered. Demands were made for appellate safeguards in immigration cases and for equality of treatment under the law for naturalized citizens. Immediate partial amelioration of the problem of European escapees, refugees and expellees was sought.

The national and local press coverage of the hearings of the President's Commission brought home the significance of the immigration issue to many more people than were ever reached during the debates on Public Law 414. Irrespective of what may befall the report of the Commission, since it was appointed by the outgoing President, its educational value will be lasting.

In a message to the Jewish Welfare Board on October 17, President Truman hammered away at the mischievous McCarran Immigration Act and the Republicans in the Senate who voted for it. He said:

> "The Republican candidate for the Presidency cannot escape responsibility for his endorsements. He has had an attack of moral blindness, for today he is willing to accept the very practices that identified the so-called 'master race' although he took a leading part in liberating Europe from their domination."

This statement was immediately picked up by the General and other spokesmen for the Republicans, who charged President Truman with having injected bigotry into the pre-election campaign. Charges and countercharges centering about the President's statement flew thick and fast, in the course of which much was said and written about the restrictive and un-American features of our present immigration policy. The candidates of both parties received a much-needed education on the evils of Public Law 414.

General Eisenhower promptly took a forthright position on the issue of immigration and the need for revision of Public Law 414. According to the New York *Times* of October 18, General Eisenhower said in a speech at Newark, New Jersey:

> "And now we come to another glaring example of failure of our national leadership to live up to high ideals. I refer to the McCarran Immigration Law, which was passed over the President's veto at the last session of Congress. A new immigration law was certainly needed. But with leadership rather than vetoes, we should have had, and we must get, a better law than this McCarran Act. . . . Obviously, there must be limits to the number of immigrants this country can or should absorb. We must establish fair limits—fair to ourselves and fair to others. We

must develop a system of limitation in line with our concept of America as the great melting pot of free spirits, drawn here from all the nations of the earth.

"Let me give you an illustration of the workings of the McCarran Act. The quotas proclaimed by the President under the McCarran Act provide for the entry of over 65,000 immigrants per year from the United Kingdom, but only 5,645 from Italy and only 308 from Greece. The United Kingdom does not use anywhere near the full immigration quotas which it has, but countries like Italy, Greece and the Baltic States and the nations of Eastern Europe use their tiny quotas to the full. They have a pathetic backlog of applications which by law cannot be applied against the unused United Kingdom quota. . . .

"Ladies and gentlemen, the McCarran Immigration Law must be rewritten.

"A better law must be written that will strike an intelligent balance between the immigration welfare of America and the prayerful hopes of the unhappy and the oppressed."

On two other occasions in the campaign, the General dealt with the same theme. In Bridgeport, he said, according to the New York *Times:* "We must repeal . . . the unfair provisions of the McCarran Act." In Boston, a day later, he stated: "Only second-class Americanism tolerates second-class citizenship. It's time to get rid of both, and that includes rewriting the unfair provisions of the McCarran Immigration Act."

The significance of these statements by the General are enhanced by the critical reference, in his Newark speech, to the inequitable distribution of quotas under the national-origins quota system. Vice President-elect Nixon, who voted to override President Truman's veto, has also indicated in somewhat less unequivocal language that amendments to Public Law 414 are desirable. Nor will the import of General Eisenhower's remarks be lost upon the old and new Republicans in the Eighty-third Congress. It is not unreasonable to expect that the straightforward position of the new President, particularly in view of his overwhelming personal victory on November 4, will compensate for the omission of any reference to the subject of immigration in the Republican platform. Also, following the General's lead, many successful Republican candidates pledged themselves to support and vote for liberalizing amendments to Public Law 414.

Still another factor which contributes to the more favorable atmosphere for revising PL 414 lies in the results of the Senate elections. First, Senator McCarran will no longer be chairman of the key Judiciary Committee. His Republican successor is likely to be Senator William Langer (R. N. D.), who consistently and vigorously opposed the McCarran measure. Second, on the basis of past voting records and general orientation, it can be expected that certain new Senators—Jackson (D.-Wash.), who is a liberal; Kennedy (D.-Mass.), who testified against Public Law 414 at the Boston hearings of the President's Commission; Gore (D.-Tenn.), who opposed the Walter bill as a Representative; Purtell and Bush (R.-Conn.), who, as candidates, pledged themselves to support revisions of Public Law 414; and Mansfield (D.-Mont.), Symington (D.-Mo.), Beall (R.-Md.), Payne (R.-Me.) and Cooper (D.-Ky.)—will probably support actively legislation to amend Public Law 414.

All this does not mean that revisions in the Law will be made without renewed effort on the part of private organizations. This writer is not unaware of the illusory nature of campaign promises. In view of the many crucial problems which the new President and Congress will have to face, immigration may be given a very low priority or no priority at all.

It can be expected that efforts to amend PL 414 will be bitterly resisted by many members of the Eighty-third Congress. This resistance can be overcome, but only if the people are united in their objective and press to the fullest the advantages inherent in the present unique combination of favorable circumstances. It would be disastrous, for example, if any of the major religious or nationality groups were to press for enactment of special legislation in partial relief of European refugees, escapees, expellees and "surplus" populations and thereby jeopardize the opportunity to get a decent basic immigration law. There is no assurance that such emergency legislation can be secured more easily than a revised general immigration law; but, even if it could be, special legislation to admit from 250,000 to 300,000 from these groups for a period of three years would not begin to solve the emergency, which involves millions in Europe alone. The problems of migration posed by the refugees, the dislocated, and the "surplus" populations are worldwide and will have to be resolved through joint international approaches. The "emergency" is a continuing one, and, to the extent that the United States can set an example for other nations, our general immigration law can be made flexible enough to allow for acute situations not only in the next three years, but whenever and wherever they may arise in the future. Special provisions in the amendments to PL 414, for the same groups, in the same numbers and for the same period of time, could accomplish the same results as special legislation. The latter, on the other hand, invites support by the opponents of a liberal permanent immigration policy for the purpose of preventing adoption of such a policy. It is to be hoped that the American people will not be diverted from the objective of securing a permanent liberal immigration law by the seemingly attractive, but in fact misleading and temporary, advantages of special emergency legislation.

A united, intensive and continuing educational campaign, in the favorable atmosphere created by the developments noted above, can bring about, in 1953, liberalizing revisions in the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952. This would reaffirm the tradition of America as a place of refuge for the oppressed and the persecuted and strengthen our foreign policy.

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BULLETIN

AMERICAN COMMITTEE for CULTURAL FREEDOM

December 1952 VOL. II, NO. 3

A memorandum on THE VISA PROBLEM

The following analysis of the visa problem is concerned primarily with the question of temporary (visitors') visas, and particularly with the troubles that arise for foreign scientists, writers, and intellectuals out of the legislation now incorporated in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, and out of its administration by the State Department. No attempt has been made to discuss the general principles of the law. The purpose of this memorandum is a practical and concrete one: to recommend specific revisions of both the legislation and its method of enforcement, within the framework of the intent of Congress.

This memorandum, prepared by the staff of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, is based on: discussions with the staff of the Senate Judiciary Committee, members of Congress interested in these matters, members of the State Department, Department of Justice, and Central Intelligence Agency; interviews with foreign diplomatic and intelligence officers, and with foreigners personally involved in visa problems; review of the relevant statutes and regulations; and extended direct participation in a number of visa cases.

THE PROBLEM

Some months ago, the United States Government asked the Norwegian labor movement to send a delegation of trade union leaders to this country. This delegation was to take the form of a Study Commission, which would examine at first hand the way of life of the American worker, and which would then report its findings to the Norwegian people. The Norwegian unions nominated nine of their outstanding personalities to the Study Commission. Imagine their consternation when the State Department then informed them that four of their nominees could not be granted visas until their life-histories had been subjected to a more intensive scrutiny!

What was the reason for the State Department's action? One of the nominees, a venerable labor journalist and outstanding anti-Communist, had been affiliated with the Norwegian Communist movement in the early 1920's. A second nominee had visited Russia at the request of the Norwegian labor movement -- but had written so hostile a report that the United States Government had reprinted it and distributed it all over the world. The third nominee had been mistaken by the State Department for someone else. The case of the fourth nominee, who had never been connected with any Communist activities, was inexplicable and remains so to this day; presumably he was the victim of a false and malicious "confidential denunciation."

After much delay and unpleasant publicity, all four were cleared for travel in the United States. One can easily imagine, however, that despite the happy ending this incident did not exactly promote good feeling toward America.

Unfortunately, there have been more than a few such incidents, not all of them with happy endings. It is true that, for the kind of bureaucratic civilization in which we live, and in relation to the total number of visitors, they do not cut a large figure. In the past years, tens of thousands of scientists, writers, artists, intellectuals, journalists, students, labor leaders, etc. -- far more than in any comparable previous period -- have received visas to enter the United States, most of them under governmental grant or subsidy. Nevertheless, it is almost impossible to exaggerate the bad impression created by those cases where an injustice has been suffered. These generally involve prominent members of the intellectual and professional classes, whose status and prestige in their own communities are far higher than that usually accorded to their counterparts in this country. Any senseless affront to them is widely reported in the foreign press and as widely resented by their fellow-citizens. A series of such affronts will cause even the most sympathetic to give credence to the Communist portrait of the United States as a land dominated by a mindless fever of "witch-hunting."

By now, there has been sufficient public turmoil over the visa muddle to elevate what had been a suspicion into a certainty: something is wrong, somewhere. But it is not easy to place one's finger on the exact source of error. Some critics have argued that the State Department has deliberately administered the McCarran Act in such a way as to exaggerate its worst features for the sake of "showing it up." There is, in fact, little evidence to substantiate this accusation. Other critics have asserted that the law itself as it pertains to visitors' visas is gov-

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erned by an "anti-foreign" xenophobic bias, and that Congress intended surreptitiously to exclude, not only Communists, but also non-Communist liberals, socialists, etc. Here, too, there is no evidence to back up such a charge.

Actually, it would seem that the present situation arises from a complex law which is defective in important respects, and which is administered by a large bureaucratic organization that is not well fitted, either by individual training or institutional precedent, for this novel task.

GENERAL INADEQUACIES OF THE LAW

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, which goes into effect on December 24th, codifies existing legislation in this sphere. With respect to the provisions touching upon visitors' visas, the law has several fairly obvious defects:

(a) Parts are too vaguely worded. For instance, Sec. 212, (a), (27) prohibits the issuing of visas to:

Aliens who seek to enter the United States whether solely, principally, or incidentally, to engage in activities which would be prejudicial to the public interest, or would endanger the welfare or safety of the United States.

This permits of almost any interpretation, and could be used to exclude practically anyone displeasing to a particular administration, party, faction, or even individual official. Similarly, though another section bars aliens who are members of a Communist or other totalitarian "affiliate" or "subsidiary," it is nowhere made clear what is meant by such an "affiliate" or "subsidiary."

(b) The provisions of the law include detailed matters that ought properly to be left in the hands of the administrators. This was done by Congress because of its belief that the Executive and the State Department have been "too soft on Communism," Whatever the meaning or merits of this notion, Congress was mistaken in supposing that it is possible to legislate the detailed administration of so complicated and diverse an operation as the handling of thousands of visa applications in all nations of the world.

(c) The law does not make any clear distinction between visitors' visas and permanent immigration visas.

(d) The law fails to make any special provision for exiles and escapees from nations now under Communist rule.

GENERAL INADEQUACIES OF ADMINISTRATION

With regard to the administration of the law, the following glaring defects immediately strike the eye:

(a) The procedures for getting a visa are unnecessarily slow and cumbersome, braked by too many and too detailed questionnaires, and too mechanical in their failure to allow for atypical cases.

(b) Consuls, like the rest of humanity, are frequently not as good-natured or well-informed as they might be. Consequently, the authority they possess is often wielded irresponsibly.

(c) Because of a fear of Congressional displeasure or investigation, most consular officials will tend to resolve doubts in favor of a "strict" interpretation of the law and of their instructions. The censure they may receive for withholding a visa without good cause is of little weight in comparison with the obloquy they may suffer for granting a visa to someone who, in the opinion of a Congressman, ought not to get it.

(d) Many harrowing difficulties can be traced to the "confidential denunciation," which the ordinary consul rarely can evaluate properly. The very existence of such a confidential denunciation in a dossier -- regardless of its validity -- is ordinarily enough to cause action to be suspended for a lengthy period. This is the explanation of many cases which have seemed particularly baffling and arbitrary.

(e) Congress has failed to appropriate enough money to the Departments of State and Justice for the rapid handling of visa applications. Much of the infuriating delay that is now experienced is simply the result of the huge backlog of applications which has accumulated.

RECOMMENDED CHANGES IN THE LAW

1) Sec. 212 (a) (27), quoted above, of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, should be eliminated. Its specific content is included in other provisions, and its vague injunctions do not belong in any law.

2) The law should clearly separate the question of temporary (visitors') visas from that of permanent (immigrant) visas. It is both unwise and unnecessary to set up the same stringent requirements for both classes. Temporary visas should be granted with the least possible delay to all applicants, unless there is reason to believe that the applicant intends to make use of his visit to engage in illegal or subversive activities. Membership in the Communist party, or the holding of a leading position in a Communist-front organization, may be interpreted as such a declaration of intention. But even here, there ought to be some room for exceptions, in view of the fact that association with a front organization can mean different things at different places at different times. Especially in countries where the Communists have a mass base, it is not unusual for the names of naive and prominent businessmen, statesmen, and intellectuals who are definitely non-Communist to turn up on the letterheads of innocuous-appearing, but Communist-sponsored, organizations.

3) There should be special provisions for escapees and exiles from Communist countries. These would take into account the different significance of membership in Communist organizations in Communist, as distinguished from non-Communist, countries. While assuring adequate security measures, they should deliberately aim at encouraging escape and at making easier the integration and utilization of escapees.

4) One clause of the new law, while not involving visitors' visas, does affect cultural interchange and is of special concern to such an organization as the American Committee for Cultural Freedom. Until now, a professor at a college or a university, and his immediate family, have been entitled to enter this country for permanent residence as non-quota immigrants. This privilege is abolished by the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. Henceforth, professors must wait their turn as ordinary quota immigrants, unless they can prove to the satisfaction of the Attorney General that their services are "needed urgently in the United States." (Sec. 203 (a) (1).) It is impossible to fathom the purpose of this. Certainly, no security problem is at issue, since even as non-quota immigrants these professors would have to meet the standards set up for all immigrants. The only forseeable consequence is that the United States will be depriving itself of distinguished foreign scholars willing to accept permanent posts at American universities. The previous legislation on this matter should be restored.

5) Sec. 212 (a) (28) of the new law represents a big stumbling block. Its main provisions bar aliens who (A) are anarchists, (B) advocate, or are affiliated with an organization that advocates, opposition to all organized government, (C) are members of, or affiliated with, the Communist Party or any of its subdivisions and affiliates, (D) advocate the "economic, international, and govern-

mental doctrines of world Communism" or of any other form of totalitarianism, (E) are members of any organization required to register under the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, (F) advocate, or are members of any organization that advocates, "the overthrow by force or violence" of the Government of the United States, (G) write, publish or circulate written or printed matter that calls for the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force, or which teaches "the economic, international, and governmental doctrines of world Communism" or of any other form of totalitarianism, (H) are affiliated with organizations which publish or circulate matter of the kind described in (G). A final section (I) permits the entrance of an alien barred by any of the previous provisions if he can show that he was under sixteen years of age when affiliated with an objectionable organization, or that his membership was involuntary and under constraint, or that since the termination of his membership -- and for a period of at least five years -- he has been actively opposed to such organizations and their doctrines, or if "the admission of such alien into the United States would be in the public interest."

This section is an outstanding illustration of an attempt by the Immigration and Nationality Act to regulate detailed matters that ought properly to be left in the hands of administrators. It should be drastically amended so that it is more flexible and leaves more to administrative discretion. Mere past, or even present, membership in a single front or semi-front organization -- or even in several -- ought not in itself to constitute a presumption of subversiveness, though it might be defined as "evidence relevant to a determination of the applicant's admissibility under this paragraph..." As has been said above, it is rare that a record of a person's political biography speaks unambiguously for itself; more generally, the significance to be attached to any parts of this record, or to the whole of it, has to be supplied by the informed and intelligent observer -- in this case, the consul in charge of issuing visas.

In amending or re-writing this section, the following specific changes should be made:

(a) There should be eliminated from subparagraph (I) the qualification "when under sixteen years of age" and the definite timing of "for at least five years prior...." The first is superfluous, the second a nuisance by virtue of its being so arbitrary a figure. Moreover, allowance ought to be made for those people, and there are many, who leave the Communist movement and forsake politics altogether. To be sure, it is conceivable that a Communist agent will give the appearance of having become non-political, in order better to deceive. But it is no less conceivable that he will, if necessary, pose as an active anti-Communist. Communist subversion is too protean a force to be calculated and measured definitively by any law, and administrative intelligence will always be needed for the determination of any concrete case.

(b) The clause, which appears twice in subparagraph (I), and which reads: "the admission of such alien into the United States would be in the public interest," should be made to read: "the admission of such alien into the United States would not be counter to the public interest."

(c) The phrase, "economic, international, and governmental doctrines of world Communism or ... of any other form of totalitarianism," should be avoided on the grounds of vagueness. Its intent would seem to be adequately executed in subparagraph (F), which bars those who "advocate or teach or who are members of or affiliated with any organization" that advocates or teaches the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States. Whether a person is implicated in the Communist, or any other totalitarian, conspiracy is a fact that usually can be objectively determined. To decide whether his beliefs are in accord with Communist or totalitarian doctrine, or what this doctrine precisely is, is infinitely difficult. At the very least, the law should also make a distinction, such as that drawn by the Supreme Court in the case of the Smith Act, between a purely speculative opinion -- whether it be Communist, Fascist, Nazi, or Anarchist -- held by an individual and a belief that constitutes advocacy of, or incitement to, illegal action.

RECOMMENDED CHANGES IN ADMINISTRATION

1) The main thing is that the quality of consular officials in charge of visas should be improved. All too frequently, these officials are assigned to handle visa applications at the outset of their careers, at a time when they are unversed in the law and in administrative procedure, and when they are generally not very expert in the language, the culture, the history, or the politics of the land in which they work. It is absurd to expect a novice to make sense of the tangled lives of men who have been in, say, the maze of French left-wing politics over a period of decades. What will happen -- what has happened -- is that he takes refuge in fantastically detailed questionnaires which he is anyway incapable of properly interpreting. (For example: what will such a consul make of an applicant who left the French Communist Party in 1936, rejoined it during the war when it was a part of the Resistance, left it again in 1947 in order to join the Rassemblement of General de Gaulle, and whose name has been signed to the Stockholm Peace Appeal? Such veerings and turnings are the rule in France, not the exception.)

Anyone who knows the French -- or German or Indian -- scene well, and who is politically sophisticated, can determine quite easily whether an applicant is or is not a Communist. (Of course, a secret agent might slip past him -- but such an agent can be identified, not by a consul, not by a law, but only by our own counter-intelligence service.) He will at least know whom to ask, and how much store to set by their opinions. At least he will know, as the consul in Liverpool did not, that Arthur Koestler was the author of The Yogi and the Commissar, and that the fact of its being dedicated to Michael Polanyi (who was denied a visa) was an item of some political significance. There is simply no substitute, either legal or administrative, for this kind of expert judgment.

There was a happy time when the granting of visas was a tedious and minor clerical assignment, demanding no particular skill. Those days are gone -- though not forever, let us hope. As things now stand, the consul in charge of visas has to make very difficult decisions on the basis of very complicated evidence, and his decisions will have a weighty bearing on the success or failure of American foreign policy. Therefore, the need is for first-rate men, and many of them. If the State Department does not now have them, it is inconceivable that it cannot find them.

2) Congress should appropriate sufficient funds, both for the State Department and the Attorney General, to permit adequate staffs for disposing of visa problems more quickly. This might help avoid such farcical episodes as that involving Professor R. E. Peierls of the University of Birmingham, who as a representative of the British government, and holding a diplomatic visa, took part in a top-secret conference in Washington on atomic energy while the consul in Birmingham was waiting for a decision from his superiors on the wisdom of giving Mr. Peierls a visa to attend a scientific convention in Chicago.

3) There is far too much paper work attendant upon the getting of a visa. This is merely the result of the

bureaucratic mania for printed forms, and is of no use whatsoever. Why should an applicant have to give the exact address and exact dates of every place of residence since the day he was born? (Question 16, Form LV-2). How many State Department officials or Congressmen can answer such a question honestly and accurately? All such trivial questions should be summarily stricken from application blanks.

4) The improvement of administrative procedures in the field could be aided by the appointment of a temporary roving commission, which would survey the problem and make specific suggestions for its amelioration. This commission should consist of members of the Foreign Service plus business efficiency experts and experts on Communism.

5) A special mechanism should be set up for dealing with visas for attendance at international conferences held within the United States. Perhaps a short-term visa can be issued to cover attendance at accredited conferences and similar meetings. Or, perhaps a special board can be set up within the State Department to deal with proposed lists of foreign delegates to a conference by non-routine methods. It is apparent, however, that something must be done. It is now almost impossible to plan an international conference in this country, because the sponsors dread the embarrassment of inviting a distinguished guest and of having his request for a visa turned down.

CONCLUSION

One of the favorite bits of propaganda of an anti-Communist group in France has been to post ironic placards, urging French Communists to visit "the Soviet Paradise," and instructing them to apply for a visa at the Soviet Embassy in Paris. This witty comment on the existence of the Iron Curtain was well appreciated by the average Frenchman. Recently, an anti-Communist journalist in Paris, who had been denied an American visa because he belonged to the Communist Youth movement more than two decades ago, received one of these placards in the mail, with the word "Soviet" crossed out and the word "American" written above it.

What could he say? And what can we, as Americans, say to him?

We know that the visa problem was not created by arbitrary malice on the part of Congressmen or State Department officials. It is but one reflection, and not by far the largest, of the stresses and strains which this free country is suffering as a result of its determination to resist Communist totalitarianism.

Nevertheless, it is a problem whose power of irritation is out of all proportion to its dimensions. Throughout the world, in universities, laboratories, libraries, and editorial offices, we have friends and potential friends whom we have, in effect, insulted and shamed. The worst of it all is that it needn't have happened--that no one really wanted the visa muddle we now flounder in. It was the unintended consequence of over-zealous legislation compounded by over-cautious administration.

This memorandum has made specific suggestions which, we believe, will eliminate the majority of nasty situations that now arise so frequently. We urge Congress and the State Department to act upon them with all possible haste.

FLEISCHMANN HONORED

Julius Fleischmann, industrialist and patron of the arts, was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor of France on December 4th. The decree, signed by President Auriol, was presented to Mr. Fleischmann by Andre Marie, Minister of Education, at a ceremony attended by U.S. Ambassador James Dunn and others.

The honor was awarded Mr. Fleischmann for his contribution to French-American cultural relations, and especially for his activity as chairman of the exposition of "Masterpieces of the Twentieth Century," held in Paris in May 1952 under the auspices of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Mr. Fleischmann personally undertook to raise the major portion of the money necessary for the Exposition, and made it possible to bring to Paris such attractions as the Boston Symphony Orchestra, the New York City Ballet, and a collection of 150 great paintings of the twentieth century.

INTERNATIONAL MUSIC CONTEST ANNOUNCED

The Congress for Cultural Freedom will hold an international competition for composers in Europe next summer. Although final arrangements have not yet been made, it is believed that the competition will take place in Rome early in September. A total of $6000 in prizes will be awarded, with $3000 going for the best violin concerto, $2000 for a short symphonic work, and $1000 for a work for cello and piano.

Contestants will be restricted to twelve --four in each category. They will be chosen by a music advisory board from a list to be submitted by the International Secretariat of the Congress. Preference will be given to composers under 35, but older composers considered to have been unjustly neglected will also be eligible.

An international jury of five music critics will judge the entries. The prize-winning compositions will be guaranteed at least three performances in Europe and three in the United States.

PAMPHLETS AVAILABLE

Single copies of Sidney Hook's pamphlet, "Heresy, Yes -- Conspiracy, No" are available at this office upon request. Orders in bulk may be obtained at the rate of twelve for $1.00. Also available are reprints of two articles by the noted Polish writer, Czeslaw Milosz: "Murti-Bing" and "A Poet Who Fled From Communist Poland."

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CULTURAL FREEDOM
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February 3, 1953

Dear Friend:

Revision of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act will most likely be one of the major issues of the 83rd Congress. Although the leaders of both political parties have pledged themselves to support changes in the law, there is every indication that revisions will be vigorously opposed.

The AFL and CIO, recognizing that a liberal, egalitarian immigration policy is one of our major sources of strength both at home and abroad, have, together with other liberal, religious and civic groups, reached agreement on the revisions that are most pressing.

Enclosed you will find an article dealing with this, together with other testimony, resolutions and statements which we believe will be of value in whatever efforts you make to involve your membership in the national campaign to revise the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. Additional copies of Jules Cohen's article, "Revise the McCarran Act", are available from this office at $22.50 per thousand, and "A Memorandum on the Visa Problem" at $25 per thousand.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Betty Kaye

Betty Kaye,
Field Representative

BK:ej
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Enclosures

M. MERLIN, Atlanta
S. CAPLAN, Baltimore
H. TURK, Baltimore
P. BLOCK, Boston
J. BLUME, Boston
H. GROSSMAN, Boston
M. BIALIS, Chicago
D. SCHIER, Chicago
J. SIEGEL, Chicago

M. WEINRIB, Chicago
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P. KARL, Los Angeles

I. STENZOR, Los Angeles
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J. A. CHERNIACK, Winnipeg

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Human Rights

Memorandum from . . . . **AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS**

15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N.Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

February 26, 1953

To: Community Relations Councils
Group Relations Agencies

From: Leo Pfeffer

You may be interested in the attached copy of Will Maslow's testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee in opposition to the proposed amendment to the Constitution (S. J. Res. 1) introduced by Senator Bricker, limiting the exercise of the treaty power. The proposed amendment, if adopted, would seriously cripple, if not make impossible, all attempts at international cooperation to protect and safeguard human rights. You may wish to discuss this problem with your own Senators and Representatives.

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Southern Regional Council

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Statement of

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

In opposition to the

BRICKER RESOLUTION (S.J. Res. 1) TO AMEND
THE CONSTITUTION SO AS TO
LIMIT THE TREATY-MAKING
POWERS OF THE UNITED STATES

Submitted to the

SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

Washington, D. C.
February 25, 1953

The American Jewish Congress is a national organization representing about 500,000 American Jews. It was founded in 1918 by such American Jewish leaders as Supreme Court Justice Brandeis, Judge Mack and the late Rabbi Stephen S. Wise for the purpose of preserving Jewish values and maintaining and extending the democratic way of life.

The American Jewish Congress is vitally concerned with the proposed Constitutional Amendment embodied in S.J. Res. 1, limiting the competency of the United States to enter into treaties and international agreements. We share its sponsors' desire to safeguard our precious democratic freedoms from encroachment by any body foreign or domestic, national or international. However, it is our view that the Constitution of the United States provides today, as it has for 160 years, ample protection from such encroachment. We fear that the proposed Constitutional Amendment by disabling the United States from participating in various instrumentalities of world cooperation may well, under the guise of protecting our cherished rights, be sealing their doom. These rights cannot survive either successful armed aggression against our territorial borders or a prolonged state of military emergency in which we find ourselves a lone outpost in a world engulfed by Communism. Collective defense based on treaties of international cooperation with the other nations of the free world provides in the last analysis, the only true protection for our own precious rights.

Moreover, the American Jewish Congress feels that the proposed amendment, by limiting the power of our government to enter into such agreements as the Covenant on Human Rights and the Genocide Convention designed to insure minimal standards of Human Rights throughout the world, will prevent us from fulfilling the obligations we have already assumed under the United Nations Charter. Articles 55 and 56 of that

Charter pledge all members to "take joint and separate action in cooperation with the [United Nations] for the achievement of..."

> "...universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

It is our firm conviction that the United States has thus assumed a moral and legal responsibility to insure that other peoples enjoy the same rights and freedoms that we have so zealously protected in our own country. We believe that we must honor this responsibility not only because failure on our part to do so will forfeit our claim to leadership of the free world but also because only in an atmosphere of "universal respect for an observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms" can our own rights and freedoms be safeguarded and extended. In that conviction the World Jewish Congress of which the American Jewish Congress is a constituent part has prepared and transmitted a series of submissions to the various preparatory bodies set up by the United Nations to consider the Genocide Convention, the Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenant of Human Rights. In the interest of the United States as well as others, the American Jewish Congress opposes all attempts to disable our country from effective participation in international efforts to insure that what has been the heritage of only a few nations will become a standard of conduct for all.

It is our contention that the present impetus for an amendment limiting the exercise of the treaty power arises to a large extent out of grave misconceptions as to existing Constitutional limitations on that power; an entirely unmerited lack of confidence in the Senate and President of the United States and existing constitutional procedures governing the exercise of that power; and a misunderstanding as to the provisions of recent international proposals to safeguard Human Rights.

Before analyzing the individual sections of S. J. Res. 1 in detail we should like to take up these misconceptions as we understand them.

The first is that the treaty power is not limited in any way by the Constitution and that by use of this power the President and Senate could cripple or destroy the United States, undermine its basic Constitutional structure, and abridge essential liberties of the Bill of Rights. This is not the case. Although the Supreme Court has never held a treaty to be unconstitutional, this has not been because the treaty power is above the Constitution but solely because no treaty or other international agreement to which the United States has been a party has abridged rights guaranteed by the Constitution to individuals. The courts have repeatedly emphasized that a treaty may not offend specific prohibitions of the Constitution, the classic statement being that in the case of Geofroy v. Riggs (133 U.S. 258, 267 (1890).

> "The treaty power, as expressed in the Constitution, is in terms unlimited except by those restraints which are found in that instrument against the action of the Government or of its departments, and those arising from the nature of the Government itself and that of the States. It would not be contended that it extends so far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids, or a change in the character of the Government or in that of one of the States, or a cession of any portion of the territory of the latter, without its consent (Fort Leavenworth Railroad Co. v. Lowe, 114 U.S. 525, 541)..."
> (emphasis supplied)

In the case of Missouri v. Holland, 252 U.S. 416, 433 (1920) the Supreme Court, although ruling that a treaty and legislation pursuant thereto overrides state laws, was careful to point out that treaties could not contravene specific prohibitions of the Constitution. The Court in that case stated "We do not mean to imply that there are no qualifications to the treaty making power..." ..."The treaty in question does not contravene any prohibitory words to be found in the

Constitution." See also U.S. v. Minnesota, 270 U. S. 181, 208 (1926); Asakura v. City of Seattle, 265 U. S. 332, 341 (1924); The Cherokee Tobacco, 11 Wall. 616, 620-21 (1870).

In the light of these Supreme Court pronouncements the fact that Article VI of the Constitution declares laws made "In Pursuance" of the Constitution and treaties made "under the Authority of the United States" to be the supreme law of the land, does not imply that treaties are above the Constitution. The difference in phraseology resulted solely from the fact that the framers wanted the supremacy clause to apply not only to treaties made in the future under the Constitution but also to treaties which had already been made under the Articles of Confederation. Certainly no implication can be drawn from this that treaties are not subject to constitutional limitations.

Another argument advanced in support of the proposition that treaties can abridge our basic liberties without constitutional recourse is based on the fact that the First Amendment, unlike the rest of the Bill of Rights, refers only to Congress; "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, ..." However, the Courts have assumed that the Amendment applies to actions by all branches of the Federal Government impairing freedom of speech, press or religion or the rights of assembly or petition. See e.g.; Watson v. Jones, 13 Wall 679. Specifically the amendment has been thought to limit the actions of the President. Joint Anti-Fascist Committee v. McGrath, 341 U. S. 123, 135-136, 143, 199-200 (1951); Bailey v. Richardson, 182 F. 2d, 46, 59-60, 71-74, (D.C. Cir. 1950). Treaties being the result of presidential action in conjunction with the Senate, it cannot be claimed that First Amendment freedoms can be invaded by treaty with constitutional impunity.

Thus it can readily be seen that the Constitution already provides ample safeguards against abridgement by treaty or executive agreement of essential liberties guaranteed to the individual by the Bill of Rights. A constitutional amendment to this effect is unnecessary and redundant.

The Senate and the President, and later the Congress as a whole, each has an opportunity to reject, modify or nullify an international agreement insofar as it affects internal law. Initially the President and the State Department can refuse to sign a treaty or insert modifications in a proposed treaty which is found in some measure repugnant to American ideals or interests. An example of this ability to effect modifications in proposed international agreements is found in the proposal submitted by the United States to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights which would insure that the constitutional balance between Federal and state powers under our Constitution could not be altered by the proposed Covenants on Human Rights. (Proposed Art. 48, Draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Proposed Art. 26, Draft Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights).

Should the President sign a treaty, the Senate is free to refuse ratification. Indeed, a minority of the Senate -- one-third of a quorum plus one -- can block American entry into any treaty arrangement. Moreover, if it so desired, the Senate is free to ratify with any reservations it considers important. For example, the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Genocide recommended to the full committee that the Genocide Convention be ratified with four "understandings". Among these understandings was one which was designed, according to the late Senator McMahon, chairman of the committee, to overcome fears that lynchings might be classified as genocidal acts. New York Times, April 13, 1950; Legislative History of Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 81st Cong., Doc. No. 247, at 27-29 (1950).

Even if a bad treaty is signed or ratified, a majority of both Houses can pass an act ending its internal effect. This results from the doctrine that treaties, with respect to their internal effect, are generally of the same dignity as statutes. Their domestic implications and consequences can be modified or repealed by a subsequent Federal act. Head Money Cases, 112 U. S. 580, 597-599 (1884); The Cherokee Tobacco, 11 Wall. 616; Chae Chan Ping v. United States, 130 U. S. 581, 600 (1889); see United States v. Minnesota, 270 U. S. 181, 208 (1926). The case of Hijo v. United States, 194 U. S. 315, 324 (1904) states "...it is well settled that in the case of a conflict between an act of Congress and a treaty... the last one in date must prevail..."

Clearly the opportunity for rejection and modification of treaties granted each arm of the government at each of the stages enumerated above provides ample safeguards against hasty and unthinking international commitments.

A third serious misconception relates to the actual content and substance of the proposed international agreements protecting human rights and interdicting crimes against humanity. It has been claimed that by entering into such an agreement as the Covenants on Human Rights the United States would be surrendering its own rights and reducing its own standards to conform to those of nations enjoying a bare minimum of liberty and individual freedom.

The Draft Covenants on Human Rights expressly provide, however, that the Covenants shall not cause any lowering of existing standards in countries whose standards are higher than those proposed in the Covenant. For example Article 4 of the proposed Covenant on Civil and Political Rights reads:

> "2. There shall be no restriction upon or derogation from any of the fundamental human rights recognized or existing in any Contracting State pursuant to law, conventions, regulations or custom on the pretext that the present Covenant does not recognize such rights or that it recognizes them to a lesser extent."

Almost identical language is contained in Article 5 of the proposed Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights.

Another objection sometimes raised to the Covenants on Human Rights is that they will enable the Federal government to encroach on areas traditionally reserved to state control. These fears should be allayed by the proposed federal amendment to that Covenant referred to above.

The dangers of S. J. Res. 1 to the welfare of this nation will, we believe, be manifest upon an examination and analysis of the individual paragraphs of the proposed amendment.

Section 1

Section 1 of S. J. Res. 1 provides:

> "A provision of a treaty which denies or abridges any

right enumerated in this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect."

Section 1 nullifies the effect of any treaty provision which denies or abridges any right "enumerated" in the Constitution. This section represents a substantial improvement over the phrasing of Section 1 of the resolution introduced at the last Session of Congress, S. J. Res. 130, in that it omits the phrase in the prior resolution which would have prohibited treaties which merely touched upon constitutional rights without in any way abridging or infringing upon them. However, the phrase "rights enumerated in this Constitution" is ambiguous and subject to varying interpretations.

For example, if the term "rights enumerated in this Constitution" is contrasted with the term contained in the next paragraph, "rights of citizens of the United States within the United States enumerated in this Constitution" it would appear that a different set of rights is referred to in each section. Except perhaps for the right of a citizen of the United States to demand protection from the Federal Government on the high seas or abroad (Slaughter House Cases, 16 Wall 56, 79 (1872) the individual rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution do not apply to American citizens in countries other than the United States (In re Ross, 140 U. S. 453, 464 (1890); Neely v. Henkel, 180 U. S. 109, 122-123 (1901). That being the case, it may well be argued that the broad term "rights enumerated in this Constitution", since it omits the qualifying phrase contained in Section 2 of the Resolution limiting the "rights" to those enjoyed within the United States by citizens of the United States, is in fact intended to prohibit treaties dealing with the subject matter of the enumerated rights even in situations to which the constitutional guarantees would not actually apply. In any

event such ambiguity should not be tolerated in a constitutional amendment.

Similarly, it might be argued that the term "rights enumerated" encompasses the right of the states not to have their reserved powers invaded by the Federal government. Under such an interpretation, many of the most common types of treaties would be invalid, since their subject matter does not come within the delegated powers of Congress. For example, treaties relating to the rights of aliens to engage in trade or business, as applied to businesses having no interstate character, Asakura v. Seattle, (265, U. S. 332 (1924) would be barred, as well as treaties of extradition involving purely domestic crimes. (Charlton v. Kelly (229 U. S. 447 (1913).

Assuming, however, that these ambiguities of Section 1 are clarified so that Section 1 only prohibits treaties or agreements which abridge or infringe basic individual rights such as those guaranteed by the Bill of Rights and the 14th Amendment, the wisdom of this section is still open to question. While such a restatement of currently established constitutional doctrine would probably be harmless, it may give rise to an argument at some future time that a change in basic principle must have been intended since the complex machinery of adopting an amendment would not ordinarily be utilized merely to restate existing law.

Section 2

Section 2 of S. J. Res. 1 provides:

> "No treaty shall authorize or permit any foreign power or any international organization to supervise, control, or adjudicate rights of citizens of the United States within the United States enumerated in this Constitution or any other matter essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States."

Initially this section is open to the objection that the phraseology is ambiguous and many of the words used have no clearly defined legal meaning. For example, does the phrase "rights of citizens of the United States within the United States enumerated in this Constitution" merely describe the type of rights which cannot be supervised. In that event, where rights are enjoyed by aliens within the United States, as is the case with most Constitutional safeguards, a treaty could not vest power in international bodies to deal with the rights of aliens. On the other hand, if the key word is "citizens", the prohibitions of Section 2 apply only to citizens.

Secondly, the meaning of the term "supervision" is uncertain, and existing case law provides little guidance to its meaning in this context. It would seem that Section 2 by using this word along with the term "control" contemplates a prohibition on international bodies whose powers are even less than "control" or "direction". What degree of power less than "control", however, is not clear. Does the word "supervise" encompass such action as mere inspection without the power to effect changes? Does the phrase "supervise, control or adjudicate" cover such processes as fact-finding, mediation and conciliation?

The very presence of these ambiguities in the language of the proposed Amendment, even though they are eventually resolved by the

Supreme Court, will inevitably produce a period of uncertainty during which the necessary decisions and precedents will be evolving. Throughout this period other nations will hesitate to enter into binding committments with us and the conduct of our foreign affairs will thus be seriously hampered.

Since the American Jewish Congress is committed to the principle that the rights of Americans can be safeguarded and extended only in an atmosphere of universal respect for the dignity and rights of all men and that international cooperation is vitally necessary to assure such universal respect and sensitivity to human rights, we are particularly interested in the effect of S. J. Res. 1 on such efforts at international cooperation as the Covenants on Human Rights and the Genocide Convention.

It is our conclusion that the proposed Constitutional Amendment might seriously limit if not preclude the United States from participating in either of these agreements as well as in many of the day to day activities of the United Nations designed to elevate standards of conduct in the area of civil and political rights.

For example, the proposed Draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights contains an implementing provision which would authorize an international Human Rights Committee set up thereunder to ascertain facts, report its conclusions and make available its good offices in instances where a nation is charged with failure to give effect to the provisions of the Covenant (Art. 44 Draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights). Since the Covenant deals with civil and political rights which may be

considered "essentially domestic in nature" as well as "rights of citizens... enumerated in this Constitution", and since the powers of fact-finding and conciliation exercised by the Human Rights Committee may well be interpreted as "supervision, control or adjudication" within the meaning of Section 2 of Res. 1, S. J. it can readily be seen that United States participation in attempts to settle problems involving violations of human rights by cooperative and peaceful means might well be prohibited.

Similarly the proposed restrictions of Section 2 might inhibit the ability of the United States to participate in such investigations as the current joint United Nations International Labor Organization investigation of forced labor in countries beyond the Iron Curtain and in certain areas of Africa. The special Committee on Forced Labor, in addition to obtaining facts by questionnaires directed to the various participating countries, also appoints consultants to collect evidence within nations charged with harboring forced labor. See New York Herald Tribune, July 2, 1952. Section 2 would also disable us from participation in the United Nations inquiry into the disgraceful policy of apartheid which is currently creating wide unrest in South Africa.

Clearly the United States will not long be permitted to participate and in fairness can claim no right to participate in joint investigations and fact finding with respect to conditions in other countries unless it is willing to permit inquiry and perhaps supervision of conditions existing within its own territorial borders. Can we say that the doctrine of equality before the law which we proudly affirm with respect to the relations

between our citizens and their government is completely inapplicable to the relations between that government and other governments and to the law of nations. Can we retain our moral leadership of the free world if we claim special privileges and special immunities from investigation or censure by the other nations of the world.

The American Jewish Congress advocates the ratification of the Genocide Convention. We do so not only because we view the Convention as a means to deter genocide, of which the Jewish people have been most frequently the victims, but also because the Convention represents another step towards achieving a world order based on rule of law rather than arbitrary force.

Section 2 of the proposed Constitutional Amendment, although it might not prevent the United States from ratifying the Genocide convention in its present form, could well interfere with future attempts effectively to punish perpetrators of this horrible crime. Article VI of the Genocide Convention provides that persons charged with Genocide shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the state in which the act was committed or by an international penal tribunal <u>only</u> "with respect to those contracting parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction." Although the first draft of a statute for an International Criminal Court has been prepared by a Committee of the United Nations it is still in the formative stage, the United States has not accepted its jurisdiction, and of course ratification of the Genocide Convention in no way commits the ratifying state to participate in such an International criminal tribunal if it is set up.

The American Jewish Congress does not now urge that the United States accept the jurisdiction of the proposed International Criminal Court as it is presently envisaged. Nor do we advocate that power be vested in any international tribunal to adjudicate rights of Americans or other persons unless such tribunal complies with the fundamental principles of due process of law. However we do believe that there may well come a time when an international penal tribunal, operating with proper safeguards, may become important in effectively policing other international crimes, such as violation of international atomic controls inimical to world security. The advantages of such an international tribunal even at the present time cannot be overlooked. One of its salutary features would be that an American journalist such as Oatis in Prague, could, if charged with fomenting civil strife in Czechoslovakia, be tried by an international tribunal and not by the prejudiced and subservient courts of Czechoslovakia.

Section 2, however, would prevent the adjudication of American rights by such an International tribunal even if it conducted its proceedings with all the judicial safeguards now available in the Courts of the United States governed by the Constitution. It is our view that the sponsors of Section 2 are unwise in attempting to tie the hands of our treatymakers by disabling them from future participation in such international courts.

Amending the Constitution in the terms set forth in Section 2 of S. J. Res. 1 would seriously diminish the chances for effective international control of atomic power. It would disable the United States from permitting international "supervision" or

"control" of atomic energy production in plants located within this country, since such production might well constitute a matter involving essentially domestic rights of citizens of the United States. Without the consent of the United States to such supervision of plants within its borders, it is highly unlikely that other nations would agree to international control and supervision of their atomic production. Similarly, Section 2 might prevent effective international control of opium and other narcotics. In addition it might limit the possibility of joint solutions to such vital military matters as pooling of productive resources, rights in military bases, and prisoners of war.

Section 3

Section 3 of S. J. Res. 1 provides:

> "A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through the enactment of appropriate legislation by the Congress."

Under this section in order for the provisions of a treaty to take effect as internal law, they would have to be approved by the President, ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate, and then subsequently approved by a majority vote of the Senate and the House.

This requirement would seriously hamper our day-to-day, non-controversial relationships with other nations by delaying the operation of treaties already approved by two-thirds of the Senate until Congressional enactment is secured. Among the types of treaties which have traditionally been self-executing are those providing for the reciprocal rights of aliens to hold, acquire, inherit and dispose of property, to engage in businesses, to be

protected in their persons and property, and to be free from burdensome taxation. In many instances these treaties would lose their effectiveness if their operation were suspended even temporarily. In any event the fact that during the intervening period, private citizens as well as state governments could freely flout international committements will not only create confusion but will make other nations reluctant to enter such reciprocal treaties with us, thereby jeopardizing rights and privileges of Americans abroad.

There is no perceptible advantage to be gained from superimposing a requirement of Congressional enactment upon the existing constitutional provision that a treaty must be ratified by two-thirds of the Senate before taking effect. (Art. II, Section 2). Treaties, in any event, are self-executing only under certain conditions. Ware v. Hylton, 3 Dall. 199 (1796). They may moreover, be made non-self-executing by their express terms. Foster & Elam v. Neilson, 2 Pet. 253 (1829); U. S. v. Percheman, 7 Pet. 51 (1833). For example, the Genocide Convention was phrased so that it would be non-self-executing, and present drafts of proposed conventions relating to human rights are cast in non-self-executing terms. Articles 55 and 56 of the United Nations Charter, obligating the parties to "promote" certain objectives and to "pledge themselves to take joint and separate action" for the achievement of certain purposes was held non-self-executing in the Fujii case. Fujii v. State 242 P. 2d 617 (Sup. Ct. Calif. (1952).

In addition, the Senate in the exercise of its power to impose reservations on treaties (See Memorandum of Parliamentarian of

Senate, 98 Cong. Rec. 2602, March 20, 1952) may insist as a condition of ratification that the treaty not be considered self-executing.

In view of these safeguards, it would appear unnecessary to include in the Constitution an inflexible provision which would not only subordinate all treaties to conflicting state law in the absence of additional congressional action, but would render them ineffective internally even where no existing law or policy was contravened. Such a requirement would impose a substantial burden on the time and energies of the Congress of the United States without offering protection to individual rights and to our existing democratic system not already available through present procedures. We do not take any position on Sections 4 and 5 of S. J. Res. 1 relating to executive agreements.

Conclusion

Our analysis of Sections 1, 2 and 3 of the proposed amendment leads us to conclude that the adoption of these Sections in their present form would seriously hamper the conduct of our foreign relations and our ability to fulfill existing international obligations. It would interfere with efforts to serve the interest of the United States and its citizens by promoting universal respect for and observance of human rights and would cripple attempts of the United States to cooperate with other nations for our mutual defense. In the interest both of our own domestic well being and in the furtherance of a constructive foreign policy, this resolution should not be adopted.

Will Maslow
General Counsel

Lois Waldman
Of Counsel
February 24, 1953

Immigration

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
212 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: February 16, 1954

SUBJECT: U. S. ex rel. Allcorn v. District Director of Immigration and Naturalization (111 F. Supp. 6)

DIGEST:

Federal District Court rules that Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 does not permit court review of administrative decision denying bail to a naturalized American citizen detained pending determination of whether she expatriated herself by residence abroad.

A. THE FACTS

Mrs. Allcorn, born in Russia, emigrated to the United States in 1909 at the age of 8. She became a naturalized American citizen in 1933. In 1947, after having lived in the United States for 38 years, she married a British subject and took up residence in Canada and England. In England she registered with the American Consulate. On December 5, 1952, an American passport was issued to her, stamped as valid until August 20, 1953.

When in January, 1953, she returned to the United States and sought admission as a United States citizen, she was detained for a hearing before a special inquiry officer of the Immigration Service on whether she had lost her American citizenship under Section 352 (a) (2) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (The McCarran-Walter Act) which provides that a naturalized American citizen loses his citizenship if he lives abroad for as long as 5 years. (If he resides in his country of birth he loses his American citizenship after only 3 years of residence.)

The special inquiry officer ruled against Mrs. Allcorn. He held that she had lost her American citizenship by staying abroad for longer than 5 years. This decision is pending before the Board of Immigration Appeals. Mrs. Allcorn applied for release on bail pending a decision on her appeal. The application was denied, without any reason being given for such denial. Mrs. Allcorn then petitioned the Federal District court in New York for a writ of habeas corpus on the ground that the denial of bail was arbitrary.

B. THE DECISION OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT IN NEW YORK

a) The Original Decision (March 24, 1953)

U.S. District Judge Edelstein first conditionally granted Mrs. Allcorn's petition. He pointed out that Mrs. Allcorn, while abroad, was issued an American passport good for well beyond the date of her return to the U. S. A. The Judge stressed that the immigration authorities treated Mrs. Allcorn as an inadmissible alien by taking her into custody and refusing her request for bail. Hence, the judge argued, the immigration authorities had already prejudged the issue of her citizenship. Should the decision of the immigration authorities be wrong and should Mrs. Allcorn turn out to be an American citizen, "We should have a citizen deprived of her liberty without having been permitted even the procedural due process accorded a resident alien," the Judge said. He concluded that the denial of bail to Mrs. Allcorn by the immigration authorities was arbitrary since no attempt was made to justify the denial of bail, and he granted the writ unless "within 10 days, a proper basis for the exercise of discretion in denying bail is advanced", or unless Mrs. Allcorn was released on bail.

b) The decision on Reargument (April 3, 1953)

The Immigration Service asked the Judge for permission to reargue the case. In the reargument, the Service relied upon Section 236 (C) of the McCarran-Walter Act which they interpreted to mean that a decision of a special inquiry officer, that a person had expatriated himself and hence was inadmissible, is not reviewable by the court. The Judge accepted this interpretation of the McCarran-Walter Act. He, therefore, reversed himself and dismissed Mrs. Allcorn's petition on the ground that she, as an entering alien, had no standing to raise the issue of due process in the refusal to grant her request to be released on bail pending final disposition of her case.

C) COMMENT

This case illustrates one of the many injustices written into the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act.

1. The decision shows that under the McCarran-Walter Act, naturalized citizens are less secure in their status than native born citizens. If Mrs. Allcorn were a native-born citizen of the United States, she could have stayed abroad for 20 or 30 years without jeopardizing her citizenship. Since she was a naturalized citizen, she was ruled to have lost her citizenship simply because she stayed abroad with her husband for a little over 5 years. This case, therefore, supports the charge against our immigration law that it countenances 2 classes of citizens.

2. The loss of citizenship by a naturalized citizen as a result of a stay abroad of more than 5 years does not depend on a determination by a court following a trial, but occurs automatically upon expiration of the 5 years. Hence, a naturalized citizen returning from abroad may be treated as an entering alien and detained on Ellis Island without bail or justification for refusal of bail, if the immigration authorities in their sole discretion believe that the person has lost his citizenship by staying in his country of origin for more than 3 years or anywhere else abroad for more than 5 years. The determination as to whether such a person is or is not an American citizen is left to the immigration authorities, and to the Attorney General on appeal. (An appeal to the Courts from such a determination may be made only by writ of habeas corpus, which permits a very limited review.)

3. The McCarran-Walter Act grants new broad powers to immigration officials, and in many cases deprives people of the right to court review.

The instant case is a good example. Mrs. Allcorn who was a naturalized citizen of this country since 1933 and who claims still to be a citizen, is imprisoned on Ellis Island pending the determination of whether she is or is not an American citizen. Bail, which is the constitutional right of citizens even when they are accused of crime (except in the most serious cases), is denied her by the immigration authorities without any reason being given. Nor under the McCarran-Walter Act, does the Federal District Court have jurisdiction to review that arbitrary denial of bail.

No. 49

Immigration

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
327 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILL.
212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

RECEIVED
MAY 7 1954
Southern Regional Council

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Paul Hartman and Sidney Liskofsky

DATE: April 27, 1954

SUBJECT: Ives-Javits Bill to Amend the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act

On April 12, 1954, six Republican Congressmen -- Javits, N.Y.; Cretella, Conn.; Fino, N.Y.; Frelinghuysen, N.J.; Morano, Conn.; Scott, Pa. -- introduced in the House of Representatives identical bills to amend the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (H.R. 8802 to 8807). The following day, April 13, Republican Senators Ives of New York, Hendrickson of New Jersey and Saltonstall of Massachusetts introduced in the Senate S. 3292, the companion bill to the above mentioned House bills.

In announcing the introduction of this measure, Congressman Javits stated in the House of Representatives, among other things:

> This bill is a proposal from the Republican side, a proposal having come from the Democratic side in July 1953. The bill deals with injustices pointed out by the President in his letter of April 6, 1953 to Senator WATKINS, with procedural and administrative inequities which have shown up in the administration of the law and with a modernization of the means for the utilization of 154,000 quota numbers provided by the law to provide for its full use instead of leaving unused an average of 65,523 quota numbers for every year since 1946.
>
> * * * * * *
>
> The provisions of the McCarran immigration law with its discrimination between naturalized and natural citizens, its unusual hazards of deportation, denaturalization without adequate statutes of limitations, its injustices and discriminations against Negroes, Asiatic and other non-self-governing peoples and its cumbersome procedures apparently designed to prevent rather than facilitate reasonable immigration make a rewriting job vital. This is essential in the interests of our country's great traditions as the new world and especially vital now as a critical element in our leadership of the free world so heavily burdened with problems which can be enormously helped by the proper exchange and resettlement of persons. The President has said:

"A better law must be written that will strike an intelligent, unbigoted balance between the immigration welfare of America and the prayerful hopes of the unhappy and oppressed."

The sponsors of this bill believe that the administration intends to lend its weight and influence to the rewriting of the McCarran Immigration law and propose to lend all aid and cooperation to see that this is done.

In contrast to the omnibus immigration bill S. 2585 introduced last year by Senator Herbert H. Lehman, six other Democratic Senators and Independent Senator Morse, the Republican-sponsored measure does not rewrite our immigration law in its entirety. It would not repeal the McCarran-Walter Act, but would amend it in a number of important respects. The present national origins quota system would be maintained, but some of its inequities would be alleviated by the utilization of unused quotas in favor of applicants from countries with oversubscribed quotas. Furthermore, the proposal would mitigate some of the hardships resulting from the present provisions on deportation. It would also eliminate some of the provisions discriminating against naturalized citizens. Finally, it would narrow down the field where decisions are left to the free discretion of immigration officials and broaden the possibilities of appeal from decisions of such officials. In particular, it would create a Board of Visa Appeals to review refusals of visa applications by American consuls.

Set forth below are some of the highlights of the measure just introduced:

1. Yearly Total of Immigrants

By substituting the 1950 census for the 1920 census as the base year for determining the total of quota immigrants admissible each year, the bill would increase the total from 154,000 under present law to approximately 251,000.

Immigrants born in independent countries of the Western Hemisphere would continue to be admissible outside of the quota system (as "non-quota immigrants") as they are at present. Hence the total of immigrants admitted each year could exceed the figure of 251,000 which is the maximum number reserved to quota immigrants.

2. Pooling of Unused Quotas

The bill would maintain the national origin quota system on which our present immigration law is based. Under this system, each prospective quota immigrant is assigned to the quota established for the country where he was born. The quotas assigned to countries in Northern and Western Europe from which comparatively few people wish to emigrate are so high that they are never fully utilized, while quotas for countries in Eastern and Southern Europe and Asia are minimal even though there is a large demand for immigration visas in those countries. As a result, persons originating from those latter countries may have to wait many years before becoming eligible for immigration to the United States. The Ives-Javits bill would mitigate this hardship by making quotas unused during any fiscal year available to persons born in countries with oversubscribed quotas. By this device, unused quotas assigned for use by persons born in Great Britain and Ireland could be transferred to persons born in Italy, Greece, and other countries with small, fully used quotas.

Under the proposal, only persons born in a country with a quota not exceeding 7,000 could receive unused quota visas of other countries. Since the German quota is 25,814, persons born in Germany could not benefit from the proposal.

By pooling unused quotas as described above, the proposed bill would make sure that the total number of persons eligible as quota immigrants each year would actually be admitted. No longer would many thousands of quota numbers be left unused every year. (The number left unused in the fiscal year 1953 as a result of the present rigid quota system was 57,763, more than one-third of the total number of quota immigrants admissible each year.)

3. Elimination of Mortgaging Future Quotas

Under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, persons admitted to the United States under that Act were charged against future quotas of the countries of their origin (mortgaging of future quotas). This provision which further extended the waiting period for persons born in countries of Southern and Eastern Europe was retained by the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952. The Ives-Javits bill would abolish this provision and thus ease the restrictions facing immigrants from Eastern and Western Europe.

4. Elimination of Discrimination Against Asiatics

The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 treats Asiatics differently from other persons. Under the national origins quota system, an immigrant is charged to the quota of the country where he was born. But this rule does not apply to persons of Asiatic ancestry who, regardless of their place of birth, are charged to the tiny quotas assigned to Asiatic countries. The Ives-Javits bill would eliminate this discrimination against persons of Asiatic ancestry and make universal the rule that the quota to which a person is charged is determined by his birth.

5. Immigration from the West Indies

Prior to the adoption of the McCarran-Walter Act, immigrants from the European dependencies and colonies in the Western Hemisphere were chargeable to the quotas of their governing countries which they could fully utilize. The McCarran-Walter Act introduced a new restriction to the effect that no more than 100 persons could immigrate annually from each dependency regardless of the quota situation of the mother country. This provision reduced drastically immigration from the British West Indies since persons born in that part of the Western Hemisphere (most of them Negroes) could no longer fully utilize the large British quota. The Ives-Javits bill would abolish this restriction which for the first time put into our immigration laws a provision discriminating against Negroes, and thus restore the law as it was in effect prior to the adoption of the McCarran-Walter Act.

6. Immigration of Totalitarians

Under the law in force prior to the enactment of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, present and former members of a communist or any other totalitarian organization were generally barred from immigration to the United States. The McCarran-Walter Act redefined the term "Totalitarian Party" limiting it to organizations advocating totalitarianism in the United States. Under this language, members of the nazi and fascist parties are no longer barred from admission since these two parties allegedly did not advocate the establishment of totalitarianism in the

United States. The bill under discussion would restore the law to what it was prior to the McCarran-Walter Act. Hence, present and past members of the nazi and fascist parties would be ineligible for immigration to the same extent as members of the communist party.

7. Substituting Objective for Subjective Standards in Determining Admissibility

Under present law, a person is excluded from immigration if "in the opinion of the consular officer" he is likely at any time to become a public charge. Similarly, a person is excluded if the consular officer "knows or has reason to believe" that he seeks to enter the United States for subversive purposes. Such language leaves the determination of admissibility to the subjective, uncontrolled view of the consular official. The bill would change the language of these provisions to make it clear that the excludability of an alien follows from the existence of certain facts (likelihood of becoming a charge or of engaging in subversive activities) rather than from the belief of the consular officer.

8. Creation of a Board of Visa Appeals

As a further means to reduce the danger of arbitrary action by consular officers, the bill would establish a Board of Visa Appeals in the Department of State. The Board would have jurisdiction to review all determinations denying, withdrawing or revoking a visa or extension of a visa and thus be able to insure an equitable and uniform administration of the immigration law by the United States consular officers throughout the world.

9. Deportation

The bill seeks to reduce some of the hardships arising from the provisions of the present law relating to deportation. Among the measures proposed by the bill are the following:

a) Repeal of the retroactive effect of deportation provisions. Under the bill, persons could no longer be deported for reasons which were not grounds for deportation at the time of their arrival.

b) Establishment of a statute of limitation barring deportation unless proceedings are started within ten years after the commission of the crime or other occurrence which made the alien deportable.

c) Broadening of the possibility of granting a deportable alien suspension of deportation in hardship cases.

d) Granting of the right to judicial review of any final deportation order, without the limitation that the alien must have been taken into custody before review is available to him. Under present practice, an alien declared deportable can seek judicial review only by habeas corpus after he is taken into custody.

10. Status of Naturalized Citizens

The bill would repeal those provisions of the present law under which a naturalized citizen loses his American citizenship by residing in his country of origin for three years or in any other country for five years. These provisions which affect only naturalized citizens have been criticized as relegating naturalized citizens to a status inferior to that of a native-born citizen.

There are still other grounds on which, under the present law, naturalized citizens, unlike native-born citizens, may be deprived of their citizenship (conviction for contempt for refusal to testify before a Congressional committee; joining of certain organizations). Those provisions would be left untouched by the bill herein discussed.

11. Court Proceedings to Establish United States Citizenship

The law as it stood prior to the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 enabled the person whose citizenship was denied by United States authorities to institute a legal action to establish his American citizenship. In line with its tendency to reduce court review of administrative decisions, the McCarran-Walter Act curtailed the right to institute such legal proceedings in several important respects. It limited the right to persons in the United States. Furthermore, it barred the remedy if the proceedings were not started within five years from the final administrative denial of his right of citizenship. The Ives-Javits bill would eliminate these restrictions and give any person claiming American citizenship access at any time to the courts to obtain a ruling on his claim.

ph-sl/bwl
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Second Annual

HUMAN RELATIONS INSTITUTE

of the

NATIONAL CONFERENCE *of* CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

THEME

"YOUTH POINTS THE WAY"

☆

HONORED YOUTH GUESTS

MISS EILEEN MORROW
Southern High School . . . . . Baltimore, Maryland

MISS MARY CECIL
Presentation Academy . . . . . Louisville, Kentucky

JOHN HALL
McKinley High School . . . . . Washington, D.C.

☆

KOUBEK CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
2705 S. W. 3rd Street
MIAMI, FLORIDA

SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1955
Registration 9:30 A.M.

Program

MORNING SESSION . . . 9:30 - 12:30

ALBERTHA JOHNSON, *President,* IYC, Presiding

9:30 Registration—Porch — Koubek Center

10:00 Auditorium

Address—Dr. C. Doren Tharp, Secretary of the University and Dean of the Faculties, University of Miami

"The National Conference of Christians and Jews and Youth"

10:30 Group Meetings—Class Rooms — Koubek Center
Discussion Subject: The NCCJ and IYC—Relationship—Resources and Service

Group 1
Chairman—DOROTHY WILLIAMS
Reporter—GWENDOLYN MOON
Adult Counsellor—JUDGE L. E. THOMAS
Room 2

Group 2
Chairman—GEORGE LOVE
Reporter—KENNETH MAJOR
Adult Counsellor—MRS. L. J. MCCAFFREY
Room 3

Group 3
Chairman—BARBARA SEALY
Reporter—EUGENE MOON
Adult Counsellor—DR. C. DOREN THARP
Room 4

Group 4
Chairman—DOROTHY LEWIS
Reporter—ALVIN BRYANT
Adult Counsellor—MR. S. D. WEISSBUCH
Room 5

Group 5
Chairman—VERONICA DEAN
Reporter—SUSAN DUNKEL
Adult Counsellor—DR. DEAN GEORGE EPLEY
Room 6

Group 6
Chairman—CORA ANN CULVER
Reporter—ANN SAUNDERS
Adult Counsellor—MR. WILLIAM E. REED
Room 7

Group 7
Chairman—IRAL DAVIS
Reporter—EUGENE DENNEY
Adult Counsellor—DR. JACOB H. CUNNINGHAM
Room 8

11:15 Auditorium

Group Reports and Group Discussion

Directed by Dr. Dean George Epley, Chairman, Human Relations Department, University of Miami

12:30 Lunch—A catering service is providing the food. Each person, excepting guests, will pay for his meal.

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AFTERNOON SESSION . . . 1:15 - 6:00

RONALD ADLER, *Vice President,* IYC, Presiding

1:15 Auditorium

Address—Dr. Jacob H. Cunningham, Florida Director, The National Conference of Christians and Jews

"How the Intergroup Youth Council Serves Youth"

1:45 Group Meetings—Class Rooms — Koubek Center
Discussion Subject: How Can IYC Serve Our Organizations?

Group 1
Chairman—Bill Renuart
Reporter—Carol Symonette
Adult Counsellor—Mr. Ben Porch
Room 2

Group 2
Chairman—Ronald Adler
Reporter—Steve Greenberg
Adult Counsellor—Mr. Jerry Carver
Room 3

Group 3
Chairman—Alice Brown
Reporter—Antoinette Spicer
Adult Counsellor—Miss Marie D. Roberts
Room 4

Group 4
Chairman—Charles McArthur
Reporter—Sam March
Adult Counsellors—Mr. Carl Edwards *and* Mr. Moses Perry
Room 5

Group 5
Chairman—Albertha Johnson
Reporter—Diane Barthel
Adult Counsellors—Miss Reta Reed *and* Miss Geraldine Rooks
Room 6

Group 6
Chairman—Eugene Denney
Reporter—George Love
Adult Counsellor—Mr. Joe Hall
Room 7

Group 7
Chairman—Joan Siegel
Reporter—Linda Marks
Adult Counsellor—Miss Fern Hoffman
Room 8

2:45 Auditorium
Group Reports and Group Discussion—Directed by Dr. Dean George Epley

4:00 Group Singing, Skits and Free Period
Directed by Mrs. Joel Ingraham, *Director of Chorus*, Dorsey High School

4:45 Auditorium
Panel Discussion Subject: "Youth Working For Brotherhood"
Moderator: James M. Legate, *Chairman*, Board of Directors NCCJ and General Manager, Radio Station WIOD

Panelists:

Mary Cecil
Presentation Academy . Louisville, Kentucky

Veronica Dean
Dorsey High School . . Miami, Florida

John Hall
McKinley High School . Washington, D.C.

Eileen Morrow
Southern High School . Baltimore, Maryland

Bill Renuart
Miami Edison High School . Miami, Florida

Lyn Roberts
Miami Senior High School . Miami, Florida
(Formerly St. Louis, Missouri)

6:15 Dinner—A catering service is providing the food. Each person, excepting guests, will pay for his meal.

☆

EVENING SESSION . . . 7:30 - 9:00

Bill Renuart, *Secretary*, IYC, Presiding

7:30 Auditorium
Address—Dr. Edward R. Annis, NCCJ Board Member and Prominent Surgeon
"Youth's Opportunities"

8:15—Installation of IYC Officers for 1955-56

OFFICERS OF THE INTERGROUP YOUTH COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

1954-55

ALBERTHA JOHNSON, *President* Negro
RONALD ADLER, *Vice President*
BILL RENUART, *Secretary*
DAISY HARRIS, *Treasurer* Negro
WILLIAM PEELER, *Chaplain*

1955-56

RONALD ADLER, *President*
DOROTHY WILLIAMS, *Vice President* Negro
LINDA MARKS, *Secretary*
ANN SAUNDERS, *Treasurer* Negro
GEORGE LOVE, *Chaplain*

ADULT COUNSELLORS

MISS RETA REED
DR. JACOB H. CUNNINGHAM

INSTITUTE PLANNING STAFF

COMMITTEE

BILL RENUART, *Chairman*
ALBERTHA JOHNSON
DIANE BARTHEL
EUGENE DENNEY
GEORGE LOVE
CHARLES MCARTHUR
HENRY SCHMERER

CONSULTANTS

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☆ ☆ ☆

The Membership of IYC includes delegates from the following youth-serving organizations and institutions:

Allied Youth

B'nai B'rith Youth Organization

Future Teachers of America

Dade County Public High Schools

Young Men's Christian Association

Young Women's Christian Association

The National Conference of Christians and Jews appreciates the cooperation of Dr. Jay F. W. Pearson, President of the University of Miami, in permitting the Institute to be held at Koubek Center and for providing leadership for the Institute.

Special thanks also go to the following NCCJ Directors for their cooperation in selecting youth representatives from their Regions for participation in the Institute:

JOHN T. KENNA, Louisville, Kentucky
ROSS CLINCHY, Baltimore, Maryland
LEONARD ARIES, Washington, D.C.

Members of IYC are also grateful for the leadership provided by interested adults in the Institute.

Dodson Talks To Workshop

"Community Backgrounds in Human Relations" will be discussed by Dr. W. Dodson, first visiting consultant of the University of Miami Human Relations Workshop, in Room 733 at U-M tomorrow and Saturday at 8:30 a.m.

Dr. Dodson

Dr. Dodson is director of New York University Center for Human Relations Studies and currently managing editor of the Journal of Educational Psychology.

The workshop began its six weeks of theoretical and practical study yesterday with Dr. Dean George Epley, chairman of the U-M's human relations department, as director.

Non-workshoppers interested in hearing Dr. Dodson may get in touch with Dr. Epley at the university for permission to sit in on the lecture. Room 733 is in Temporary Building 73 directly behind the Merrick Building.

Armed Forces

The Negro and the National Defense, a Rational Approach

BY

West A. Hamilton, Colonel, Infantry

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THE NEGRO AND THE NATIONAL DEFENSE, A RATIONAL APPROACH

By West A. Hamilton, Colonel, Infantry

"Goin' to lay down my burden
Down by de river side,
Down by de river side,
Goin' to lay down my burden
Down by de river side
To study war no more.

"I aint goin' to study war no more,
Aint goin' to study war no more,
Aint goin' to study war no more,
Aint goin' to study war no more."

In the above quoted lines from a well known Negro spiritual perhaps we may get insight into the Negro's thinking or philosophy on the matter of participation in the National Defense program of the nation.

True it is, that the American Negro has had a fine and altogether creditable record in the various wars, major and minor, in which the nation has been involved from the Revolutionary War down to the present. The fact that Crispus Attucks, a Negro, was the very first to die in the Boston Massacre, the forerunner of the Revolutionary War, is a source of great racial pride of Negroes. It has been the subject and theme of innumerable orations and written articles. In the same way Negroes point with pride to their participation in the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and finally World Wars I and II. The statement that no black man in the country's history has been guilty of treasonable or disloyal action is accepted as a legendary fact.

It is an historic fact that the American Negro in any national war effort in which he has been called upon to serve has by and large acquitted himself creditably and at times heroically. This of course must be qualified with the statement that due regard must be paid to the opportunities, limited at times, which the Negro citizen and member of the Armed forces have been given.

The theme of the spiritual which opened this article seems to have followed the Negro out of slavery through the Civil War and now for three generations since then. This means that except in times of major war crises, no serious attention was paid by the American people and indeed by the Negro himself to the matter of an adequate participation in the military and naval establishments of America. Of course, the whole national pattern of America so far as its military policy is concerned shows a characteristic and continuous indifference to questions of national preparedness and security down through the years. When a national war crisis has developed, the whole nation has risen to supreme heights of achievement, and, aided up to now by fortuitous circumstances, has always emerged on the winning side.

The Negro segment of the population has outdone the rest of America in sheer indifference and lethargy. It is true that through the years, or at least since the Civil War, Negroes have had, as it were, a token representation in the Armed Forces establishments in time of peace. Up to World War II, our representation in the Regular Army for instance had well nigh disappeared. A pitifully small representation in the National Guard existed, with a sprinkling in the Organized Reserve. Service in, and participation in the Armed Forces on the part of the general run of Negroes was a thing apart. Not once during all of these years does history record any serious efforts to participate in adequate or equitable numbers in the military establishment. Nor were any efforts put forth to arouse the national conscience to a realization that all of America's citizens should have a part in preparing to share the responsibilities inherent in citizenship rights and privileges.

The matter simply drifted. Army service was not particularly popular among the mass of America's citizenry, it was not popular at all among the Negro segment.

The great real and potential benefits of participating in a program designed to develop the spartan attributes of men made no impression. The carry over value of developing strong bodies in which to house strong minds did not register. Thus the Negro segment of the population came down to the cataclysmic crisis of World Wars I and II. Whereas, despite over all national apathy and indifference, there was a real nucleus—the Regular Army and National Guard—upon which to expand our multimillion army and navy, the

Negroes of America practically did not exist except for the vast untrained levies which they were called upon to furnish.

Thus the Negro segment of the nation were practically strangers to the Armed Services and vice versa. In other words over three quarters of a century had been spent sleeping, and Negroes had defaulted their right as free men to a full or at least reasonable participation in a transcendentally important phase of our nation's life. The pattern had been set. We were not used to the services, and the services were not used to us.

When a pattern or habit obtains for so long a period of time as has been indicated, it is a difficult matter to change in a relatively short time. During these days of World War II, a veteran Negro educator made the statement "The Negro is just not psychologically prepared for this war." No one would quarrel with that statement. Again the theme of the spiritual, "Study War No More," comes to mind.

More than that, such expressions as the following were extant: "We have nothing to fight for," "This is a white man's war," "The Germans and the Japs haven't done anything to me." As justification for these attitudes, of course, past and present shortcomings in American democracy were cited. None is so naive as to deny the existence of these shortcomings. And there should be none so naive as to deny that democracy or the ideal of democracy is the goal toward which we strive and toward the attainment of which progressive strides have been made.

Skipping the years, I make bold to state as a fact that the Negro has emerged from World War II with many gains social and economic. His gains in the armed services, particularly in the Army, have not been inconsiderable. While not nearly large enough, the American Army is larger than ever before except when on an actual wartime basis. Correspondingly, the Negroes' numbers in the Army are larger by many fold than ever before.

Continuing the population and the war-time ratio, the Negro elements in the army as to numbers are roughly a tenth of the whole. This participation extends in practically every single branch of the service. It is true that the Negroes' representation in some services is very small.

There are at the present time hundreds of Negro officers on active duty with the Army. This number includes, of course, the

officers of the Regular Army, relatively few in number to be sure, but certainly a very substantial start has been made. This increase in the Regular Army Personnel is many, many fold times the number we actually had at the beginning of World War II.

I have pointed out that over a long period of years the Negroes' inadequate and inequitable representation in the armed forces has been due to: (1) the neglect by the American Government (following the national pattern) to give serious consideration to the claims of this minority group for a reasonable participation; (2) the downright somnambulance of the great mass of American Negroes, including their leaders and spokesmen, in this regard. It seems to be that the whole problem has been neglected over the years until now, when we have what appears to be a wave of opportunism. In other words, the pattern in the Armed Forces is in no whit different from its counterpart in any other phase of American life that might be mentioned.

The problem of the American Negro in the army is the same problem as the one he faces in other walks of life: educational, political, social, economic. This is not to say at all that the disabilities of citizenship from which he suffers are right or just or ought not to be corrected. I am saying that this problem of the Armed Forces will be solved at the same time as the others and not before. I repeat; there can be none so naive or intellectually dishonest as to deny that a start in the solution of all these problems has been made; that much progress has been made and is being made; and much remains to be done.

It is the supreme duty of every American citizen everywhere to contribute his mite and might toward the removal of the defects in our society and the *consummation* of the goals and ideals toward which we strive.

The job will not be accomplished by wishful thinking, by executive order, legislative enactment or judicial fiat. It will be accomplished by the combined efforts of us all extending through several generations. Each one of us in his day and generation must advance the cause.

Presently in our day much impetus can be given the movement by an intelligent and forward looking effort toward: Capitalizing on the gains already made, utilizing the opportunities at hand and steadfastly pressing on toward the ultimate goals.

One of the very practical ways in which we can seize present opportunities is this: For the American Negro segment of the population to put its best foot forward so far as the Armed Services are concerned. By that I mean that we should assiduously encourage our youth, the talented, the educated ones, to enter the army in reasonably creditable numbers. We must devote a reasonable proportion of the "cream of our youth" to this very necessary program. In this manner we can help eliminate the situation which too often arises where we default grand opportunities because of a lack of qualified people.

We can by stressing education and public health raise the overall level of literacy and physical well-being of Negro youth. In this way we can alleviate the tremendous disadvantages which we have faced thus far, of having about 70 per cent of our army levies classified as illiterate or near illiterate. We can and should attempt to decrease the overwhelming numbers of unskilled workers whether for the pursuits of peace or for national defense.

In the civilian components, wherever there is offered an opportunity we should seize it. Our R. O. T. C. Units where they exist should be literally bursting at the seams with thousands of enthusiastic youth seeking preparation for service and leadership. This same pattern should be followed over the whole national picture.

In this way, using the practical and logical means at hand, we shall hasten the coming of the ideal. It is well to remember that this *is* the story of human progress down to date. Sometimes the gains are slow and subtle and sometimes imperceptible. Arthur Hugh Clough puts it in these very appropriate lines:

> Say not, "The struggle naught availeth,
> The labour and the wounds are vain,
> The enemy faints not nor faileth
> And as things have been they remain.
>
> "For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
> Seem here no painful inch to gain,
> Far back, thro' creeks and inlets making,
> Comes silent, flooding in, the main."

I commend the philosophy of this poem to all Americans as a challenge to their faith and clear thinking in the solution of our great problems.

Colonel West A. Hamilton of Washington, D. C., is Professor of Military Science and Tactics at Prairie View University, Prairie View, Texas. One of the highest ranking Negro officers in the United States Army, Colonel Hamilton has had a distinguished career in the Infantry beginning with service on the Mexican Border and continuing through World Wars I and II.

Since July 23, 1948, PMS&T at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland.

37- US Army

DEPARTMENT OF PROMOTION AND PUBLICITY
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.

GUICHARD PARRIS, Director
WAtkins 4-0505

FOR RELEASE:
Sunday, January 21, 1951

(This is a transcript of discussion heard over the ABC network 10:30 a.m. EST, January 21st. In it James Hicks, Afro-American Newspapers, and E. W. Kenworthy, New York Sunday Times, discuss integration of Negroes into the Armed Services.)

ANNOUNCER How is the new policy of equality and democracy in the armed services working out? How do the men like it? Is it practical?

On July 26, 1948, President Truman issued Executive Order 9,981. It said: "there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin." This order established a committee to determine how equality could be carried out. Less than two years later, due in large measure to the work of this committee, the Air Force, the Navy, and the Army declared that their policy would be equality of treatment and opportunity for all. Here this morning to tell us how "Operation Equality" is working out in the armed services are Mr. E. W. Kenworthy of the New York Sunday Times, and Mr. James H. Hicks, of the Baltimore Afro-American. Mr. Kenworthy served as executive secretary of the President's Committee, and Mr. Hicks recently returned from several months in Korea as a war correspondent.

Mr. Kenworthy:

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KENWORTHY The President's Committee was set up 2½ years ago to investigate ways to accomplish complete equality of opportunity in the American armed services. One of the five members of the Committee was the National Urban League's executive director, Lester B. Granger. Now, various minority groups have claimed that there was discrimination in the armed services for the past 30 years and more, but no specific facts were presented or found concerning discrimination, except with respect to Negroes. So the Committee tackled this phase: The President's Committee said the way to use manpower and improve efficiency would be to use a man where he was needed regardless of his color. You've just come back from Korea, Mr. Hicks. Are Negroes still fighting in their own racial units, or have they been mixed in with white troops?

HICKS Well, Mr. Kenworthy, in the Marine Corps, which comes under the Navy, the situation is very, very healthy.

KENWORTHY You have whites and Negroes fighting side by side in the Marines?

HICKS Yes, I saw Negro marines who went into the Inchon landing completely integrated. I remember one squad which had a Negro squad leader and a Negro BAR man. This BAR man had clung to his grenade launcher at a time when the going was rough and all the other guys in the squad had thrown theirs away. It developed later on, that he was able to save the

HICKS (Cont'd.) entire squad with this grenade launcher by knocking out a machine gun position that had his unit pinned down.

KENWORTHY A year ago I visited Air Force installations, and everywhere I went I found Negroes completely integrated, on the jobs, and in the schools, in barracks and in mess halls. They were doing all the same jobs that the white soldiers were doing. How's the Air Force in Korea?

HICKS This thing is working so beautifully in the Air Force that they actually laugh at the Army. I recall going to a unit in Taegu and seeing an aviation engineer group. There was a colored soldier sitting there, and I walked up to him, and being accustomed to finding all-Negro units, I assumed he was in one. I asked him his job on the base, and he told me he was an engineer. I said, "that's good, now how many other colored units on this base"? He looked at me and smiled and said: "We don't have any colored units on this base--I'm in the aviation engineers." Well, soon a Negro soldier came up who was in the Army, and this fellow smiled at me and said, "there's a man in a colored unit--he's in the Army". It's reached that point--you know how the guy in the Army felt!

KENWORTHY Did you get on any fleet units at all?

HICKS No, I did not. But the Navy, I happen to know, is doing an excellent, completely democratic job.

KENWORTHY How about the Army?

HICKS Well, I was with the Army a good deal of the time, and there the situation is bad, very bad.

HICKS (Cont'd.) You have integration, but the integration has come not because of policy set by the high command, but because of the expediency of battle. You have so many casualties that a general simply looks around for men, and finding only colored men available, puts them in the lines along with the rest.

KENWORTHY Well, Mr. Hicks, I got the impression from several dispatches that when the going got pretty tough, in August, down around Masan and the Southern Coast, and there was danger of a break through, Negroes were pulled out of segregated units and put in white units. Can you verify that?

HICKS In August, last year, the 8th Army got the idea they were going to put some Negroes into white units. I was actually amazed when an 8th Army Inspector-General asked me to come into headquarters and talk with him on this integration. He wanted to get my views on whether or not it would work. He asked me such questions as: How will the Negro people back home feel about this? How will the men we put into these outfits feel, and so on? This is something that is supposed to have been carried out all the time. I told him I thought all this talk was ridiculous. You needed men in these white regiments, and there were colored men available--they were American soldiers, and they were supposed to be trained soldiers, and there was nothing else to do but put them in there. It was then that they began to integrate some men into the 24th, the 35th, and the 27th.

KENWORTHY Well, the basis on which the Committee started out to get integration was that it would be futile to argue the case for integration on moral or intellectual grounds. The Army would always say it agreed with you absolutely, "but, unfortunately, we are not in the business of morals, but warfare. We have to run an efficient Army. Our experience has proved absolutely that racial units are the most efficient, that they give the Negro a better chance to advance--much better than he would have in a white unit, because he hasn't had as good schooling, or as many advantages in civilian life".

HICKS That's a familiar argument.

KENWORTHY Well, when the military says to you this is efficient and that is not, regardless of your feelings, you can't ignore the argument. So we decided from the outset to meet the Army on its own ground, and to examine this whole question of efficiency. When we examined it historically, and in the field, at various camps and installations, we found that segregation was completely inefficient. For instance, the Army never tired of talking about what an inefficient division the 92d was in combat in Italy in World War II. Well, if it was inefficient, it wasn't doing its job, and it was a waste of several thousand men. There was no historical experience the Army could point out, of combat efficiency on the part of the Negro unit. Yet it continued to maintain that it was the only way they could run these things. But when you looked at camps or schools here, the whole argument again broke down.

HICKS Let me raise a question here, if I may--if integration works in Korea--and it does--is it plain simple prejudice, or is it just some general holding things up? You have the Committee's report; you have the President issuing a directive saying this will be done, and yet you don't have it done. I've been an Army officer and I haven't seen orders complied with like that. If an order says this is the way it should be done, then why isn't it done?

KENWORTHY Perhaps that throws some light on the phrase, "the old Army game", because there is a vast difference in the way this order has been carried out. The Navy and the Air Force left no question when they adopted the democratic policies that they were to be carried out. One high Air Force commander said there was no room in the Air Force for any white officer who wouldn't obey this policy. The Navy allows no deviation whatsoever.

HICKS Well, why is it that the Army, then, doesn't stick to this policy it has adopted?

KENWORTHY I think one way the Army has been able to dodge this is through local commanders shifting men from one job to another. In the Navy or Air Force, if a man is trained as engineman, he is not used as ship's carpenter, for instance. But in the Army, people do not always serve in their primary military specialty. It's easy to say "sorry, our radar jobs are all filled. This Negro is a radar specialist, and we have no jobs open for him, but we have a job in a Negro outfit as a truck driver" and therefore

KENWORTHY (Cont'd.) he's shifted to a service unit. The President's Committee recognized the Army had a bigger job than either the Navy or Air Force. It had, proportionately, many more Negroes of lesser skills, because both the Navy and Air Force had higher mental requirements for entrance.. So, it was tougher to break up a Negro service unit of men with lower skills than it was in the Navy to take men who had skills which the service wanted and shift them.

HICKS You've got to start out by saying that every job in the Army is open to every man, regardless of color.

KENWORTHY That was the first point in our four point program. You'd see that the Negro with a skill had a chance to use that skill. Next we wanted every Army school opened to insure the man with potentialities a chance at school training. These were the important steps—to begin with basic training where the jobs were assigned, and to begin with the schools to see that the Army trained the better Negro. Then we said to the Army, take 40 or 50 military specialities in which you desperately need men, and say - "we don't care what a man's color is; we need men who have these skills and insert Negroes in white units. Then the whole thing would begin to break down of its own weight as you progressed The fourth point the Committee went after was the quota system. From the Committee viewpoint, it wasn't important how many Negroes you had in the Army; what was important was that those you had were good soldiers, could do their jobs, and you weren't keeping them, or dismissing them either, because of their color. The Army finally came around and waived its

KENWORTHY (Cont'd.) 10% quota system.

HICKS You know, it's always been a myth that the Negro soldier is happier fighting in a Negro unit.

KENWORTHY Yes, one officer testified before the President's Committee that there need not necessarily be poor morale or low battle efficiency in a racial unit. And, he cited the experience of the Japanese-American unit in Italy which fought so valiantly and won so many decorations. However, Mike Matsuoka, who fought in that unit interrupted this officer to say that the record of the Nisei was not to demonstrate the superiority of the racial unit, but to eliminate segregation. I think the Army should take the leap, and carry out the President's policy.

HICKS That's right, Mr. Kenworthy. The success of the Navy, Marine Corps and Air Force proves it can be done. All this business about esprit de corps in a Negro unit is a lot of poppycock. The best esprit de corps that a Negro soldier gets is as a part of the American Army and not a part of any Negro, segregated unit.

KENWORTHY I agree, his morale is built not on the fact that he is fighting alongside another Negro so much as that he is a part of this entire thing.

HICKS And when you deny him or make him feel that he is a separate part of that army, certainly in my Army experience, it's not something that will raise his morale or build esprit de corps. The young Negroes out there in Korea today fighting under the banner of a segregated regiment want just one kind of Army, a democratic Army.

KENWORTHY It's just a matter of time till the Army comes around to the realization which the Air Force and Navy have proved, that the efficient use of manpower is democratic use. As a result of its examination into the rules, procedures, and practices of the armed services, both past and present, the President's Committee concluded its report by saying, "a policy of equality of treatment and opportunity will make for a better Army, Navy, and Air Force. It is right and just. It will strengthen the nation."

ANNOUNCER You have heard E. W. Kenworthy of the New York Sunday Times and James H. Hicks, of the Baltimore Afro-American discussing equality of treatment and opportunity in the armed services

U. S. Armed Forces

The Research Program

of the

HUMAN RELATIONS DIVISION

HUMAN RESOURCES RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Air Research and Development Command

Department of the Air Force

August 1953
Maxwell AF Base, Alabama

Note: The information contained herein is not an official AF release and it is not for release or publication. This program statement is provided for information only of Sociologists, Social Psychologists and other interested professional groups, and members of the Air Force.

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ORGANIZATION OF THE HUMAN RESOURCES RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama

The Human Resources Research Institute was set up in July 1949 to conduct research in the human resources problems of the Air Force and to assist the Air Force in making use of social science research in general. Its objectives are:

a. To realize the maximum utilization by the Air Force of results wheresoever accomplished in human research.

b. To perform or sponsor necessary study, research, and experimentation to insure improvements in concepts, techniques and methods for personnel utilization and management, including education and career guidance.

c. To perform or sponsor studies or experiments to insure improvements in those aspects of strategic planning, intelligence, and psychological warfare involving knowledge of the human factors.

d. To study means of increasing the effectiveness of the United States Air Force as a deterrent to war.

e. To perform such human resources research and development programs and projects as may be assigned by the Chief of Staff, USAF.

Just as certain units of the Air Force are concerned with research leading to improved aircraft, equipment, and weapons, so is HRRI concerned with research leading to improvement of the human factor in Air Force performance -- for example, better human relations and morale, more adequate officer education, more efficient use of manpower, more effective procedures in the gathering of intelligence, and in the planning of and defense against psychological warfare.

The research function within the Institute is carried out under the Directorate of Research, by six divisions, each responsible for projects in one of the areas of responsibility assigned to the Institute. These are (1) Officer Personnel, (2) Officer Education, (3) Human Relations, (4) Manpower, (5) Strategic Intelligence, and (6) Psychological Warfare. A Technical Services Division within the Research Directorate provides statistical service and advice on experimental design. Overseas detachments were established in Tokyo and Paris in January 1951. The mission of these detachments is to assist in the conduct of human factors research in overseas areas.

The Staff

The Institute	
F. O. Carroll, Major General, USAF	Commander
George W. Croker, Colonel, USAF	Vice Commander
Herman J. Sander, Ph.D.	Acting Research Director
The Human Relations Division	
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Stuart N. Adams, Ph.D.	Asst. Program Officer
George W. Baker, Ph.D.	Asst. Program Officer
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Joseph J. Rosa, Major, USAF (M.A.)	Special Project Officer
Robert W. Hites, Ph.D.	Project Officer
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Edward E. Cureton, Ph.D.	Consultant - Summer '53
E. William Noland, Ph.D.	Consultant - Summer '53

The Human Relations Division

Primary Task:

The Human Relations Division conducts studies into organizational and behavioral factors which influence effectiveness and morale of Air Force units. Since the group rather than the individual is the primary focus, sociology, cultural anthropology, and social psychology provide the disciplinary orientations for the studies. Typically, the method of study is to construct measures of variables and to conduct field experiments, using control and experimental groups, in order to identify factors which may be manipulated to increase effectiveness and morale.

In improving a complex organization such as the Air Force, the studies of the Division contribute to policy decisions, provide guidance to effective leader behavior, indicate the most appropriate organizational set-ups, and produce tools for assessment of various aspects of unit effectiveness. These several contributions are made primarily upon the basis of requests from Air Force "operating" agencies. These include the Inspector General, Directorate of Personnel Planning and of Military Personnel, Headquarters, USAF, and of various other agencies of the Air Defense Command, Strategic Air Command, Air University Command, the Far East Air Force Command, and the USAF European Command.

What are the behavior mechanisms by which an individual gets on with other individuals with whom he works? Just what are the behavior patterns, the attitudes and sentiments, the value system, of different individuals in group interaction -- and how do they relate to job performance? How does the organizational structure of a work unit set limits for the behavior that takes place therein? How do such factors in Air Force performance as executive control, supervision, discipline, work satisfaction, and base-community relationships affect unit effectiveness and morale? -- These are some of the questions under study.

Work Areas

In studying the structure and operation of Air Force units, work can be logically divided into five major areas. These foci, together with the titles of Division research projects falling under each are:

1. Executive Control and Coordination

Rules, regulations and policies of an Air Force unit set forth the way the work of the unit is to be carried out. The tasks of many sub-units must be coordinated to accomplish the over-all unit mission. This process of control and coordination is the focus of study here -- how decision-making can be handled in an optimally cooperative manner; what makes for maximal intra- and inter-unit teamwork; how executive turnover and succession affect interpersonal relationships within the organization; how to organize for optimal communication among units.

Projects:

(a) Productivity and Motivation of Civilian and Military Personnel at AMC Installations (AF 505-036-0007)

(b) Leadership in Combat (AF 505-039-0001)

(c) Factors Affecting the Staff Process of Decision-Making (AF 505-036-0004)

2. Supervision and Discipline

Once set up and staffed, an organization operates through effective supervision and realistic and consistent discipline. A system of rewards and punishments is essential for proper motivation and social control. What are the leader-follower relationships most conducive to maximum performance in various types of work units? How do organizational characteristics define and delimit supervisory activities? What are the situational determinants of satisfactory supervision and discipline?

Projects:

(a) Squadron Human Relations Problems (AF 505-036-0002)

(b) Assessing, Building and Maintaining Discipline (AF 505-036-0008)

(c) Non-Commissioned Officer Responsibilities (AF 505-036-0009)

3. Personal Adjustment and Work Satisfaction

People bring to their Air Force jobs a complex of living habits, experience and training which bears directly and dynamically upon their chances for satisfactory interpersonal adjustment. How do the value systems of civilian life run counter to those of military life? How does the stratification system of the Air Force, described in terms of the interrelationships among rank, power and prestige, impinge upon the motivation and morale of personnel? How do friendship cliques and other reference group affiliations affect on-the-job performance?

Projects:

(a) Communication and Performance (AF 505-036-0003)

(b) Human Relations Factors in Air Force Maintenance Units (AF 505-036-0006)

(c) Studies in Attitudes and Attitude Change (AF 505-036-0010)

(d) Motivation and Integration of New Officers (AF 505-036-0011)

(e) Human Relations Problems of Isolated Air Defense Sites (AF 505-036-0001)

4. Base-Community Relations

The impact of one's family life, community characteristics, and off-the-job activities upon his job performance has been substantially established in industrial situations; the corresponding relationship in military life is recognized but needs clarification and appraisal. How do Air Force policies affect family adjustment? How can commanders utilize the power structure of the host community to accomplish certain ends through community leaders? How can those off-the-job activities which enhance rather than impair one's energy and zest for work best be obtained and promoted? How can Air Force personnel's conduct while overseas be made to gain friends for the United States?

Projects:

(a) Human Factors in Air Force Base Efficiency (AF 505-037-0001)

(b) Air Base-Community (AF 505-037-0002)

5. Measurement of Unit Effectiveness and Morale

Of substantially different focus than the preceding projects in this area are designed solely to develop criterion measures. Progressively better measurement of the two primary variables, unit effectiveness and morale, is a continual task.

Projects:

(a) The Development of Measures of Effectiveness of Air Force Squadrons (AF 505-046-0001)

(b) FEAF Unit Performance Measures (AF 505-039-0002)

Further Conceptualization of Work: An Outline of Concepts and Corresponding Research Projects.

The program of the Human Relations Division has two major foci-- a substantive, problem-solving concern; and a methodological and basic

research emphasis, the latter including problem-finding and research utilization tasks. The following is a systematic outline of concepts which define major topics of study. Opposite each concept are found titles of research reports completed to date or in progress. Abstracts of the completed reports are found in the Bibliography. The number in parenthesis after each completed report refers to the page on which the abstract of the report is found

First Major Focus

Concepts	Research Reports
A. Development of Measures of	
1. Unit effectiveness (i.e., mission accomplishment)	Development of Efficiency Criteria of Air Surveillance Crews (p.22)
	Air Force Operational Records as Criterion Sources (p. 18)
	Productivity and Motivation of Civilian and Military Personnel in AMC Installations (In progress)
2. Morale	
3. Efficiency	Development of An Index of Work Group Efficiency (P.24)
B. Executive Control and Coordination	
1. Rules and Regulations	Some Latent Functions of An Executive Control Device: A Sociological Analysis of a Social System under Stress (p. 33)
	Rate of Promotion: Functioning of An Administrative Arm of AC&W (p.25)
	Personnel Turnover in Relation to Orientation and Morale in a Division of the Air Defense Command (p. 37)

	Occupational Instability, Time Perspective, and Work Effectiveness (In Progress)
	Small Group Integration and Squadron Organization (In progress)
2. Staff Process	General Factors Influencing the Effectiveness of the Staff Process: A Survey of the Opinions of Experienced Staff Officers (p.37)
	Case Studies of Two Air Force Staffs (p. 38)
	The Command Process-Division and Squadron (In progress)
3. Decision-making	Occupational Instability and Decision-Making (In progress)
4. Communication Networks	
a. Formal channels	Human Relations at AC&W Sites, Vol. VI, Organization and Communication (p. 23)
5. Organizational Structure	
a. Type	Attitudes toward Two Systems of Aircraft Maintenance Resistance to Organizational Change (In progress)
	The Organization of Air Base Service Activities (In progress)
	Attitudes Toward Selected Elements of Organization and the Performance of Bomb Squadrons (In progress)
	Some Observations of Change and Adjustment in Bomb Wing Organization (In progress)
b. Size	

c. Spatial arrangement and geography	
d. Allocation and Stratification	Social Stratification in a USAF Base (p.31)
	The Effects of Status Differentials Upon Cooperation (p.39)
	Personnel Policies and Organizational Needs: A Case for System Analysis (In progress)
(1) Power	
(2) Authority	The Organization of Executive Action: Authority, Power, and Wing Integration (p.33)
(3) Rank	The First Sergeant in the USAF (p. 32)
(4) Position	
(5) Office	
(6) Influence	
(7) Prestige	
(8) Esteem	
(9) Mobility	
6. Inter-Unit Coordination	The Coordination of the Air Base Supply and Maintenance Activities (In progress)
	The Coordination of Flying Activities in Bomb Wings: Integration and Performance (In progress)
	The Coordination of Maintenance Activities in Bomb Wings: Integration and Performance (In progress)

C. Supervision and Discipline

1. Leadership-Followership

Human Relations at AC&W Sites, Vol. VII, Leadership (p. 24)

Measuring Followers' Perceptions of Leaders' Human Relations-Mindedness in A Military Organization (p. 25)

Conceptions of Official Leader Roles in the Air Force (p. 25)

Incidents of Leadership in Combat Vol. I, Human Relations (p. 16)

Incidents of Leadership in Combat, Vol. II, Communication (p. 17)

Incidents of Leadership in Combat, Vol. III, Personal Conduct (p. 17)

Incidents of Leadership in Combat, Vol. IV, Organization and Planning (P. 17)

Incidents of Leadership in Combat Vol. V, Administration and Supervision of Duties (p. 17)

Incidents of Leadership in Combat, Vol. VI, Execution of Duties (p. 18)

Situational Elements in Combat Leadership (p. 18)

Acceptance of Aims of the Korean Campaign (p. 15)

Perception of Human Relations--Leadership at the Squadron CO Level (In progress)

Non-commissioned Officer Responsibilities (In progress)

	Differential Perception and Leadership Types (In progress)
2. Social Controls	Factors Affecting the Performance of Leadership among Air Force Non-Commissioned Officers (p. 46)
a. Rewards	
b. Punishment	Attitudes Toward Promotion in AC&W Sites (In progress)
3. Communication Process	
a. Informal, "grapevine"	Human Relations at AC&W Sites, Vol. V, A Study of small group Integration (p. 23)
	Internal Orientation in a Large Military Organization (p. 37)
	Internal Orientation of Squadrons in an Air Division of the Air Defense Command (p. 37)
	AWOL Rates, Motivation and Unit Esprit (In progress)
D. Personal Adjustment and Work Satisfactions	Human Relations at AC&W Sites, Vol. II, Personnel Problems (p. 21)
	Human Relations at AC&W Sites, Vol. III, Needs of Site Personnel (p. 22)
	Career Choice and Job Satisfaction: A Study of the Military Man (p. 26)
	Attitudes and Adjustment Problems of a Sample of Newly Commissioned AROTC Officers Assigned to Maxwell Air Force Base, Summer 1951 (p. 29)
	Attitudes and Judgments of Some Lieutenants Related to Present Active Duty Intentions (p. 43)

	Influence of An Indoctrination Course on Active Duty Attitudes (p. 44)
	The Active Duty Intentions of Some ARDC Lieutenants (AFROTC) Related to Several Service-Associated Variables (p. 45)
	Job Adjustment in Radar Operations (In progress)
	Comparison of Supervisor's and Subordinates' Rating of Work Situations in ARDC (In progress)
	Interpersonal Relations and Work Effectiveness (In progress)
1. Value Systems	
2. Reference Group Indentification	Behavior Standards of USAFE Personnel (p. 29)
	Behavior Standards of USAFE Personnel (Summary) (p. 29)
	Some Patterns of Bomb Squadron Culture (In progress)
a. Friendship Cliques	Friendship Cliques in U.S. Air Force Wings (p. 30)
b. Status Classes	Status Classes, Morale and Performance in a Bomb Wing (p. 32)
c. Identification with Unit and Air Force	Attitudes of Regular and Reserve Officers toward the Korean Campaign (p. 15)
	Disappointments Related to Active Duty Intentions (In progress)
	Situational Factors and Attitudes Expressed toward Duty with ARDC (In progress)

d. Prestige Ranking of Types of Units	Prestige Structure of an Air Base: Squadron Rankings and Morale (p. 33)
	Squadron Prestige, Interaction and Morale (In progress)
3. Background Factors	JADF Survey (A Report on the Findings of a Research Team Survey of Human Relations at Japan Air Defense Force Sites in the Summer of 1952. (p. 26)
	Background personnel Factors, Unit Position, and Internal Orientation (In progress)
4. Military-Civilian Employee Relationships	
E. Base-Community Relations	
1. Off-Duty Activity	Off-Duty Activities and the USAF Mission: A Survey of 10 USAF Bases and Their Host Community Settings (p. 34)
	A Manual for the Survey of Off-Duty Activities and Off-Duty Needs (p. 34)
2. Family Life	
a. Characteristics	The Family Life of Officers and Airmen in a Bomb Wing (p. 31)
b. Mutual Impingement with the Air Force	Human Relations at AC&W Sites, Vol. VIII, Family Adjustment to Military Life (p. 24)
3. Community	
a. Facilities for Air Force Use	
b. Community-Base Integration	

(1) Associational membership	
(2) Community power structure	Host Community and Air Force Base (p. 32) Air Force Base Participation Project: Report on Turner Air Force Base (p. 35) The Air Site and the Community (In progress)
c. Community-Base Interpersonal Relations	
(1) Cultural, racial, ethnic differences	Anthropological Survey of Neah Bay, Washington, November 1951 (p. 26)
(2) Physical disturbances	
(3) Economic system disturbances	
4. Assignment to Foreign Country	
a. Intercultural Relationships	Attitudes of FEAF Personnel Toward Natives (p. 15) Attitudes of Men at AC&W Sites in Japan (p. 27) The U.S. Air Force in England (p. 30) Attitudes Toward Presence of Air Force Dependents in the Far Eastern Theatre of Operations (p. 15)
b. Adjustment to climate and geography	

Second Major Focus

Concepts	Research Reports
A. Methodology	A Method for Determining Dispersion Scores in Attitude Measurement (p. 43) A Method for the Analysis of Small Samples (P. 28)

Criteria of Military Leadership: A Factor Analysis of Rating Scale Variables (p. 19)

Avoiding Spuriousness in Biserial Correlations Used as Coefficients of Internal Consistency (p. 19)

A Systematic Procedure for Categorizing Descriptive Material (p. 19)

The Establishment of Critical Requirements for Air Force Combat Leadership Through Use of the Critical Incident Technique (p. 20)

An Index of Crystallization (p. 43)

Some Experiences with the Group Interview (p. 30)

Sociometric Pilot Study (In progress)

Sampling Differences in Sociometric Observation (In progress)

Speed and Accuracy of Work Communication - A Problem of Criterion Measurement (In progress)

B. Basic Research

Experimental Investigation of the Effect of Group Properties Upon Individual and Group Recall (p. 39)

The Effects of Different Probabilities of Success Upon the Group Problem-Solving Process Under Varying Conditions. (p. 40)

Differential Definitions of Situations, Commitments, and Actions (p. 45)

Some Functional Consequences of Primary Controls in Formal Work Organization (p. 28)

Some of the Assumptions Underlying Administrative Theory (p. 39)

Experiments Dealing With Group Conditions Making For Conformity: An Analysis of Group Decision and Attitude Change (p. 40)

Experiments Dealing with Group Conditions Making for Conformity: The Nature of Group Norms and Attitude Change (p. 40)

Experiments Dealing with Group Conditions Making for conformity: Perception of Group Consensus and Tolerance for Own Non-Conformity (p. 41)

Experiments Dealing with Group Conditions Making for Conformity: The Nature of Conformity (p. 41)

Attitudes as the Perceived Means for Attaining Individual Goals: Predicting Attitude Position as a Function of Value (p. 41)

Personality Determinants and Ego Defensiveness in Relation to Attitude Change: Rational Persuasion Compared with Authoritarian Suggestion (p. 42)

Personality Determinants and Ego Defensiveness in Relation to Attitude Change: Rational Persuasion Compared with Self-Insight (p. 42)

Initiating and Maintaining Research Relations in a Military Organization (p. 34)

The Shaping of Research Design in Large Scale Group Research (p. 28)

C. Exploratory Research

Analysis of FEAF Critical Incidents with Emphasis on Situational Variables (p. 20)

Incidents of Organizational Confusion in Combat (p. 20)

Bibliography of Military Leadership (p. 21)

Squadron Human Relations Problems: What They Are, and What They Mean to Squadron Operations (p. 35)

Some Preliminary Findings from the Study of Human Relations Problems of Squadrons (p. 36)

Human Factors Affecting the Air War Effort (p. 16)

A Survey Report on Military Management Problems in Aircraft Control and Warning Stations in the Air Defense Command (p. 28)

D. Study of Research Utilization

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abstracts of Completed Reports

505-044-0002

Acceptance of the Aims of the Korean Campaign. Daniel L. Camp, Classified. (Pub.)

This report describes the attitudes toward the Korean campaign held by Air Force personnel in the war theatre and explores the reasons why the men felt as they did.

Attitudes of Regular and Reserve Officers Toward the Korean Campaign. John K. Folger. Classified. (Pub.)

This is a report on certain differences between regulars and reserves in the Air Force, particularly with respect to morale and attitudes related to performance.

Attitudes of FEAF Personnel Toward Natives. Abbott L. Ferriss. Classified. 1952 (Pub.)

This reports on the attitudes of Air Force personnel in Korea and native Koreans toward each other. Some of the variables considered were

(1) frequency of contact between the two groups
(2) location of base
(3) background factors of Air Force personnel

Attitudes Toward Presence of Air Force Dependents in the Far Eastern Theatre of Operations. Francis J. Di Vesta. Classified. 1952 (Pub.)

This is a study of the effects on both personnel and operations of having dependents in the theatre of operations. Conclusions are tentative, based on limited data, but shed some light on policy regarding the disposition of families while troops are overseas. Major findings are:

(1) Presence of dependents in theatre increased morale of men with their dependents with them, but decreased the morale of the married men who did not have their dependents with them.
(2) The policy of having wives in the theatre was favored least by single men, next by married men with wives elsewhere, and most by married men with wives with them.

(3) Job satisfaction was highest among airmen with wives at the base.
(4) Men with dependents in the theatre in general felt that the presence of these dependents

((a)) did not hamper their "personal well-being"
((b)) did not cause them to work less hard
((c)) did not cause them to worry

(5) Officers worried more about their dependents than did airmen.
(6) The over-all view seems to point to the wisdom of an "all or none" policy (i.e., the majority of married personnel would benefit if all wives are permitted in the theatre or none is permitted)

Human Factors Affecting the Air War Effort, A Brief Summary of a Study of FEAF Personnel at a Critical Period in the Korean War. Classified. 1952 (Pub.)

This is a report on the findings of the Air University Far East Research Group on its visit to Japan, Korea and Okinawa during December, 1950 and January, 1951. Some of the topics investigated were:

(1) Commitment to war aims
(2) Dependents in the war zone
(3) Job satisfaction
(4) Intra- and Inter-unit Cooperation
(5) Morale

505-039-0001

Incidents of Leadership in Combat, Vol. 1, Human Relations. Floyd L. Ruch. January, 1953. (Pub.)

This is a report on a series of incidents demonstrating effective and ineffective leadership by Air Force officers in the Far Eastern combat zone (Korean War). Incidents were grouped into

(1) Backing up subordinates or standing by superiors
(2) Attending to welfare of subordinates
(3) Showing consideration for feelings of others
(4) Showing impartiality
(5) Keeping promises

Incidents of Leadership in Combat, Vol. II, Communication. Floyd L. Ruch. Classified. February, 1953 (Pub.)

This is a report on a series of incidents demonstrating effective and ineffective leadership by Air Force Officers in the Korean War. Incidents were grouped into

(1) Giving information
(2) Seeking information
(3) Accepting suggestions or information from others
(4) Teaching men how to perform duties

Incidents of Leadership in Combat, Vol. III, Personal Conduct. Floyd L. Ruch. Classified. February, 1953 (Pub.)

This reports a series of incidents demonstrating effective and ineffective leadership by Air Force officers in the Korean War. Incidents were grouped into the following categories:

(1) Letting drink affect performance of duty
(2) Behaving in disorderly manner
(3) Violating military ethics
(4) Assuming undue authority
(5) Exhibiting courage or cowardice

Incidents of Leadership in Combat, Vol. IV, Organization and Planning. Floyd L. Ruch. June, 1953 (Pub.)

This is a report on a series of incidents demonstrating effective and ineffective leadership by Air Force officers in the Korean War. Incidents were grouped into the following categories:

(1) Organizing and coordinating activities
(2) Planning ahead
(3) Originating new methods and devices
(4) Adjusting to situation
(5) Making decisions

Incidents of Leadership in Combat, Vol. V, Administration and Supervision of Duties. Floyd L. Ruch. June 1953 (Pub.)

This reports on a series of incidents demonstrating effective and ineffective leadership by Air Force officers in the Korean War. Incidents were grouped into the following categories:

(1) Utilizing materiel and personnel
(2) Delegating authority
(3) Administering punishment or corrective action
(4) Employing verbal devices to effect harmony and motivation

Incidents of Leadership in Combat, Vol. VI, Execution of Duties. Floyd L. Ruch. June, 1953. (Pub.)

This is a report on a series of incidents demonstrating effective and ineffective leadership by Air Force officers in the Korean War. Incidents were grouped into the following categories:

(1) Demonstrating proficiency in flying assignments.
(2) Demonstrating proficiency in non-flying assignments.
(3) Volunteering for or neglecting duty.
(4) Performing duties with dispatch.
(5) Persevering on the job.
(6) Participating in activities of unit.
(7) Failing to observe established lines of authority.
(8) Disregarding orders given specific to an occasion, mission, or task.
(9) Disregarding established orders generally in force in unit.
(10) Standing by ethical and legal principles in carrying out duties.

Air Force Operational Records as Criterion Sources. Jean Maier. (MS)

The two major problems in using operational records are (a) their inaccuracy, and (b) their incompleteness. Among specific difficulties are (1) lack of agreement in records between different levels or echelons; (2) subjectivity in reporting such items as (a) reasons for aborts, (b) per cent of cloud cover, (c) severity of enemy resistance; and (3) inadequacy of historical records for personnel sampling purposes. Eight specific recommendations are made for improving the data-collection and data-handling jobs.

Situational Elements in Combat Leadership. Bruce Pringle (MS)

Air Force officers were asked in interviews to recall incidents of effective and ineffective leadership on the part of fellow officers in the combat theatre. Analysis of these incidents revealed certain situational elements which were related to effectiveness and type of leadership behavior, chief of which were:

(1) social characteristics of the leader
(2) kind and number of people involved in the incident
(3) emergency and morale conditions at the time

Criteria of Military Leadership: I. A Factor Analysis of Rating Scale Variables. Norman E. Willmorth and Wallace B. Lindelien. (MS)

The work reported here stemmed from the hypothesis that military leadership is a complex of behavior rather than one generalized way of behaving. Content analyses of the critical incidents collected in FEAF of good and poor leadership in combat produced 34 critical requirements. These requirements were factor analyzed, producting the following six measures

(1) Proficiency in leadership activities
(2) Military service
(3) Interpersonal Relations
(4) Responsiblèness
(5) Ethical officer conduct - Self-discipline
(6) Command presence

Avoiding Spuriousness in Biserial Correlations Used as Coefficients of Internal Consistency. J. W. Holley and E. W. Taylor. (MS)

This is a report on methods for eliminating the spurious effect in an item test correlation caused by leaving the item in the total test score. The two methods suggested, each involving less labor than that of re-scoring the test to omit the given item, are:

(1) A simple device involving the relationships between total score distribution of those who "pass" an item and those who "fail" it.
(2) Adjusted biserial and point-biserial formulas which require only those preliminary values ordinarily obtained for the computation of item-test biserial correlation.

A Systematic Procedure for Categorizing Descriptive Material. Bruce Pringle. (MS)

The methodological technique for classifying descriptive data reported in this paper differs from traditional content analysis in two ways:

(1) The categories used are derived directly from the materials themselves instead of being set up on an a priority basis.
(2) The judgments of several individuals are used in order to increase the objectivity of decisions, in contrast to the one or two persons ordinarily used in content analysis.

The Establishment of Critical Requirements for Air Force Combat Leadership Through the Use of the Critical Incident Technique. Robert Reveal, Jr. (MS)

The aim of the study was to describe Air Force combat leadership in terms of behavior associated with effective and ineffective leadership performance on the part of officer personnel. This report should

(1) provide valuable hypotheses for developing selection devices.
(2) furnish items useful in evaluating combat leadership performance.
(3) provide valuable material for the training of future combat leaders.

Analysis of FEAF Critical Incidents with Emphasis on Situational Variables. Bruch Pringle. (MS)

This reports on an analysis of the critical incidents of combat leadership collected from officers in FEAF to determine whether certain situational and personal elements in the incidents were associated with effectiveness and type of leadership.

Significant differences in frequency between effective and ineffective incidents were associated with thirteen variables, and significant differences in type of behavior were found to be associated with nineteen variables.

The study uncovered certain variables that need to be considered in the selection of Air Force officers and the evaluation of their leadership performance. The results also suggest areas and factors that might be emphasized in the training of future Air Force leaders.

Incidents of Organizational Confusion in Combat. Floyd L. Ruch. (MS)

This is a list of 189 incidents of confusion in combat reported by officers on active duty in FEAF in October, 1951. These incidents are grouped into the following categories:

(1) Inadequate organization and coordination
(2) Poor planning
(3) Faulty communication
(4) Inappropriate personnel policies
(5) Insufficient or incorrect supplies and equipment
(6) Wrong number of personnel
(7) Inexperienced or unqualified personnel
(8) Inadequate training

Bibliography on Military Leadership, Annotations of Selected Studies from Scientific, Technical and Related Publications. Floyd L. Ruch. (MS)

This is an annotated bibliography resulting from an extensive review of the literature in areas related to combat leadership in the Air Force.

505-036-0001

Human Relations at AC&W Sites, Vol. I, Summary of Findings: An Interim Report of the First Year's Work. Delbert C. Miller. Classified. October, 1952. (Pub.) Reports outlined in this report are:

(1) Major Personnel Problems.
(2) Morale and Personnel Problem Scales and Relationships.
(3) Effective Military Performance with Aircraft Control and Warning Stations.
(4) Personal History (of Air Force Personnel)
(5) Job Adjustment.
(6) Group Integration.
(7) Leadership.
(8) Organization and Communication.
(9) Family and Community.
(10) Description of Over-All Problem of Project.
(11) Research Design of Project.
(12) Description of the Research Population.
(13) Suggestions for Improvement of AC&W Stations.

Human Relations at AC&W Sites, Vol. II, Personnel Problems. Delbert C. Miller. Classified. December, 1952. (Pub.)

The major personnel problems facing an ADC Division in May and June of 1952 were

(1) Leisure time spending.
(2) Career
(3) Living conditions off site.
(4) Work activity.

Isolation of base site was found to be related to frequency of certain types of problems, such as:

(1) Transportation, recreation (both on and off the site) and living conditions off the site. All these pose more serious problems in isolated areas than at non-isolated sites.
(2) Promotion. Promotion is held to be a more serious problem at non-isolated sites than at isolated ones.

Problems whose intensity did not vary with degree of site isolation were:

(1) Air Force's interference with civilian career
(2) Job classification
(3) Job dissatisfaction
(4) Job assignment
(5) Extra duties
(6) G. I. regulations

Human Relations at AC&W Sites, Vol. III, Needs of Site Personnel. Delbert C. Miller. Classified. December, 1952 (Pub.)

This is a follow-up to the report on "Personnel Problems" (immediately above) and sets forth recommendations for improving ADC sites. Chief suggestions are these:

(1) Increase the opportunities for creative and divertive activities while minimizing the opportunity for disintegrative activities.
(2) With the accomplishment of this in mind as a goal, attention needs to be paid to the type of community an AC&W site should be to provide maximum performance. The five types discussed were:

((a)) limited purpose organization
((b)) symbiotic community
((c)) marginal community
((d)) small isolated community
((e)) regimented community

(3) Select only those personnel for assignment to AC&W sites who can adjust satisfactorily to the characteristic "deprivations"

Human Relations at AC&W Sites, Vol. IV, Development of Efficiency Criteria of Air Surveillance Crews. Charles D. McGlamery. Classified. December, 1952. (Pub.)

The time required for the complete operation of the communication net from scope operator to recorder was made and used as a measure of crews efficiency. The rationale in support of this holds that speed in communicating essential information is one element of crew efficiency which is related to the degree of cooperation among members of the crew. Holding constant traffic loads and other condition variables, crews are compared on efficiency by this time factor, which is recognized, of course, as being only one of many criteria needed for evaluating crew performance.

Human Relations at AC&W Sites, Vol. V, A Study of Small Group Integration. Edward Gross, Herman J. Loether and L. Wes Wagner. (MS) The study was designed to answer such questions as:

(1) What are the characteristics of groups with high integration?
(2) What are the characteristics of groups with low integration?
(3) How do these two types of groups differ?

It should shed light on

(1) factors making for conflict and cooperation and how these factors operate
(2) informal organization in structures of all kinds
(3) the dynamics of social change

It should assist the Air Force

(1) in dealing with the problem of lack of pride in organization, especially the seemingly serious ones at AC&W sites
(2) by helping commanders understand and deal with intra-group and intra-work section conflicts, and, in turn,
(3) by helping commanders build their work groups into coherent, cooperative units.

Human Relations at AC&W Sites, Vol. VI, Organization and Communication. Orvis Collins, Alvin S. Lackey and David S. Bushnell. (MS)

This project is an exploration of the relationships between administrative action and morale and motivation. The level of morale and motivation is regarded as being related to the manner in which administrative actions are carried out. The assumption is made that every administrative action may be viewed both in terms of the immediate objective toward which it is directed and in terms of its total impact upon the effectiveness and efficiency of the organization. Specific findings to date are:

(1) Conformity to Air Force values in the areas of Customs of the Service and Rights and Privileges is positively correlated with rank.
(2) There is a certain optimum time period between promotions within which satisfaction with the promotion system is at its peak. That is, the waiting time of a man's next-to-last promotion seems to have a distinct significance: attitudes toward the promotion system grow more unfavorable as total time since the next-to-last promotion is increased.

Human Relations at AC&W Sites, Vol. VII, Leadership. F. James Davis. (MS)

The general thesis of this project is that leader-follower interaction is influenced by the expectations each brings to leader-follower situations. The researchers seek to answer the question: Do persons in officially designated leader roles agree with their followers as to how the leader should act? Next they related the degree of this agreement between leader and follower to follower adjustment, and the actual behavior of leaders to their own role-conceptions.

Human Relations at AC&W Sites, Vol. VIII, Family Adjustment to Military Life. Shirley Willis. January, 1953. (MS)

The primary objective of this study was to describe military family life with respect to three specific problems:

(1) marital adjustment.
(2) the relation of marital adjustment to morale.
(3) marital adjustment and personal adjustment.

Early analysis of the data collected indicated that the effects of Air Force life on ten areas of family living in which problems frequently arise ranged from "good" to "bad". The needs most frequently mentioned were:

(1) adequate housing facilities.
(2) medical treatment for their families.
(3) commissary.
(4) stability of assignment.

Development of an Index of Work Group Efficiency. Charles D. McGlamery. (MS)

Speed and accuracy of communication in the process of radar detection of aircraft at AC&W sites were selected as factors or criteria to be measured in the development of a work group efficiency index. Speed of communication was determined by measuring with a stop watch the time required for information to travel through two of the three communication circuits involved in the radar detection process (one of the circuits was omitted because of its simplicity: It included only two positions in the communication chain). Accuracy was measured by comparing the number of aircraft movement calls made by radar operators during a specified time interval with the number of those calls which were recorded in the log.

Rate of Promotion Functioning of An Administrative Arm of AC&W. Orvis Collins. (MS)

The problem here is to evaluate the functioning of the promotion system in AC&W in terms of its fulfillment of the following generally accepted characteristics of an adequate promotion system:

(1) Sufficient differentiation among individuals so that members of the organization will believe that a process of selection is taking place.
(2) Assurance that men are selected for promotion on the basis of their contribution to the mission of the organization.
(3) Elimination of possibilities of bias in promotions due to individual sponsorship, social prejudice, or to "accidents" in the functioning of the organization.

Measuring Followers' Perception of Leaders' Human Relations-Mindedness in a Military Organization. Nahum Z. Medalia. (MS)

This paper reports on the development of an instrument for measuring one's perception of his leader's human relations-mindedness, and discusses some test results which bear on its validity and reliability. Two interrelated emphases of the human relations approach to leadership are: (1) to obtain spontaneous (i.e., uncoerced) cooperation from followers, and (2) to achieve adequate communication with followers.

Conceptions of Official Leader Roles in the Air Force. F. James Davis. (MS)

This study follows the assumption that interaction between officially designated leaders and their followers is influenced by situational factors, one of the most important of which is role-conception and, particularly, the extent of agreement between the occupant of a role and his subordinates regarding how the role should be played. The basic question is: Do persons in official leader roles agree with their followers as to how the leader should perform his duties, and is the degree of agreement associated with follower adjustment? Results indicate some agreement between follower adjustment and consistency of definition between leader and follower regarding the leader's role.

Career Choice and Job Satisfaction: A Study of the Military Man. David S. Bushnell. (MS)

Six demographic variables, ten additudinal questions concerning general Air Force experiences, and six items about one's job were related to career intent of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Class Airmen, as a preliminary to designing a more rigorous study of the factors associated with, and perhaps causing, one's plans to remain in or leave the Service.

This exploratory study indicated that, insofar as demographic factors were concerned, the recruit most likely to make the Air Force his career would

(1) have entered the service at an early age.
(2) have less than twelve years of formal education.
(3) be now between 20 and 25 years of age.
(4) be married rather than single.
(5) have had an original intent to make the Air Force a career.
(6) have a positive feeling toward his daily activities.

JADF Survey (A Report on the Findings of a Research Team Survey of Human Relations at Japan Air Defense Force Sites in the Summer of 1952). Edward Gross and Orvis F. Collins. (MS)

This report describes an AC&W contingent stationed in Japan on a variety of items, some of the more interesting ones being:

(1) social backgrounds and experience
(2) attitudes toward "deprivation" variables
(3) attitudes toward air site variables
(4) attitudes toward the Japanese and their relations with the Japanese.

Anthropological Survey of Neah Bay, Washington, November, 1951. Richard D. Daugherty. (MS)

This is a report of the results of a three-day investigation into the attitudes and grievances of the Indians at Neah Bay, Washington, toward the Air Force Personnel stationed on their reservation at that time (November, 1951). Primary findings are:

(1) Possession of liquor on the reservation by Air Force personnel, when it was prohibited for the Indians, is perhaps the greatest single source of friction between Indians and military people.
(2) The Indians felt that U.S. Government payments for land leased to the Air Force were too low.

(3) The Indians were upset by soldiers' carrying firearms on the reservation and firing them "for kicks".
(4) A recreation program is badly needed for both Indians and Air Force personnel.
(5) Air Force personnel shifts at this site should be staggered: changes in the past on an entire-group basis have resulted in tensions and "incidents" related to adjustment of incoming new personnel.

Attitudes of Men at AC&W Sites in Japan. Edward Gross and Orvis F. Collins. (MS)

This is a report on a survey of attitudes towards various aspects of living expressed by a sample of Air Force personnel stationed at six AC&W bases in Japan in the Fall of 1952.

Favorableness of attitudes toward the Air Force was related to such factors as:

(1) rank (the higher the rank, the more favorable the attitude).
(2) career plans (choosing the Air Force as a career is positively associated with favorable attitudes).
(3) length of time overseas (those who had just arrived or had been overseas a long time were most negative).
(4) rural-urban origin (men with rural backgrounds were more favorable).
(5) marital status (married men were more favorable).
(6) isolation of site (the more isolated the site, the more favorable).
(7) size of site (the larger the site, the less favorable).
(8) age of site (the older the site, the less favorable the attitude toward the site).
(9) change of CO at site (the more often changed, the more favorable the attitude toward the site).
(10) extremes in weather (the more extreme the weather the more favorable the attitude toward the site).

Favorableness of attitudes toward the Japanese people was found to be related to:

(1) rank (the higher the rank, the more favorable).
(2) career plans (those planning a career in the Air Force had more favorable attitudes toward Japanese).
(3) length of time overseas (the longer overseas, the less favorable the attitude toward Japanese).

A Method for the Analysis of Small Samples. Edward Gross, Herman J. Loether and Duane N. Strinden. (MS)

This is a description of the way the binomial expansion can be used to determine the chance distribution of groups of different size and composition. This is important when one must deal with small samples and decide whether or not the distribution he finds empirically is significantly different from that which could appear by chance.

Some Functional Consequences of Primary Controls in Formal Work Organization. Edward Gross. (MS)

This study advances the theme that primary (i.e., informal) controls may have a constructive and even necessary place within formal organizations and that they make their appearance, in fact, when formal controls prove inadequate.

It is pointed out that formal control manifests itself in three ways, and discussion revolves around how each of these three instituted controls may break down or prove inadequate, and how, in each case, primary controls then make their appearance. Examples are drawn from a manufacturing plant and an air site in the Air Defense Command.

A Survey Report on Military Management Problems in Aircraft Control and Warning Stations in the Air Defense Command. F. James Davis, Edward Gross and Delbert C. Miller. (MS)

This is the report of a survey, lasting six weeks and employing interviews and observation, made at seven AC&W Sites in the 25th Air Division of the Air Defense Command between July 23, 1951 and September 1, 1951.

The major operating problems are defined by the site personnel are (1) recreation; (2) job dissatisfaction; (3) transportation off site; and (4) job malclassification.

The most frequent needs are defined by site personnel are (1) recreation; (2) better leaders; and (3) career needs.

On the bases of research areas uncovered, the major sectors of research in the areas of military management problems are: (1) career and job requirements; (2) organization and communication; (3) leadership; and (4) morale and motivation.

The Shaping of Research Design in Large Scale Group Research. Delbert C. Miller. (MS)

This paper examines some of the problems and opportunities in the shaping of research design posed by a large scale group research project. The four major factors which were discussed are: (a) the characteristic imperatives of group research, which include the restrictions of interdependent research relationships and the demands of a

strict time schedule; (b) the personal wants of researchers, their motivations and the role of the research director; (c) the demands of education; and (d) the accumulation of research and theoretical knowledge.

505-044-0004

Behavior Standards of USAFE Personnel. Nathan Maccoby. Classified. August, 1952. (MS)

This report describes and attempts to analyze and explain the behavior of USAF personnel in England, France and Germany, in three areas--blackmarketing, drinking, and sex.

Behavior Standards of USAFE Personnel (Summary). Nathan Maccoby. Classified. September, 1952. (MS)

This is a summary of the August, 1952, report bearing the same title (see report immediately above). Suggestions are made for needed further research in this area, the two chief ones being:

(1) Study of differences in behavior standards of USAF personnel in the ZI and abroad, to discover why these changes occur when personnel are sent overseas and how they can be controlled.
(2) Study of the roles of certain staff officers--Chaplain, Surgeon, Air Judge Advocate, Inspector General -- in controlling these behavior changes.

Attitudes and Adjustment Problems of a Sample of Newly-Commissioned AFROTC Officers Assigned to Maxwell Air Force Base, Summer 1951. Fred R. Crawford. Classified. (MS)

Career and non-career oriented officers differ basically in many significant attitudes and opinions:

(1) The career officer accepts the Air Force culture; the acceptance by the non-career man is only nominal.
(2) The career man places great value on the Air Force and the opportunities it offers; the non-career officer feels that his opportunity lies in civilian life.
(3) The career officer is generally satisfied with his job; the non-career person is not.
(4) The career man is interested in flying; the non-career officer is not.
(5) The career officer is not bothered by possible overseas assignments; the non-career man dislikes overseas assignments and the possibility of combat.

(6) The career man feels that he has much to offer the Air Force; the non-career officer feels that his abilities are not being properly utilized.

505-037-0001

The U.S. Air Force in England. Richard L. Simpson and N. J. Demerath. Classified. (MS)

This is an analysis of stress in USAF-RAF relations at air bases in England in terms of:

(1) clashing personalities of USAF and RAF commanders.
(2) faulty communication.
(3) inadequate administrative preparation of both organizations for SAC TDY missions.
(4) lack of intercultural understanding.
(5) relatively unrestrained behavior of USAF personnel.
(6) economic status differences between the two groups.

Some Experiences with the Group Interview. James D. Thompson and N J. Demerath. (MS)

This paper reports experiences of the authors and other social science researchers in interviewing people in groups rather than individually. Among the advantages the group interview appears to offer are:

(1) It makes for economy of time and manpower.
(2) It tends to produce more precise answers.
(3) It helps uncover hidden assumptions on which statements are based.

Among its disadvantages are:

(1) Its inability to tap private attitudes of group members towards each (i.e., the referent must be external to the group).
(2) Difficulty of scheduling and holding it together long enough for an adequate data collection job to be done.

Friendship Cliques in U.S. Air Force Wings. Richard L. Simpson. (MS)

This is a study of how friendship cliques form and the part they play in organizational performance. On the positive side, friendship cliques make for

(1) satisfaction with the Air Force through the feeling of belonging to an important organization.
(2) desire for esteem, which amounts to one's placing a high value on performing his job well.
(3) efficiency through informal work routines.
(4) essential informal communication.

On the negative side, cliques can result in

(1) favoritism
(2) disturbing rumors
(3) impairment of upward communication
(4) resultant lower morale

Social Stratification of a U.S. Air Force Base. Ramond W. Mack. (MS)

This is a description of the stratification system on a U. S. Air Force base and how it is functionally related, through morale and integration, to performance. Specifically, the analysis has three parts:

(1) Description of the hierarchy of positions in terms of four elements of the stratification system: authority; influence; prestige; esteem.
(2) Discussion of areas of stress within and between these four elements.
(3) Reduction of these stresses and integration of functions through ((a)) the balance of these elements with each other, and ((b)) such adjustment mechanisms as social mobility.

The Family Life of Officers and Airmen in a Bomb Wing, Ruth Lindquist. October, 1952. (MS)

This is a study of the interrelatedness of the work situation, family life, and community facilities of personnel in a bomb wing in the Strategic Air Command. Some of the more important factors studied were:

(1) In the work situation: the status system
command patterns
TDY policies
promotion policies
(2) In family life: intra - and inter-family relationships
family values
child-bearing attitudes and practices
child-rearing attitudes and practices
financial planning, spending, saving

(3) In air base and host community facilities:
recreation
housing
transportation
consumer buying

Status Classes, Morale, and Performance in the USAF. James D. Thompson and Richard L. Simpson. October, 1952. (MS)

This is a description of how allocation of personnel, rewards and authority make for status class distinctions--regular-reservist; military-civilian; top three graders-lower enlisted men; flying personnel-ground personnel; old-young; married-single; officer-airman-and how resulting cleavages deleteriously affect morale and performance.

The First Sergeant in the USAF. Kenneth Karcher, Jr. Classified. October, 1952. (MS)

The job of the first sergeant is defined by three personnel components: the sergeant himself and his peers; his superiors; and his subordinates; and analyzed to determine the extent of potential role conflict in the position. The relationship of position adequacy is studied, defined in terms of the extent of agreement or contradiction between the demands or expectations of one's superiors and subordinates, to one's perception of the role requirements of his job. Some of the more suggestive findings were:

(1) Officers tended to favor less authority for the first sergeant than did others.
(2) There was considerable disagreement among the first sergeant's peers, superiors, and subordinates regarding the relationship of the first sergeant to the adjutant.
(3) First sergeants displayed greater concern for the personal needs of the airmen than other expected.
(4) Role conflict in a position such as that of the first sergeant actually is related to the structure of the organization.
(5) Evidence was found that perception of role requirements must be thought of in terms of specific role areas and not in terms of a general ability to perceive any and all requirements of a position.

Host Community and Air Force Base. Floyd Hunter. November, 1952. (MS)

This is a study of the power structure of a community in which is located an Air Force base. It points up how an understanding of community power structure is helpful in appraising the mutual impact of a base and its host community. The techniques for studying community power structure are set forth and constitute the principle methodological contribution of the project.

The Organization of Executive Action: Authority, Power and Wing Integration. James D. Thompson. (MS)

Differences in the power structures of two wings in the Strategic Air Command were found to be due primarily to personal attributes of the executives. The wings were alike in deviations from the authority structure: the directors dominated the wing commanders, which contradicted the formal authority structure. Traditionally the power nucleus has been composed of generalists; with these two wings, however, it was composed of specialists (staff) -- except for the wing commanders.

Implications of the fact that the bomb wing is not a self-contained system were examined, with the following conclusion: wing headquarters is no more than a "message center", from which higher headquarters can obtain only partial reports for evaluation. Consequently, every report, regardless of kind, is an abstraction from reality.

Some Latent Functions of an Executive Control Device: A Sociological Analysis of a Social System Under Stress. Kenneth Wagner. (MS)

The problem tackled here was to observe and analyze the unanticipated consequences of a rating device (the SAC Unit Performance Rating System for Bomb Wings) which was intended by higher headquarters to be used principally as an instrument for evaluating training but which actually served mainly as an incentive device.

The major finding is as follows: A performance rating instrument had been introduced in the bomb squadrons studied in a manner that subjected the operations officers extreme pressure. To protect their positions these operations officers had to resort to means which deviated from accepted norms. This deviation, in turn, produced norms, value and role conflicts for various individuals, which affected adversely the morale, performance, and integration of the squadrons.

Prestige Structure of an Air Base: Squadron Rankings and Morale. Raymond W. Mack. (MS)

When airmen ranked squadrons according to prestige, the highest ranking squadrons were operations squadrons, next came command squadrons, then support squadrons, and last, service squadrons--which proved to be the order hypothesized in terms of distance from the primary mission of the base, the actual dropping of bombs.

No relationship was demonstrated between the prestige of a squadron and the morale of the men in it, but a statistically significant association was found between morale and several personal background characteristics: enlisted grade, length of time in Air Force, membership in the regular Air Force, and intention to reenlist.

Initiating and Maintaining Research Relations in a Military Organization. N. J. Demerath. (MS)

This paper describes the experiences and problems encountered by a team of research personnel from a university doing research for the Human Resources Research Institute. Topic discussed are:

(1) Establishing the social position of the research.
(2) Explaining research objectives and methods.
(3) Obtaining necessary support services.
(4) Definition of roles of researchers.
(5) Executing the research tasks.
(6) Building good will for social research.

Off-Duty Activities and the USAF Mission: A Survey of Ten USAF Bases and Their Host Community Settings. Raymond F. Gould and Ernest A. T. Barth. (MS)

The aim of this project was to learn the relationship of airmen's off-duty activities to their morale, to certain other attitudes on various conditions on and off base, and to the quality of their work performance. Some typical findings are:

(1) Top leaders usually showed high motivation and skill, dedication to the mission of the base and of the Air Force.
(2) Many of the rank and file, particularly reserve officers, seemed to be preoccupied with trying to get out of the Air Force and to evade responsibility whenever possible.
(3) Some sections on some bases were overmanned to the point where many individuals felt that they did not have enough work to do.

A Manual for the Survey of Off-Duty Activities and Off-Duty Needs of Airmen. Raymond F. Gould. (MS)

This manual sets forth a method for collecting and analyzing data on such a problem as: What are the relationships between the background and personality of U. S. Air Force airmen and their off-duty needs and activities?

It contains a procedure for drawing an appropriate sample, for constructing a questionnaire and administering it, and instructions for analyzing the data the questionnaire collects.

Obviously this is an instrument product of the project reported immediately above.

Air Force Base Participation Project: Report on Turner Air Force Base. Raymond F. Gould. (MS)

This is a case study of one of the bases of the strategic Air Command characterized by substantially better than average relations between the base and the community in which it is located. Morale, reenlistment intention, and various types of performance are examined against this configuration of favorable base-community factors. Certain comparisons are made between this base and nine others surveyed almost simultaneously with it.

505-036-0002

Squadron Human Relations Problems: What They Are and What They Mean to Squadron Operations (With Illustrative Case Materials). George W. Baker. (MS)

One hundred two officers in the Squadron Officers Course at Maxwell Air Force Base were interviewed in one-hour sessions to learn their experiences with human relations problems interfering with squadron efficiency. The problems described by these officers fell into seven broad categories:

(1) chain of command
(2) organizational
(3) civilian community environment
(4) manpower
(5) physical facilities
(6) personnel policy
(7) multiple factors

Some of the findings are:

(1) These problems usually affect not just a few of the personnel but all of them, with resultant lowering of squadron morale.
(2) Almost 70% of the officers felt that ineffective or poor leadership was responsible for the human relations problems.
(3) More than half of the problems were related to personality conflicts.
(4) More than half of the problems stem from a failure at a higher echelon level.
(5) Relatively few problems arose out of interaction taking place in mixed racial, nationality, or military-civilian work groups.
(6) In one-fourth of the problem cases, the squadron officials did nothing about them.

Some Preliminary Findings from the Study of Human Relations Problems of Squadrons. George W. Baker. (MS)

This is a report on further developments in the Squadron Human Relations Problems project described above. From the early interviews, 40 different human relations problems were identified. These problems were incorporated in a questionnaire which was given to 999 students attending the Squadron Officer Course at Maxwell Air Force Base during the winter and spring of 1952. 865 useable questionnaires were analyzed, giving the following findings:

(1) All 48 items were regarded as "a very important problem" and only two (numbers 14 and 36) failed to be rated by at least some of the officers as "the most important problem".
(2) "Insecurity created by frequent assignment changes" and "promotional policy of the USAF" were adjudged "the most important problem" more often than any others.
(3) "Conflicts between personnel of the USAF and foreign military personnel within a unit" was one of the two items getting the fewest votes as a "very important problem"

Subsequent analysis of these data will locate these problems by:

(1) type of squadron.
(2) squadron duty assignment.
(3) command.
(4) location of squadron (i.e., in ZI or overseas)

505-036-0003

Internal Orientation in a Large Military Organization. Theodore Caplow, Leo G. Reeder and George A. Donohue. (MS)

This is a short paper describing research on the relationship of orientation to performance in Air Force units. By orientation of an individual is meant his knowledge of the formal structure of the unit he is working in, and his ability to respond within this structure. Operationally defined, orientation is the identification of message sources and destinations. When individual orientation scores for unit members are averaged to get a unit orientation score, it is found that units with high orientation are in general those units which are high also in performance as measured by ratings of staff officer.

Internal Orientation of Squadrons in an Air Division of the Air Defense Command. G. A. Donohue, Leo G. Reeder, and Theodore Caplow.

Internal orientation is defined as the understanding or knowledge of the structure and function of the organization to which an individual belongs. This project is designed to do three principal things:

(1) To measure the importance, for efficiency and morale, of having the members of a unit understand the structure and function of their unit, and to know who is who among their superiors, peers and subordinates.
(2) To identify the crucial points of stress in a unit, especially as they hamper effective communication.
(3) To conduct experiments on changing the acquaintance of members of work units with the job of their units and the people in them, to see what changes take place in their individual performance, in unit performance, and in morale.

Personnel Turnover in Relation to Orientation and Morale in a Division of the Air Defense Command. Leo G. Reeder and Theodore Caplow. (MS)

For the Division as a whole, personnel turnover rate the lower the orientation score) and with morale. However, in AC&W units alone, there was no association between turnover rates and orientation scores.

505-036-0004

General Factors Influencing the Effectiveness of the Staff Process: A Survey of the Opinions of Experienced Staff Officers. Morton L. Deutsch and Harold Gerard. (MS)
This project presents problems which occur in normal staff functioning and provides commanding officers with a kind of informal check list for determining for themselves how effectively they are using their staffs. The findings here should prove to be of substantial help also to those persons who teach the staff process.

Each member of a substantial sample of Air Force officers was asked to describe and evaluate his staff experiences. The factors which these officers felt made for effective staff functioning were:

(1) Competence in staff officers - measured in terms of ability, motivation, and social maturity.
(2) Proper attitudes by the commanding officer toward
  ((a)) giving his staff officers a sense of personal security.
  ((b)) giving his staff officers a sense of personal worth.
  ((c)) using his staff as a policy formulating group.
(3) Coordination of staff activities through appropriate procedures, both formal and informal.
(4) Clear definition of individual responsibilities.
(5) Skillful handling by commanding officers of disagreements.

The most serious problems in staff functioning were found to be

(1) Lack of clarity of the mission.
(2) Coordination and communication difficulties.
(3) Over-coordination in some types of situations.
(4) Under-coordination in some types of situations.

Case Studies of Two Air Force Staffs. Harold Gerard (MS)

The case studies reported here were undertaken as part of the initial phase of a study of the staff decision process, and represent the next step in the project reported on immediately above, "General Factors Influencing the Effectiveness of the Staff Process." The staffs chosen were those of an air base wing and the air base group immediately under the wing. Items focused on were:

(1) Staff effectiveness.
(2) Command-staff relations.
(3) Key personnel.
(4) Communication and coordination.
(5) Morale.

Fourteen major suggestions were made for future research in this area.

Some of the Assumptions Underlying Administrative Theory -- A Bibliographical Survey. Robert Ellenbogen, Philip Lichtenberg and Morton L. Deutsch. (MS)

This report attempts to make explicit some of the assumptions underlying the writings of administrative theorists. There are five sections:

(1) Rationale for organized rather than individual effort.
(2) Factors related to specialization and organization structure, especially aspects of work division and of vertical organization.
(3) Unity of organizations, emphasizing coordination and communication problems in the initiation and maintenance of unity.
(4) Unity of motivation, considering characteristics and problems associated with the initiation and maintenance of this type of unity.
(5) Congruence between the objectives of organizations and the motives of the individuals composing the organization (including efficiency measures, concern with efficiency, and informal organizations).

The Effects of Status Differentials Upon Cooperation. Morton L. Deutsch. (MS)

Commanders differ in both the manner and the extent to which they utilize the services of subordinate staff members in the formulation of policy and plans, and the execution of the staff process. This project focuses on the basic question: Is the effectiveness of staff functioning related to those differences in utilization of staff services? If so, since these differences in commanders' handling of staff subordinates are fairly common and often large, as well as modifiable, what can be done in this particular area of behavior in the cause of greater cooperative spirit and performance on the part of junior people?

Experimental Investigation of the Effect of Group Properties Upon Individual and Group Recall. Morton L. Deutsch. (MS) The two hypotheses investigated were:

(1) The type of group leadership - content control or process-procedure control - has an effect upon individual and group recall.
(2) Group recall is significantly greater when the group members cooperate than when they compete with one another.

Consequently, four different group situations were examined:

(a) leader-centered, cooperative groups
(b) leader-centered, competitive groups
(c) group-centered, cooperative groups
(d) group-centered, competitive groups

The utility of this research for the Air Force seems to lie chiefly in two areas:

(1) Differences in net recall, both individual and group of having, on the one hand, a group leader who controls conference content, and, on the other, a group leader who controls only conference process or procedure.
(2) Recognition of the effect on staff procedures of leaders or staff members who are oriented toward personal goals.

The Effects of Different Probabilities of Success Upon the Group Problem-Solving Process Under Varying Conditions. Morton L. Deutsch. (MS)

This is a study of two types of groups, those with high probability of success at a given task and those with low probability of success at the task, and how this variable of probability of success is related to level of productivity and cohesiveness of these groups.

505-036-0010

Experiments Dealing With Group Conditions Making for Conformity: An Analysis of Group Decision and Attitude Change. Edith Becker Bennett (from her doctoral dissertation). (MS)

This project tested the relative effectiveness of group discussion and lectures in influencing the opinions and attitudes of individuals in groups and failed to confirm an earlier claim that group discussion was superior. The two variables found to be significantly related to social action were:

(1) the individual's perception that there was high group agreement on the issue.
(2) the individual's commitment, either private or public, to take action.

Experiments Dealing with Group Conditions Making for Conformity: The Nature of Group Norms and Attitude Change. Edith Becker Bennett (from her doctoral dissertation). (MS)

This experiment was designed to emplore differences in effects of presenting norms to a group (a) with a rationale for the norms being what they are: and (b) without any explanation or rationale being given. The conclusion reached was that the effect of majority opinion (group norm presentation) is greater when the majority opinion is presented with the rationale behind it than when it is presented merely as the norm of the group.

Experiments Dealing with Group Conditions Making for Conformity: Perception of Group Consensus and Tolerance for Own Non-Conformity. Martha Sturm White (from her doctoral dissertation). (MS)

This is a study of the relationships among an individual's tolerance for non-conformity, his perception of group consensus, and his attitudes. A major conclusion is that individuals who perceive their views as identical or almost identical with the group norm tend to change more under the influence of majority opinion than do people who see themselves as more distant from the group norm.

Experiments Dealing with Group Conditions Making for Conformity: The Nature of Conformity. Martha Sturm White (from her doctoral dissertation). (MS)

This is a study of differential change in the direction of an announced norm under four different conditions, ranging from a discussion of the occupational goals of people and the methods by which they expected to achieve them, all the way down to no experimental influence. The conclusion reached was that one's attitudes can be predicted from a knowledge of that individual's hierarchy of values and his perceptions of the way in which the object of the attitude aids or hinders the achievement of these values.

Attitudes as the Perceived Means for Attaining Individual Goals: Predicting Attitude Position as a Function of Value. Milton J. Rosenberg (from his doctoral dissertation). (MS)

The major hypothesis tested was that the favorableness of one's attitude toward an object or phenomenon depends upon the combined effects of (1) the perceived importance of the attitude-related object as a source of satisfaction for the individual, and (2) the individual's judgment about the degree to which the attitude object is a factor in blocking or facilitating the attainment of a given value.

The conclusion was that the attitudes can be changed by changing the perception people have of the degree to which the attitude-object aids or hinders the attainment of their values.

Personality Determinants and Ego Defensiveness in Relation to Attitude Change: Rational Persuasion Compared with Authoritarian Suggestion. Walter Hobson Crockett (from his doctoral dissertation). (MS)

This was an experiment to test the proposition that different personality types respond differentially to various kinds of change procedure: non-authoritarian people are more affected by rational persuasion than are authoritarian people, whereas the authoritarian personality is more responsive to suggestion from power figures than is the non-authoritarian person.

The conclusion reached was that attempts to influence people need to take into account their basic way of responding to the social world, and that people who are more influenced by authoritarian suggestion show a characteristic pattern of rigidity, stereotyped thinking, and status orientation.

Personality Determinants and Ego Defensiveness in Relation to Attitude Change: Rational Persuasion Compared with Self-Insight. Walter Hobson Crockett (from his doctoral dissertation). (MS)

As the title partially indicates, this project is a test of the relative effectiveness of rational persuasion (i.e., a method of giving the individual an opportunity to restructure his beliefs in relation to factual and logical materials) and direct interpretation (i.e., a combination of logic and suggestion; patients are confronted with psychological explanations of their behavior) in effecting attitude change.

Typical hypotheses to be tested (in abbreviated form) are:

(1) The rational persuasion approach is more effective in changing attitudes, say toward the Negro, the less the individual shows a pattern of repression and projection.
(2) The direct interpretation approach for giving insight
  (a) is more effective with people showing low or moderate patterns for repression-projection compared with those showing either high or negligible patterns;
  (b) will produce more negative change among the highly defensive group than among the low defensive group;
  (c) will induce positive changes which will be more stable over time than those produced by the rational approach.

A Method for Determining Dispersion Scores in Attitude Measurement. Stewart E. Fliege. (MS)

In this report, the author points up some weaknesses of usual attitude measurement, raises some questions about the Guttman scaling technique, and compares the Likert and Thurstone scaling methods.

"Crystallization" is defined as the degree to which an attitude area is integrated into a functional unity within the individual and its consistency in application. Crystallization hypotheses explored were:

(1) The amount of spread around the mean scale position will indicate the degree of crystallization of the attitude.
(2) For a highly crystallized attitude, ((a)) the person will act in a relatively shorter time in an area where action is based on having this attitude, and ((b)) the person will be more resistant to having his attitude changed.

An Index of Crystallization. Stewart E. Fliege. (MS)

A scale, focussing on the structure of attitudes, was constructed to control content over the basic positions in a scale of religious attitudes. The five basic positions were: deistic, pantheistic, naturalistic, agnostic, and atheistic; the content areas used were: beliefs: about the nature of man, the place of prayer, the ultimate power of the universe, after-life, miracles, and the place of religious discussion. This research assisted in arriving at the following conclusions:

(1) Highly consistent belief structures are better predictors of practices and behavior than are less consistent belief patterns.

(2) The more elaborate the belief structure and the more intense the feeling accompanying it, the more difficult the attitude is to change.

505-036-0011

Attitudes and Judgments of Some Lieutenants Related to Present Active Duty Intentions. George W. Baker. (MS)

The study was designed to learn why a large percentage of the ARDC officers who came on active duty in 1951 as AFROTC lieutenants are not requesting an additional tour of duty after the expiration of their required minimum tour. It was found that officers who intend to remain in the Air Force can be distinguished from those who do not intend to extend in several attitudes and judgments:

(1) The majority of the officers never intended either to make a career of the Air Force or remain on active duty longer than the required minimum tour.
(2) Officers in general were satisfied with their assignment but criticized the administration in the Command on the following counts:

((a)) lack of research stimulation.
((b)) lack of opportunities for professional development.
((c)) low quality of its civil service personnel.
((d)) interference from civil service regulations.

(3) Wives and girl friends were more potent influences on officers' intentions to request further active duty than were parents or work associates.
(4) Economic security and fringe benefits of the USAF had less appeal to many than civilian job opportunities. In fact, many felt that their present USAF assignments were contributing less to the national defense program than they might contribute in civilian life.
(5) Most officers felt at the time of the interviews that those of their number who would extend their tour of duty would not be the most capable officers of their group.
(6) In general, officers felt that they would be better satisfied performing their present job in the role of a civilian rather than in a military uniform.

Influence of an Indoctrination Course on Active Duty Attitudes. H. M. Henkin and George W. Baker. (MS)

The Service-associated attitudes of 236 squadron grade officers at WADC who attended the 1951 Indoctrination Course were significantly more favorable to the Air Force than a comparable group of 26 officers who did not take the course. The experimental group excelled the control group on

(1) Feeling that the Indoctrination Course contributes to their professional development.
(2) Belief that they have an opportunity in the Air Force to develop their professional interests.
(3) Judging the professional facilities at the research centers as being adequate.
(4) Liking military life in ARDC.
(5) Feeling that their civilian background had been utilized in ARDC

The Active Duty Intentions of Some ARDC Lieutenants (AFROTC) Related to Several Service-Associated Variables. George W. Baker. (MS)

This study was designed to meet the following four major objectives:

(1) To identify and describe reasons why some of the Lieutenants in the Air Research and Development Command requested continued active duty in the Command and why others rejected the opportunity.
(2) To compare and contrast supervisor (civil service or military) and worker (lieutenant) judgments on a number of aspects of the Research and Development work situation and relate these to extension and rejection intentions.
(3) To collect from both workers and supervisors case materials and/or critical incidents related to the new officer's acceptance or rejection of another immediate tour of duty in ARDC.
(4) To obtain from both the workers and supervisors recommendations for improvements in the use of newly commissioned AFROTC personnel in ARDC.

Differential Definitions of Situations, Commitments and Actions, Richard Conrad. (MS)

In this study varying definitions of situations, commitments, and actions of engineering employees of a large-scale military research organization were compared with their analogous expressions about equivalent private civilian engineering research organizations. The hypotheses tested were:

(1) The greater proportion of engineers in a military organization will define comparable private civilian organizational situations more favorably than they do the military situation.
(2) Favorable and unfavorable definitions of both private civilian and military research situations find expression in the engineers' intended action of staying in or leaving the organization.
(3) Identifications with or commitments to a military research organization find expression in decisions by engineers regarding staying in or leaving the military organization.

Factors Affecting The Performance of Leadership Among Air Force Non-Commissioned Officers, Angelo R. Orlandella and Abbott L. Ferriss. 1952 (Mimeo.)

This brief summary of hypotheses relating social factors to NCO performance is supported by 84 quotations from officers and airmen. Qualitative statements are classified into the following areas:

(1) rank inconsistent with responsibilities;
(2) lack of proper respect, privileges and prestige standards for rank and position;
(3) equalization of NCO and Officer privileges and present officer and NCO relationships;
(4) NCO leadership;
(5) training in discipline and leadership;
(6) "backing-up" NCO's;
(7) NCO's as disciplinarians;
(8) leader selection policy;
(9) rate of promotion;
(10) leadership and chain-of-command.

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■ This is what happened when racial segregation was abolished in the Charleston Navy Yard

Negroes Now Eat Upstairs

By Clarence Mitchell

THE ending of segregation in the Charleston, S. C., Navy yard cafeteria was page one news in Charleston. A newsreel of the event was shown in South Carolina theaters and possibly other southern cities.

The Washington Bureau this month [November 9 NAACP board meeting] devotes its entire written report to a discussion of the elimination of racial segregation at the Charleston Yard. We are doing this because the situation may be an indication of what will happen in the South when segregation is eliminated in other more extensive aspects of community life. As of Monday, October 19, the Charleston yard ended segregation in its cafeteria. Previously, segregation in the use of drinking fountains had been abandoned by the Navy on September 15. The Yard has not yet eliminated segregation in restroom facilities, although, it is anticipated that this will be done in the near future.

On the first day of integration a crowd of whites blocked the entrance to the cafeteria. Colored employees were formerly confined to the first floor of the building and whites used the second floor. Also, industrial employees of the Yard eat at 12:00 noon and clerical employees eat at 12:30. Most of those in the crowd were industrial workers and they prevented other whites from entering the cafeteria by shouting and insulting them. However, newspaper reports said that the crowd was in a joking mood. At 12:30 the "industrials" went back to work and the white clerical employees used the cafeteria in numbers approximating the normal crowd. Fifteen colored employees used the upper floor formerly reserved for whites. They sat at sepaate tables.

Thaddeus G. Fraser, an employee at the Yard, initiated action against segregation and he was supported in his effort by the Washington Bureau.

CLARENCE MITCHELL *is director of the NAACP Washington Bureau.*

* This article was originally the report of the NAACP Washington Bureau to the NAACP board of directors meeting in New York City on November 9, 1953.

He has provided us with a chronological report on what happened when segregation ended in the cafeteria. It is as follows:

"Tuesday (20th), about 600 to 700 spectators gathered immediately after the whistle blew for dinner, all white. Since, I understand that the captain of the Yard returned and called a meeting of the masters, and must have informed them that people entering the cafeteria must not be interfered with. This message had been passed along to the white workers, and on this day, though a greater number assembled, they were orderly, and did in no way interfere with anyone.

OFFICERS IN EVIDENCE

"There were many naval officers and many police officers in evidence this day, and all through the rest of the week. Approximately 40 Negroes ate this day upstairs. The white industrial workers fell off to about 20, with about 30 white clerical workers. About 100 colored workers also congregated after they ate their dinner.

"Wednesday (21st), the crowd of spectators fell off to about 400. The spectators are always industrial workers. The white industrials still boycott the cafeteria, only about 20 industrials, and about 60 clericals using the facilities this day. An official picture was taken of the crowd today. A few white women appeared in the crowd of spectators today. Everyone is peaceful, but everyone is also very tense. There's no fault to be found with cafeteria service at anytime.

"Thursday (22nd), only about 300 spectators today. No disorder whatever. Lots of officers still in evidence. Approximately 60 Negroes ate upstairs, approximately 75 whites, mostly clericals, ate. Boycott still on. Tenseness slightly relaxed today.

"Friday (23rd), about 100 Negroes ate upstairs. The colored people seem to be taking the situation in stride. Not overdoing nor shy. About 20 white industrials, and about 80 white clericals. This being pay day, and everyone going to cash their checks, only about 150 congregated today."

The Charleston *News* and *Courier* interpreted the action of the 15 colored employees who ate on the first day as a move to force white people to eat with colored at the same tables. In an editorial on October 21 the *News* and *Courier* said: "Although in the past equal dining facilities had been provided for whites and Negroes, there had been no integration of the races at mealtime—which apparently is one of the goals of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

DIRECTOR'S LETTER

The Washington bureau answered this editorial in a letter which was prominently published promptly in the *Courier* on October 27. The text of the Director's letter is as follows:

"It is interesting to note that although your editorial took the colored people to task for eating at different tables and did not say anything about the large number of whites who imposed their will on fellow workers by congregating at the building's only entrance. Your own news story of October 20 states *'the second shift, apparently unaware of the earlier disturbance, ate as usual.'* Thus it would appear that the

drop in the use of the cafeteria could in a large part be attributed to the presence of a derisive crowd using the deadly weapon of ridicule.

"The state of South Carolina does not exist in a vacuum. As you well know, the governor of South Carolina, is representing this country at the U.N. and Congressman James P. Richards of your state is the ranking member of the House of Foreign Affairs Committee. You also invited General Mark Clark to come to Charleston to head The Citadel. I am sure General Clark could tell you that in Korea the Communists constantly used racial discrimination in the United States as a weapon of war. I am sure that Governor Byrnes and Mr. Richards are aware of this also, although they might not admit that they are.

"Hence, South Carolina cannot afford to have patterns of segregation which make any person from your state appear ridiculous in a world discussion on human rights. Even if there are people in the state who think they can afford the dubious luxury of racial segregation, it is unfair for them to make the rest of the country suffer for their myopia."

EMPLOYEE LETTER

A letter from Mr. Charles H. Monson, a white employee at the Yard appeared in the *Courier* on October 24. The text is as follows:

"When I first came to Charleston last February, it was with the preadvised knowledge of the racial situation in the South . . . and with much additional advice on how to get along in relation to it. Being a native Californian and unfamiliar with the issue as it now stands, I came with a firm determination not to involve myself or argue my views in the matter. After all, I hadn't been out of the state 20 years . . . so I made the trip with an open mind, deciding to keep my mouth shut and my eyes and ears open so that I might gain a firsthand impression of this so-called 'problem.'

"So far I've withheld comment and put off writing this, but the article on page one October 20 headed 'Non-Segregated Dining Cuts Navy Yard Cafeteria Trade' made it impossible to keep my views to myself any longer.

"I was brought up in a neighborhood which was composed of a fair number of Negro families; I went to school and church with their children—all with the child's unconcerned outlook. I grew up with that same attitude, remembering my father's advice 'Judge a person for what he is, and not for the color of his skin or shape of his eyes.'

"So you have a problem out here. I doubt it, but let's examine the issue squarely. You shove your Negro population to the rear of your buses, segregate them in your theatres, ball parks, and by social pressure, generally force them into the slum districts (and some I've seen here can't be any worse than those of Los Angeles or San Francisco; which is comparable to some of the best pigsties I've seen) . . . and to what end? I fail to see what you think you're solving by all this, and haven't had anyone yet explain it to me to any degree of satisfaction.

"As for this asinine demonstration put on by some of the 'superior' whites at the Navy Yard, nothing would please me more than to learn

at a future date that some of them fainted at their workbenches from acute and prolonged malnutrition."

PUBLISHER COMMENTS

A few other South Carolina publishers commented on this incident and one editorial appeared in the Anderson *Independent* on October 24:

"Segregation ended in the cafeteria at the Charleston Navy Yard Monday.

"Nothing of this kind was tried during the Roosevelt administrations.

"President Truman didn't seek to intermingle the races at Navy Yard eating places.

"It remained for President Eisenhower to order the end of segregation at the Navy Yard.

"When Candidate Ike spoke in Columbia, after a glowing introduction by Gov. James F. Byrnes, he overlooked telling the people he planned to end segregation in the Navy Yard. The governor didn't have a word to say about it either.

"Wonder if the 'Ike Boys' hereabouts—tackers up of signs, distributors of GOP propaganda, etc.—are happy now that their President has chased white people out of Navy Yard cafeterias so Negroes may eat there?"

This provoked a reply from the Charleston *News* and *Courier* in an editorial on October 26. It was as follows:

"The *News* and *Courier,* like the Anderson *Independent,* opposed the forced mixture of races in eating places. But the record should be set straight.

"President Roosevelt, by his Executive Order No. 8802, prohibited 'discrimination' in the the employment of workers in defense industries or by the Government. This set the whole pattern for what has followed.

"President Truman ended separation of the races in the armed forces. Long before President Eisenhower took office, whites and Negroes were eating in the same mess halls and sleeping in the same barracks.

"Under President Truman, the government successfully backed legal action which required many white graduate schools to admit Negroes. The Truman administration also backed action to force ALL public schools to mix the races and to force EVERY SINGLE EMPLOYER in the country to mix the races.

"White Fair Dealers in the South accuse Mr. Eisenhower of being pro-Negro, Fair Dealers in the North accuse Mr. Eisenhower of being anti-Negro—since he would not support the FEPC. The Fair Dealers can't have it both ways at once."

The record should also include a letter from a colored woman which was published in the *News* and *Courier* on the same day that the Washington Bureau's letter appeared. One of the disturbing "quotes" in this letter is as follows:

DISTURBING QUOTATION

"I have read about the non-segregated cafeteria at the Navy Yard and the thing that aroused my interest most is the fact that those 14 or 15 Negroes dispersed themselves about the room occupying some 14 of the eight-place tables in the dining hall.

"What those white employees did was no more than what I, personally,

(*Continued on page* 638)

siderable nature, for there is much truth; but there is less art, for there is nothing new. Like young Biblical Ahimaaz whose story Mr. Baldwin has recounted on page 156, he has seen the great tumult. Whether he knows what it is is a matter of conjecture.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

***Poesia Negra de Expressao Portuguesa (Negro Poetry in the Portuguese Tongue).* Compiled by Francisco Tenreiro and Mário Pinto de Andrade. Lisbon, Portugal: Livraria Editora, 1853. 18 pp.**

The six poets represented are Alda do Espírito Santo and Francisco José Tenreiro from São Tomé; Agostinho Neto, Antonio Jacinto, and Viriato da Cruz from Angola; and Noemia de Sousa from Mozambique.

Their inspiration, however, seems to be derived more from books (Léon Damas' *Poétes d'Expression Française,* for example) than from the pulsating life of their native soil. Despite their stylized and often stereotyped themes, several of the poems are interesting and one or two are movingly lyrical.

NEGROES UPSTAIRS

(*Continued from page* 588)

would have done if the situation were vice versa. Even if there were no segregation in the beginning, it would still be wrong to act in the manner in which those Negroes did. I do believe that everyone, regardless of race, is entitled to some privacy of their own. If I were sitting in that cafeteria, with or without a relative or friend of mine, I would not appreciate a white person or even a Negro with whom I did not associate to be so rude as to intrude at the table at which I am dining, for if I am in the position to leave that place I would do so.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is, and has been for a long time, fighting for what they call 'equal rights.' Well, what do you consider as being equal rights? No one is holding the Negroes back from doing anything that they want to among themselves. There are Negroes who have just as much or more than some white people. If they were fighting for this non-segregation business, well, it was granted at the Navy Yard, but what happened. A pitiful few acted like hoodlums.

"What difference does it make what color you are? I am a Negro and I'm proud to be one. Does anyone know what color soul he has? God doesn't look for color. He looks to see whether or not the soul is clean." Mrs. Emma Ophelia Smalls, Station A. Box 6."

In Washington, the director of the bureau maintained contact with the Navy Department and the White House on the Charleston situation to make certain that every possible precaution was taken to avoid any physical violence. It appears that the federal authorities were alert, although, we do not believe that the Navy Department should have permitted the crowd to congregate in front of the cafeteria. The Navy said that an attempt to disperse the crowd would probably have "bad reactions." It was the significance in the *News* and *Courier* editorial which we quote. In speaking of the Navy's move to end segregation the *Courier* said: "The Federal order, which we deplore, appears to be here to stay."

The Director of the bureau believes that the following conclusions can be drawn from this incident.

1. The Navy Department made a serious error in gradually eliminating segregation. If all segregation had been ended when bans on the use of drinking fountains were moved the opposition would not have had an opportunity to build up the kind of following which caused the demonstration at the cafeteria entrance. It is still possible that the ending of segregation in the restrooms may provoke further demonstrations.

2. The prominence given to the Bureau's letter seems to indicate that this channel to favorable public opinion would be very useful when other integration occurs. Perhaps we should study a plan of stimulating correspondence in such situations to make certain that both sides of the questions are properly aired.

3. The editorial reply of the *News* and *Courier* to the Anderson *Independent's* charge that the ending of segregation was an Eisenhower venture rather than a continuation of existing policies of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations is a healthy sign. It is another reminder that those who wish to promote race prejudice in national elections may find that their schemes backfire after the election is over.

RICHARD ALLEN

(*Continued from page* 607)

colored men in the night and lash them until they were willing to say they wanted to go to Africa, out of self-protection the Negroes of New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland began to think in terms of a permanent organization to protect themselves from such indignities. The ever increasing enactment of laws "abridging the liberties and privileges of the Free People of Color" alarmed them, too.

In 1830 a committee which included Bishop Richard Allen met in Philadelphia and constituted itself the first Colored Convention. Allen was elected president. It was agreed that the Convention would, "divise and pursue all legal means for the speedy elevation of ourselves and brethren to the scale and standing of men." The Negro people were urged by their leaders to be diligent, buy land, work to achieve unity, and to take advantage of "every opportunity placed within our power by the benevolent efforts of the friends of humanity in elevating our condition to the rank of freemen." It became obvious that these Negroes wanted full citizenship for themselves, freedom for their enslaved brethren, and a place as citizens in America where they were born, *not in Africa.* The constitution of this first Colored Convention was signed by Bishop Richard Allen.

Long before his death, Allen was recognized as one of the most distinguished citizens of the City of Brotherly Love. Today he is remembered chiefly as the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church one hundred and sixty years ago. This denomination has now well over a million members. It owns hundreds of beautiful churches, has established a number of accredited colleges, controls a great publishing house, and is a national force for good throughout America.

US Armed Services

OPINIONS ON INTEGRATION

in the

A-R-M-E-D S-E-R-V-I-C-E-S

As Reflected In Comments, In Book Reviews, And In

Editorials Appearing In The

National Press

Reproduced For Departmental Use

James C. Evans - June 1954

QUOTATIONS FROM THE PRESS ANENT "BREAKTHROUGH ON THE COLOR FRONT"
BY LEE NICHOLS, AS PUBLISHED 15 FEBRUARY 1954

WASHINGTON POST - 14 Feb 1954

"..... a silent revolution which has taken place in the Armed Forces of the United States in the last few years. This perhaps more conservative segment of our national life has performed a social about-face and wiped out national segregation ..... the news is that it works."

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE BOOK REVIEW - 14 Feb 1954

"The impact on civilian life is yet to be measured ..... this book, filled with the drama of official fact rather than exhortation and oratory, is a significant contribution to the continuing effort to build a dynamic and meaningful democracy in terms of human relations."

NEW YORK TIMES - 14 Feb 1954

"..... one of the biggest stories of the twentieth century. Per se it warrants no lesser description. There is insufficient recognition that the problem was vast indeed, that time has had to provide part of the solution, and that the retarded past was due less to mean prejudice within the military structure than to the mountainous social obstacles which lay without."

PITTSBURGH COURIER - 27 Feb 1954

"Lee Nichols has written one of the most gallant and hopeful reports of how democracy can be implemented which has yet been done ..... The important point from this commentator's standpoint is that the author produces the records and the facts to prove that segregation is gone. Nor will it ever return. It is dead beyond resurrection, because it has already given shape to a new kind of life ..... Mr. Nichols' story of integration in the military services raises an important question: What effect will such integration have upon civilian life? Mr. Nichols is confident that the white and colored men who have been the beneficiaries of integration in the armed services are going to become new salesmen for democracy when they have taken off the uniform. Military integration will further weaken the foundations of civilian segregation."

ARKANSAS GAZETTE (LITTLE ROCK) - 11 Apr 54

"The drumming of Jim Crow out of the armed services is a significant story in many ways ..... once the decision was taken to abandon the segregated units in which Negroes had traditionally served the change came fast, and with remarkable smoothness."

THE COURIER-JOURNAL, LOUISVILLE - 11 Apr 54

"While the success of color integration is of tremendous importance to the War Department the obvious implications appear far more significant ..... There is an almost miraculous absence of friction ..... Detailed studies by the author reveal an easy social acceptance by Negroes and whites alike. He finds this true of the servicemen's families also ..... Such a state of affairs must be almost unthinkable to some segments of our population. Yet here it is, working smoothly, an accomplished fact ..... In this excellent book there is potent ammunition for the battles of tomorrow."

NEW YORK POST - 7 Feb 54

"This quietly dramatic little book is going to shock a lot of Americans. But Happily ..... it may elate more Americans than it shocks. Bits and pieces of the story have leaked out here and there .....and the progress has been so rapid that even Defense Secretary Wilson did not know that several of the 21 military posts where he ordered school segregation ended this week had already abandoned such practices two years ago..... For "Breakthrough on the Color Front" unveils one of the best kept secrets of the last decade - the rapid and almost complete integration of the Negro into the country's Armed Forces And, as the author claims, it may well turn out to be "one of the biggest stories of the twentieth century." Surely one of the most significant."

TIME MAGAZINE - 22 Feb 54

"On the bases the wives of Negroes and white men chatted casually over their clothesline. An Army post commander described the situation simply 'there are no problems.' But there is a problem: the civilian world now lags far behind the military ....." (Copyright Time Inc. 1954)

NORFOLK VIRGINIAN-PILOT - 14 Feb 54

"Nichols toured many bases to study the integration program....."Breakthrough on the Color Front" presents arguments, pro and con, in the long debate over segregation in the Armed Forces, and cites conditions as they prevailed before and after integration to establish the conclusion that the new policy is sound. To a newsman, as is Nichols, objectivity is a virtue to be carefully protected. It does not appear here that, in his enthusiasm for integration, he has lost the virtue."

CHICAGO DEFENDER - 27 Feb 54

"Neither a crusader nor a conformist, Lee Nichols has quietly and perceptively watched and recorded the ebb and flow of racial patterns and .... For this reason his exciting story of how segregation in the Armed Services has been almost wholly eliminated during the past decade, "Breakthrough on the Color Front," ..... is one of the most important books not only of 1954 but of this era ..... Lee Nichols has written one of the most gallant and hopeful reports of how democracy can be implemented which has yet been done."

DES MOINES TRIBUNE - 4 Feb 54

"It came about so gradually, so naturally, and with such little fanfare that few people, even those most socially minded, realized that it was taking place ..... perhaps, most of all, it is a story of the coming of age of the American Negroes, of Negroes who battled through nearly two centuries for the "right to fight" for their country; of Negro men and women who, despite grave abuses, generally kept their sense of natural loyalty and dignity, and, when the white races of the military parted to receive them, marched in and took their places - proudly, and for the most part, quietly."

DETROIT NEWS - 2 Feb 54

"The whole story is told in a book currently published by Random House which we commend to the thoughtful reading of Americans - "Breakthrough on the Color Front" written by Lee Nichols of the United Press Bureau in Washington ..... It relates of the one substantial and unheralded American victory of the Korean war - how under the pressures there, the American services eliminated racial discrimination and arrived at a brave new policy which is now almost of universal application ..... Here was a real achievement for the United States, an item of far greater political significance to the free world than the overly publicized repatriation exchanges in Korea ..... But it went almost unmarked until a reflective and socially mature newsman drew the threads of the story together and then, in effect, said to the country: let's look at ourselves; maybe we are doing better than we thought."

AFRO-AMERICAN - 19 Feb 54

"But perhaps "most of all" as the author says, this "is a story of the coming of age of the colored American" in the armed services ..... "Breakthrough on the Color Front" is as stirring an American story as one can find."

WASHINGTON EAGLE - Mar 54

"The book also gives its author's views on the probable effects of this integration on social change at home and abroad ..... The author has done a bang-up research job, and has been commendably objective in his treatment of personalities."

RANDOM HOUSE (PUBLISHERS) - 15 Feb 54

"Nichols, who tells for the first time the behind-the-scenes story of how this remarkable transformation occurred literally unknown to the public at large, was given access to hundreds of long-secret military documents never before divulged ..... Nichols says - leading officials of all services who have seen it work said almost unanimously, "we will never go back to segregation" ..... Some officials even reported heightened morale among their once all-white units after Negroes were added. Nichols says the military shift has "far-reaching implications for the future, not only in the military realm but in America's total

race pattern and its relations with the rest of the world" .....
Nichols also reports that the tide of integration was inexorably seeping into the civilian world ..... One of the most significant findings of both the author and the survey teams was a sharp change in attitude toward Negroes among Southerners who has experienced military integration ..... This is the first complete authentic story of one of the most significant racial developments in modern American history - an achievement in human relations that has up until now been shrouded in strict military secrecy."

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD - 18 Feb 54 & 3 Mar 54

"This racial about-face is unparalleled by any similar development in modern history, according to Nichols ..... The story of this achievement Lee Nichols tells in his sprightly written, well-documented book. ..... So much for the small f'rinstance in human relations. The big one was recently documented in a book by Lee Nichols, a Washington newspaperman, and issued by Random House under the title, "Breakthrough on the Color Front." It tells the all but secret story of how, in a few short years, the Armed Forces of the United States have almost completed a total about-face on the Negro question."

FERGUS FALLS (MINN) JOURNAL - 25 Feb 54

"From the beginning of American history, Negroes have fought in American forces, and a runaway slave was the first to fall at Boston in 1770 ..... The Negroes wish that the distinction between races could be as effectively dissolved in civilian life as it is in the armed services."

NATCHEZ (MISS) TIMES - 21 Feb 54

"The United States Armed Forces have ended segregation in a "racial about-face unparalleled by any similar development in modern history," according to a new book, "Breakthrough on the Color Front" (Random House)."

TERRE HAUTE (IND) TRIBUNE - 20 Feb 54

"The practice of segregation began tapering off after World War II, Nichols said, and the first real integration of Negro soldiers with white soldiers occurred in Korea. It was recorded a great success."

KNOXVILLE NEWS-SENTINEL - 21 Feb 54

"Nichols said the end of segregation actually began during the last World War when Negro platoons were used among white platoons in Europe. The plan, a daring experiment at the time, was sanctioned by General Dwight D. Eisenhower, then Supreme Commander."

BURLINGTON (VT) NEWS - 21 Feb 54

"A dozen years ago segregation of Negroes was the rule in virtually all branches of the service ..... Yet in 1953 segregation has been officially discarded ....."

HOT SPRINGS (ARK) NEW ERA - 20 Feb 54

"You can read about other serious topics, too, like the Negro in the U. S. Armed Forces in "Breakthrough on the Color Front" by Lee Nichols ....."

SAN BERNARDINO (CALIF) SUN - 21 Feb 54

"The United States Armed Forces have ended segregation in a "racial about-face unparalleled by any similar development in modern history," according to a new book, "Breakthrough on the Color Front" (Random House)."

LOS ANGELES SENTINEL - 25 Feb 54

"An article in Time Magazine's Feb 22 issue comments on a laudable piece penned by Lee Nichols, one of the nation's better journalists, titled "Breakthrough on the Color Front." The book deals with what Nichols describes as the "unknown war" against military segregation, and the effect of President Truman's 1948 order for armed services equality ..... It is good that the military has arrived at a happy solution to the problem of the races, and it is regrettable that civilians lag far behind on the race relations front. The military admits there are many "bugs" to be ironed out, but they have a system - and it works. That is more than can be said for the home front."

PORTLAND (ORE) JOURNAL - 28 Feb 54

"..... Even the most casual reader will finish it with a feeling of restored faith in human nature ..... Across Breakthrough's pages march men, both great and unknown, who have fought for the 'unbunching' of Negroes in the Armed Forces ..... Parents of boys and girls now in military service will find this volume of considerable help in understanding what the services are doing in the way of integration. Young people awaiting their call to military service will find Breakthrough's contents of deep interest."

NEWARK STAR-LEDGER - 12 Mar 54

"..... a book is out now called "Breakthrough on the Color Front." It is by Lee Nichols, a Washington newspaperman ..... Air Force, Army and Navy have virtually completed the integration program. It has proven astonishingly successful ..... This book should be translated, filmed. It can do us a world of good at home and in the world."

BIRMINGHAM NEWS - 14 Feb 54

"Lee Nichols is a United Press reporter in Washington, who, interested in the flow of news across his desk about segregation and its elimination in the services, decided to make a more detailed study of the problem. His book is not shocking, but it is a sound chronological study from the earliest days in America of the uses of Negro soldiers and sailors ..... But Mr. Nichols shows that a number of professional officers were instrumental in making the policy work. The book dis-

cusses the problem of non-segregation on posts, and segregation off, in the South ..... This is a brief volume, but it says what it sets out to say. Some will contend, undoubtedly, that it proves nothing as to the matter of segregation outside the Armed Forces, but to me it says a great deal."

CALDWELL (IDAHO) NEWS-TRIBUNE - 17 Feb 54

"If you intend to read but one book in 1954, you could do worse than to read this one ..... If this work gets the readership it deserves, and it is hoped it will, it could prove to be a decisive document in contemporary writing. It could help to break down stupid, long-standing barriers; it could help to show that an American is an American regardless of his skin and that pigmentation does not mean any loss in feeling, bravery, intelligence or passion. A recommended book. And, we will add, exciting to read. The author, the publisher and the Armed Forces should be congratulated."

CHICAGO SUNDAY TRIBUNE - 28 Feb 54

"Now comes a report, compiled by a former United Press correspondent, Lee Nichols, that by 1953 segregation had been officially discarded, and integration of all servicemen of whatever race or nationality was the firm policy of every branch of the military service ..... The story of this achievement Lee Nichols tells in his sprightly-written, well-documented book. A seemingly casual Army press release and the guarded words of a Pentagon official started him on the trail that led to what he describes as one of the biggest stories of the twentieth century."

NEW YORK MIRROR - 7 Mar 54

"Integration of Negro troops into the Army ranks is a reality, result of Korean action, and newsman Lee Nichols' book, "Breakthrough on the Color Front" ..... tells the story of that development with a proper perspective on military history. This is Americana with true importance for our position abroad and should debunk Red propaganda."

JUSTICE (NYC) - March 1954

"Mr. Nichols tells a story of profound importance. He presents the documented record of how the Armed Forces, tradition-bound and ruled by discipline, have in a very short period achieved the virtual abolition of Negroes in their ranks. He gives the measure of what this has meant in improving the fighting efficiency not only of the Negroes but also of the whites with whom they are now mixed in ranks worthy of the combat force of a democratic nation fighting to preserve freedom for all ..... This is an exciting book that tells with restraint and subdued pride the story of a major victory for freedom won in our own country."

NEW REPUBLIC - 22 Mar 54
The Races: USA (Phillee Nash)

"Lee Nichols' book will be a restorative for any who have lost faith in human progress ..... Racial integration of the armed forces of our country is one of those truly great events, so inclusive in its effect and so powerful in its sweep that it dwarfs all the individuals concerned, whatever their roles may have been."

STATION WFIN, PHILADELPHIA - 22 Mar 54
(David Hayeman)

"For instance, the color barrier has finally been completely broken down in the United States Armed Forces ..... This has been a long, hard pull ..... When one realizes that the Negro as a soldier has fought most capably in every one of our nation's wars, it becomes a sad commentary to have to admit that it took almost 200 years for integration to become a fact."

CEDAR RAPIDS (IOWA) GAZETTE - 14 Mar 54

"So gradually and successfully has integration of Negro with white servicemen been manipulated in training camps and in Korea the last three years that the public in general scarcely realizes the significance of the change."

WICHITA (KANSAS) EAGLE MAGAZINE - 14 Mar 54

"..... the Negro today finds less discrimination practiced in the armed forces than in any other organized level of American society. ..... even the generals are convinced the two races are getting along with a minimum of friction, leaving little doubt as far as the military are concerned that integration is here to stay."

THE NEWS AND OBSERVER (RALEIGH, N.C.) - 9 Mar 54

"This timely book telling the hitherto closely guarded story of the integration of the Negro into the U. S. armed forces is definitive, objective, and fascinating ..... one of the great stories of our time ..... without the least perceptible trace of whatever preconceptions the author may have entertained concerning racial segregation ..... Lee Nichols a social historian of high calibre ....."

THE FREEMAN (NYC) - 22 Mar 54
(George S. Schuyler)

"That those virtues* cannot be underrated is evidenced by Lee Nichols' dramatic account of the complete repudiation of the segregationist philosophy by the Armed Forces of the United States. In less than a

*America's basic christian virtues

decade, and in the face of powerful traditions, the Army, the Navy, the Marines, and the Air Force completely abandoned segregation.

"Today Negroes serve in every branch of the Armed Forces on equal basis with whites, and so far there has been neither friction nor any "incidents." In view of the pre-draft backgrounds of these youths, and the generations of racist indoctrination which had conditioned them, this is truly remarkable."

COLUMBUS (OHIO) DISPATCH - 28 Mar 54

"This is a factual and informative account of what has been taking place in the United States Armed Forces in recent years to integrate the Negro into the life and pattern of the various branches of the service."

PRESBYTERIAN LIFE - 3 Apr 54

"You put down the book satisfied that you have learned how it really happened and excited to know that Christian idealism, as well as military necessity, forced our government at long last to accept the Negro into the armed forces on an equal footing with the white man."

CLEVELAND (OHIO) PLAIN DEALER - 14 Mar 54
by Rey L. Gillespie

"One of the great stories of our times is the manner in which Negroes were integrated into the armed services ..... one of the most dramatic success stories in modern American history; that it is a story of changing times and attitudes ....."

SALT LAKE (UTAH) TRIBUNE - 7 Mar 54

"In many respects "Breakthrough on the Color Front" is an important sociological document.

"By accomplishing within a few years what many had predicted would take a century, the armed forces have opened the possibility that perhaps the civilian adjustment of the color problem would be a lot closer to reality if concrete steps were taken."

WILMINGTON (DELAWARE) SUNDAY STAR - 7 Mar 54

"..... the signs presently show where we shall all one day walk. For those who follow this pattern, Breakthrough on the Color Front has a special significance ..... For here is the story of integration in the armed forces, a unity accomplished, literally, in months ..... the quiet revolution which came to a climax in the last years of the Korean conflict ..... in a "conspiracy of silence ....."

"And the individual histories of the great sacrifices Negroes made for whites and whites for Negroes is the kind of experience which

stirringly renews one's faith in this land and its noble principles. ....."Integration seems to lessen racial tension rather than increase it." There is a lesson for us all in this."

BOOKS ON TRIAL - 1 Apr 54

"This is the story of quiet heroics, of men who suffered insults and opposition but still continued the fight to prove that Negroes were not second rate citizens."

WEST SIDElights, YMCA (NY) - 12 Apr 54

"In a time when tension and misunderstanding are all too common, the recently published book Breakthrough on the Color Front comes as a welcome contribution to the cause of human relations."

NIEMAN REPORTS - Apr 54

"Jim Crow has been discharged from the armed forces of the United States, and an alert newsman has dug out the story to make a thorough, straightforward, and very hopeful book ..... He thinks defense department "Integration" may turn out to be one of the biggest stories of this century, and his book makes a good case for that judgment."

QUOTATIONS FROM INDIVIDUAL COMMENTATORS

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

"This book records the first thoroughly effective step that has been made in implementing the Emancipation Proclamation."

JOHN W. DAVIS

"The work of Nichols will give strength to the exponents of real democracy in America and the world. The Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines should be applauded on significant progress achieved to date in an important area of world concern."

JUDGE WILLIAM H. HASTIE
(Former Civilian Aide)

"It was thoughtful of you to bring Nichols' book to my attention. I have read it and have written to Nichols saying what a worthwhile job I think he has done."

JEAN BYERS SAMPSON
Author of "A Study of The Negro in Military Services" - 1947 Monograph

"I had been aware of the rapid progress being made by the services ...., but the speed and the success with which integration was accomplished were not impressed on me until I read Mr. Nichols' book. It is a wonderful story and such a heartening one. It is good to be able to feel proud of your country's accomplishments.....I hope it's not too much to expect that the inevitable integration in civilian educational facilities will occur as sensibly and amicably."

LESTER B. GRANGER

"I enjoyed reading Lee Nichols' "Breakthrough On The Color Front" from start to finish, for several reasons. It is well written and immensely readable. It is closely documented. Its coverage is broader than that of any previous volume on the subject. It includes the human interest part of the story by going into personalities and motives, as well as facts and figures. Lee Nichols has made a tremendous contribution to the whole movement of interracial integration."

LT. COLONEL DAVID A. LANE

"I have just finished reading Lee Nichols' Breakthrough On the Color Front. I like it very much and I hope it will receive wide circulation.....the simple truth up to now is rather staggering."

WALTER WHITE - NAACP

"Lee Nichols' book does two important things. It makes one proud to be an American. And it proves that refusal to compromise with evil pays off in a democracy.....but I learned a lot from his exciting story of

how the armed services tackled and licked the job of making those services truly democratic."

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE

"The Breakthrough on the Color Front is very stimulating and interesting. The walls are truly crumbling."

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER
(In Pittsburgh Courier, 6 Mar 54)

"Lee Nichols' excellent book "Breakthrough on the Color Front" tells of the revolution in the armed forces which banished racial segregation forever. It is really something to read and preserve."

BILLY ROSE
(In Times Herald, 3 Mar 54)

"So much for the small f'rinstance in human relations. The big one was recently documented in a book by Lee Nichols, a Washington newspaperman, and issued by Random House under the title, "Breakthrough on the Color Front." It tells the all but secret story of how, in a few short years, the armed forces of the United States have almost completed a total about-face on the Negro question."

JAMES C. EVANS - CIVILIAN ASSISTANT
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

"We feel that in publishing this report, Random House is making a contribution to national defense through solidarity."

L 0220

King, Martin Luther, Jr. Stride Toward Freedom. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958.

Pages 43-44

"There was to be much speculation about why Mrs. Parks did not obey the driver. Many people in the white community argued that she had been "planted" by the NAACP in order to lay the groundwork for a test case.... So persistent and persuasive was this argument that it convinced many reporters from all over the country...."

"But the accusation was totally unwarranted, as the testimony of both Mrs. Parks and the officials of the NAACP revealed. Actually, no one can understand the actions of Mrs. Parks unless he realizes that eventually the cup of endurance runs over, and the human personality cries out, 'I can take it no longer'.... She was not planted there by the NAACP or any other organization; she was planted there by her personal sense of dignity and self respect."

Page 103

"... The tension is, at bottom, between justice and injustice, between the forces of light and the forces of darkness. And if there is a victory, it will be a victory not merely for fifty thousand Negroes, but a victory for justice and the forces of light..."

Page 93

"To deprive man of freedom is to relegate him to the status of a thing, rather than elevate him to the status of a person."

Wright, Richard. "12 Million Black Voices". New York: Viking Press, 1941.

Page 15

"Captivity under Christendom blasted our lives, disrupted our families, reached down into the personalities of each one of us and destroyed the very images and symbols which had guided our minds and feelings in the effort to live. Our folkways and folk tales, which had once given meaning and sanction to our actions, faded from consciousness. Our gods were dead and answered no more. The trauma of leaving our African home, the suffering of the long middle passage, the thirst, the hunger, the horrors of the slave ship - all these hollowed us out, numbed us, stripped us, and left only physiological urges, the feelings of fear and fatigue."...

"In the latter part of the 18th century, however, the conduct of most of the Lords of the Land began to alter toward us. To evade the prevailing Christian injunction that all baptized men are free, and to check our growing record of revolt, , they culled from the Bible a thousand quotable verses admonishing us slaves to be true to our masters. Thereupon they felt that they had squared conscience with practice, and they extended Christian salvation to us without granting the boon of freedom. This dual attitude, compounded of a love of gold and God, was the beginning of America's paternalistic code toward her black maid, her black industrial worker, her black stevedore, her black dancer, her black waiter, her black sharecropper; it was a code of cas-

ual cruelty, of brutal kindness, of genial despotism, a code which has survived, grown, spread, and congealed into a national tradition that dominates, in small or large measure, all black and white relations throughout the nation until this day."

Page 41

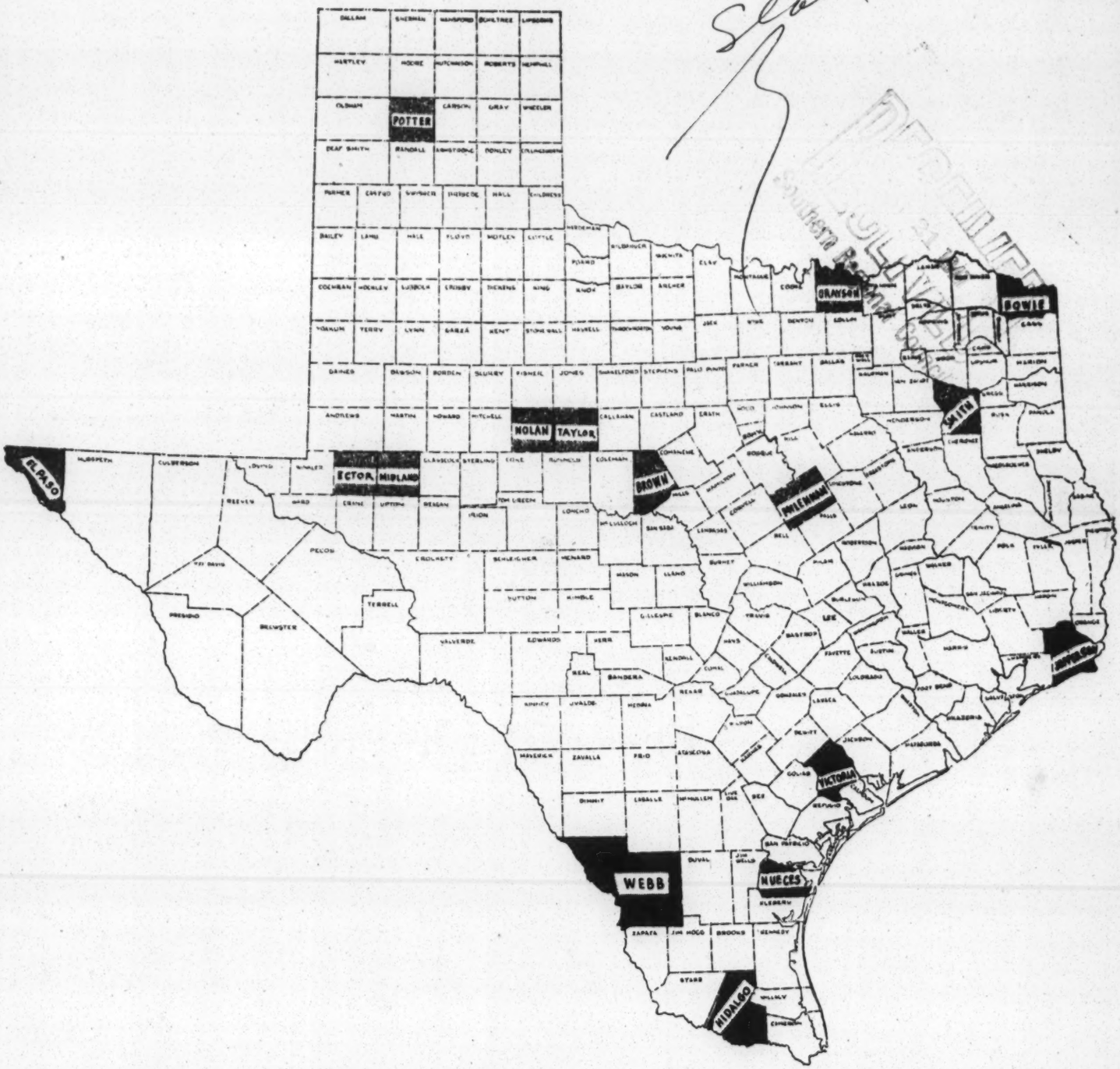
"Always we said what we thought the whites wanted us to say."

Hall, Prince
Negro founder of the African Lodge of Masons. 1797, Boston.

"Patience, I say, for were we not possessed of a great measure of it, you could not bear up under the daily insults you meet within the streets of Boston; much more on public days of recreation, how are you shamefully abused, and that at such a degree that you may truly be said to carry your lives in your own hands....

"My bretheren, let us not be cast down under these and many other abuses we presently labor under; for the darkest hour is before the break of day. My bretheren, let us remember what a dark day it was with our African bretheren six years ago in the French West Indies.... But blessed be to God, the scene is changed, they now confess that God hath no respect of persons, and therefore receive them as their friends and treat them as brothers. Thus doth Ethopia begin to stretch forth her hand from a sink of slavery to freedom and equality."

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREN RECEIVING CHILD WELFARE SERVICES ON JANUARY 1, 1947



Administrative Report, Series 3

Special Study No. 171

April 24, 1947

Austin, Texas

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREN RECEIVING SERVICE IN TEXAS

Personal Characteristics

The State Department of Public Welfare through its 16 child welfare units and nine regional child welfare offices was giving case work services to 3,312 Texas children on January 1, 1947, an increase of 48 children over the number receiving service a year ago. The number of boys and girls receiving service was evenly divided; the ratio of 50 per cent boys and 50 per cent girls was essentially the same as that reported on January 1, 1946. This same sex ratio was approximated for each race-nationality group.

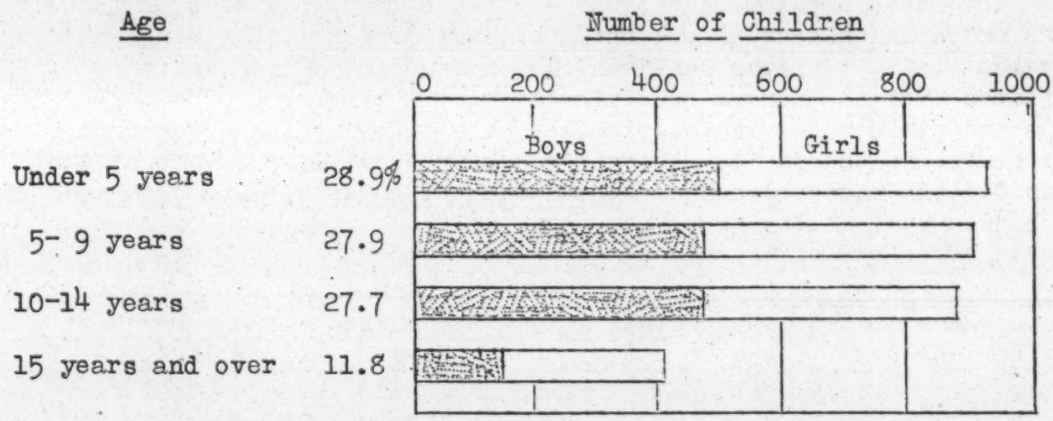
Race Nationality	Total		Number		Per Cent	
	Number	Per Cent	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Total.....	3,312	100%	1,651	1,661	50%	50%
Anglo-American..	2,138	65	1,049	1,089	49	51
Latin-American..	713	21	346	367	49	51
Negro-American..	450	14	250	200	56	44
Other.....	11	*	6	5	54	46

* Less than 1 per cent.

Since Latin-American constitute a relatively large element of the population in El Paso, Hidalgo, Nueces, and Webb Counties in which child welfare units are located, this group was tabulated separately from other whites in order to provide a more complete analysis of the caseload. The distribution of the caseload by race-nationality reflected only slight variations from that of a year ago, the percentage of Anglo-Americans decreased by five while the percentages of Latin-American and Negro-American increased by two and three respectively. The 1940 census, which does not separate Latin-Americans from other white persons, showed the Texas population to be 85.5 per cent white and 14.4 per cent Negro.[1] The child welfare caseload as of January 1, 1947 was 86.1 per cent white and 13.6 per cent Negro while corresponding percentages 12 months ago were 88.6 and 11.2.

1/ 16th Census of the United States, 1940, Population, Second Series, Texas, Table 4.

Over half of the children receiving service (56.8 per cent) were under 10 years of age while slightly more than one-third were five years of age or less and 5.4 per cent were under 12 months. Approximately 38 per cent of the boys were between the ages of 10 and 16 inclusive and 40 per cent of the girls were between the ages of 10 and 17 inclusive while 97 per cent of the boys were under 17 years of age and 98 per cent of the girls under the age of 18. The median age of both boys and girls under 21 was eight years while the mean age for each sex group approximated the same figure.



Location

Nearly two-thirds of the number of children receiving service were living in their own homes while 78 per cent were receiving service either in their own homes or in the homes of relatives. The percentage distribution of children by their location at the end of the month varied only slightly throughout the year. A comparison of January 1, 1947 data with those of a year ago indicates a decrease of 4 per cent in the number of children living in their own homes and an increase of 3 per cent in the number living in foster-family homes.

Location	Number of Children		Per Cent of Children	
	1-1-47	1-1-46	1-1-47	1-1-46
Total.....	3,312	3,264	100.0%	100.0%
Own home.....	2,131	2,233	64.3	68.4
Relative's home..	391	378	11.8	11.6
Foster home				
Boarding.....	255	202	7.7	6.2
Adoptive.....	160	91	4.8	2.8
Free.....	86	101	2.6	3.1
Work or wage..	5	6	0.2	0.2
Institution				
Private.....	187	137	5.6	4.2
Public.....	70	78	2.1	2.4
Elsewhere.....	27	38	0.8	1.2

Since the aim of case work is to keep families intact whenever possible, the high proportion of children in their own homes and with relatives is, on the whole, a healthful manifestation. The increase in the number of children living in foster-family homes may be indicative of an expanding foster-home program. It is realized that the continued development and expansion of the foster-home program for those children who need a substitute home is desirable.

The 257 children in public and private institutions represent only those children who were receiving direct case work service through the Department and not the entire institutional population of Texas. The distribution of boys and girls by their location at the end of the month showed no significant variation between the sexes.

Status of Case

Eighty-three per cent of the cases reviewed were new, 10 per cent were reopened, and 7 per cent were recurrent; corresponding percentages a year ago were 85, 8, and 7. A reopened case is one which had been known to the agency but had not been active within the 12-month period preceding the new request for service. A recurrent case is one in which the child received service within the 12-month period but the case had been closed and reopened within this period.

Service was initiated within the year in nearly two-thirds of the cases, which indicates that the child welfare units deal with cases of relatively short duration. It is significant to note that similar studies show that service was initiated within the year in 67 per cent and 66 per cent of the cases receiving service on January 1 of 1945 and 1946 respectively. Of the 2,119 cases in which service was initiated during 1946, 39 per cent were opened during the last quarter, 26 per cent during the third quarter, and 35 per cent during the first half of the year.

Year Service Was Initiated	Per Cent of Cases Receiving Service		
	1-1-47	1-1-46	1-1-45
Total.....	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
1946.....	64.0	XX	XX
1945.....	20.4	66.4	XX
1944.....	7.7	20.4	67.2
1943.....	3.4	7.1	20.0
1942.....	2.1	3.1	7.4
1941 & earlier..	2.4	3.0	5.4

The child welfare units were organized at different times as local community interest and need developed. The Nolan and Taylor County units were established in 1936, the Nueces County unit in 1937, the Victoria and Smith County units in 1938, the Brown County unit in 1941, the Bowie, El Paso, McLennan, Midland, and Potter County units in 1942, the Grayson, Jefferson, and Webb County units in 1943, the Ector County unit in 1944, and the Hidalgo County unit in 1945. In the latter part of 1945 and during 1946 nine child welfare regional offices were established. These regional supervisory offices were introduced in order to extend, develop, and strengthen child welfare services to counties having neither child welfare units nor local public or private agencies, to give consultative service to public assistance workers, to supervise child welfare workers, and to carry out community development work.

Percentage variations of status of case among race groups were slight. The percentage of new cases for each of the three major race-nationality groups approximated that of the total caseload while each of the 11 cases classified as "other" were new cases.

Status of Case	Total		Anglo-American		Latin-American		Negro-American	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total..	3,312	100.0%	2,138	100.0%	713	100.0%	450	100.0%
New.....	2,744	82.8	1,731	81.0	610	85.6	392	87.1
Recurrent.	227	6.9	153	7.2	43	6.0	31	6.9
Reopened..	341	10.3	254	11.8	60	8.4	27	6.0

Reason for Request

As has been true in previous years the greater portion of reasons for request for service fell within the dependency and neglect classification. Sixty-seven per cent of the requests for service came within this classification while the percentage a year ago was 71. It should be noted that the reason tabulated is the one given by the source of referral and does not represent the diagnosis of the case by the child welfare worker.

The reasons for request, which were stated in the terms used by the sources of referral, were grouped into six broad classifications: dependency and neglect, behavior problems, court cases, handicapped children, unmarried mothers, and other type cases. Dependency and neglect include all cases where a plan was requested for a child and all foster-home placements, as well as the more technical phases of dependency, neglect, or abuse. Behavior problems include runaways, truants, and those cases in which the reason for the request was given as delinquency, unless information on the schedule indicated that the case had been taken to court. In the last instance, delinquency cases were

included in court cases, together with custody and parental support cases. Services for unmarried mothers or their children were classified under the separate heading "unmarried mothers," even though such services usually involve child placement and could be considered as pertaining to dependency cases. Handicap cases include service to children with physical or mental handicaps. The latitude allowed in these classifications does not permit complete reliance upon the findings.

The distribution of dependency and neglect cases as between boys and girls approximated the 50-50 distribution of a year ago. Behavior problems were distributed on nearly the same 60-40 basis as a year ago with boys again predominating. Handicapped cases showed an increase from 81 to 107 cases with an increase of 10 in the percentage of girls.

Reason for Request	Total		Number		Per Cent	
	Number	Per Cent	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Total.....	3,312	100%	1,651	1,661	50%	50%
Dependency and neglect.....	2,226	67	1,080	1,146	49	51
Behavior problems.....	312	10	193	119	62	38
Handicap cases.....	107	3	58	49	54	46
Court cases.....	57	2	35	22	61	39
Unmarried mothers.....	46	1	10	36	22	78
Other.....	564	17	275	289	49	51

No significant distribution of reasons for request by race was indicated. For each of the three leading race-nationality groups the distribution of reasons for request for service approximated that for the total caseload.

Marital Status of Parents

The larger proportion of children in each major race group came from homes broken by divorce, separation, or desertion: 40 per cent of the Anglo-Americans, 27 per cent of the Latin-Americans, 46 per cent of the Negro-Americans, and 38 per cent of all children. One-fourth of the children receiving service came from homes in which the marriage was still intact and 7 per cent from homes in which the marriage of the natural parents had been broken by death or divorce but one (or both) of the natural parents had remarried another person and this marriage was intact. Thus 32 per cent of the children came from families in which marriage was intact. The third largest number of children, 530 or 16 per cent, came from homes broken by death of one or both parents.

Comparable data for prior periods are not available since the marital status of parents reported in this study was the status as of January 1, 1947 while in previous reports the status was given as of the time service was initiated. On January 1, 1945 and 1946: 39 per cent and 37 per cent of the children receiving service came from families in which the marriage was intact at the time service was initiated; 33 per cent and 35 per cent respectively from homes broken by divorce, separation, or desertion at the time service was initiated; 19 per cent and 17 per cent respectively from homes broken by death of one or both parents.

The variations in the percentage distribution of children by the marital status of the parents by race on January 1, 1947 are partially explained by the mores of the races.

Marital Status of Parents	Total		Per Cent Distribution by Race1/		
	Number	Per Cent	Anglo-American	Latin-American	Negro-American
Total.....	3,312	100.0%	2,138	713	450
Divorced, separated or deserted.....	1,252	37.8	39.8%	27.1%	45.8%
Married.....	838	25.3	28.9	20.9	14.7
Unmarried.....	341	10.3	7.1	14.2	19.6
Mother dead.....	230	6.9	5.1	12.2	7.6
Father dead.....	228	6.9	5.7	13.2	2.7
Remarried.....	217	6.6	7.9	3.9	4.7
Both parents dead...	72	2.2	1.3	4.9	2.0
Other.....	49	1.5	1.2	2.4	1.5
Not reported.....	85	xx	xx	xx	xx

1/ "Other" omitted because of insignificant numbers.

TABLE NO. 1.--NUMBER OF CHILDREN
RECEIVING SERVICE ON JANUARY 1, 1947, BY AGE AND SEX

Age	Total		Sex	
	Number	Per Cent	Male	Female
Total.....	3,312	100.0%	1,651	1,661
Less than 1 year...	178	5.4	92	86
1 year.....	172	5.2	87	85
2 years.....	198	6.0	106	92
3 years.....	205	6.2	105	100
4 years.....	201	6.1	91	110
5 years.....	217	6.6	105	112
6 years.....	190	5.7	94	96
7 years.....	185	5.6	84	101
8 years.....	158	4.8	84	74
9 years.....	171	5.2	97	74
10 years.....	175	5.3	88	87
11 years.....	183	5.5	100	83
12 years.....	182	5.5	93	89
13 years.....	181	5.5	86	95
14 years.....	197	5.9	89	108
15 years.....	160	4.8	83	77
16 years.....	125	3.8	57	68
17 years.....	63	1.9	28	35
18 years.....	30	0.9	10	20
19 years.....	6	0.2	4	2
20 years.....	3	0.1	0	3
21 years and over..	4	0.1	0	4
Not reported.....	128	x.x	68	60

TABLE NO. 2:--NUMBER OF
CHILDREN RECEIVING SERVICE ON
JANUARY 1, 1947, BY RACE AND CHILD WELFARE UNIT

Unit	Total	Number of Children by Race			
		Anglo-American	Latin-American	Negro-American	Other
Total.....	3,312	2,138	713	450	11
Bowie.....	149	131	0	18	0
Brown.....	148	145	1	2	0
Ector.....	31	31	0	0	0
El Paso.....	244	61	161	21	1
Grayson.....	71	69	0	2	0
Hidalgo.....	223	70	153	0	0
Jefferson...	622	461	10	145	6
McLennan....	295	175	23	97	0
Midland.....	151	83	35	33	0
Nolan.....	127	117	8	0	2
Nueces.....	252	111	111	29	1
Potter.....	195	178	11	6	0
Smith.....	252	166	0	85	1
Taylor.....	114	107	5	2	0
Victoria....	177	81	94	2	0
Webb.....	100	11	89	0	0
Region 1-C..	7	5	0	2	0
Region 2-C..	15	15	0	0	0
Region 3-C..	21	18	1	2	0
Region 4-C..	45	39	4	2	0
Region 5-C..	29	23	5	1	0
Region 6-C..	21	20	1	0	0
Region 7-C..	4	4	0	0	0
Region 8-C..	17	15	1	1	0
Region 9-C..	2	2	0	0	0

TABLE NO. 3.--NUMBER OF CHILDREN
RECEIVING SERVICE ON JANUARY 1, 1947, BY LOCATION AND CHILD WELFARE UNIT

Unit	Total	Number of Children by Location				
		Own Home	Relative's Home	Foster Home	Insti-tution	Other
Total.....	3,312	2,131	391	506	257	27
Bowie.....	149	91	17	33	8	0
Brown.....	148	105	22	10	8	3
Ector.....	31	23	2	6	0	0
El Paso.....	244	114	25	61	43	1
Grayson.....	71	44	15	9	3	0
Hidalgo.....	223	161	26	23	9	4
Jefferson....	622	401	50	107	61	3
McLennan.....	295	214	25	29	25	2
Midland.....	151	122	11	9	3	6
Nolan.....	127	95	14	11	6	1
Nueces.....	252	132	55	55	10	0
Potter.....	195	111	25	37	22	0
Smith.....	252	171	33	41	7	0
Taylor.....	114	63	23	15	9	4
Victoria.....	177	149	4	4	20	0
Webb.....	100	51	20	14	13	2
Region 1-C...	7	3	0	3	1	0
Region 2-C...	15	5	5	4	1	0
Region 3-C...	21	10	1	10	0	0
Region 4-C...	45	22	11	9	3	0
Region 5-C...	29	20	0	7	1	1
Region 6-C...	21	15	1	3	2	0
Region 7-C...	4	4	0	0	0	0
Region 8-C...	17	4	5	6	2	0
Region 9-C...	2	1	1	0	0	0

TABLE NO. 4.--NUMBER OF CHILDREN RECEIVING SERVICE ON JANUARY 1, 1947, BY LOCATION AND SEX

Whereabouts	Total	Sex	
		Male	Female
Total.....	3,312	1,651	1,661
Own Home.....	2,131	1,044	1,087
Relative's Home.....	391	188	203
Foster Home			
Boarding.....	255	136	119
Adoptive.....	160	83	77
Free.....	86	44	42
Work or Wage.....	5	2	3
Institution			
Private.....	187	101	86
Public.....	70	42	28
Elsewhere.....	27	11	16

TABLE NO. 5.--NUMBER OF CHILDREN RECEIVING SERVICE
ON JANUARY 1, 1947, BY STATUS OF CASE AND CHILD WELFARE UNIT

Unit	Total Children	Status of Case		
		New	Reopened	Recurrent
Total.....	3,312	2,744	341	227
Bowie.....	149	132	6	11
Brown.....	148	122	19	7
Ector.....	31	27	2	2
El Paso.....	244	190	37	17
Grayson.....	71	61	5	5
Hidalgo.....	223	211	6	6
Jefferson.....	622	535	45	42
McLennan.....	295	249	17	29
Midland.....	151	139	5	7
Nolan.....	127	75	49	3
Nueces.....	252	204	17	31
Potter.....	195	163	19	13
Smith.....	252	195	33	24
Taylor.....	114	86	20	8
Victoria.....	177	149	19	9
Webb.....	100	75	23	2
Region 1-C....	7	7	0	0
Region 2-C....	15	11	3	1
Region 3-C....	21	19	1	1
Region 4-C....	45	40	0	5
Region 5-C....	29	14	14	1
Region 6-C....	21	19	0	2
Region 7-C....	4	4	0	0
Region 8-C....	17	15	1	1
Region 9-C....	2	2	0	0

TABLE NO. 6.--NUMBER OF CHILDREN RECEIVING SERVICE
ON JANUARY 1, 1947, BY AGE AND REASON SERVICE WAS REQUESTED

Age	Total	Reason for Request					
		Dependency and Neglect	Behavior Problems	Handi-capped	Court Cases	Unmarried Mothers	Other
Total.....	3,312	2,226	312	107	57	46	564
Less than 1 year..	178	90	0	3	4	24	57
1 year.....	172	129	0	3	3	2	35
2 years.....	198	154	2	3	7	1	31
3 years.....	205	162	1	4	4	1	33
4 years.....	201	158	5	5	5	1	27
5 years.....	217	178	5	7	4	1	22
6 years.....	190	146	9	2	9	0	24
7 years.....	185	142	11	4	3	0	25
8 years.....	158	109	10	10	2	0	27
9 years.....	171	117	20	6	1	0	27
10 years.....	175	118	20	10	2	1	24
11 years.....	183	115	26	7	1	1	33
12 years.....	182	107	37	10	3	1	24
13 years.....	181	90	43	6	2	2	38
14 years.....	197	111	50	7	4	0	25
15 years.....	160	85	41	6	1	1	26
16 years.....	125	65	12	3	0	5	40
17 years.....	63	49	8	3	0	1	2
18 years.....	30	22	4	2	0	0	2
19 years.....	6	4	0	0	0	1	1
20 years.....	3	1	0	0	0	2	0
21 years and over.	4	0	0	0	0	1	3
Not reported.....	128	74	8	6	2	0	38

TABLE NO. 7.--NUMBER OF CHILDREN RECEIVING SERVICE
ON JANUARY 1, 1947, BY MARITAL STATUS OF PARENTS AND REASON SERVICE WAS REQUESTED

Marital Status of Parents on 1-1-47	Total	Reason For Request					
		Dependency and Neglect	Behavior Problems	Handi-capped	Unmarried Mothers	Court Cases	Other
Total.....	3,312	2,226	312	107	46	57	564
Divorced, separated, deserted...	1,252	875	97	19	7	25	229
Married.....	838	535	113	55	9	18	108
Unmarried.....	341	253	5	9	25	4	45
Mother dead.....	230	155	27	10	3	2	33
Father dead.....	228	158	28	5	2	1	34
Remarried.....	217	139	25	5	0	6	42
Both parents dead.....	72	41	12	1	0	1	17
Other.....	49	25	5	3	0	0	16
Not reported.....	85	45	0	0	0	0	40

TABLE NO. 8.--PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN RECEIVING SERVICE
ON JANUARY 1, 1947, BY MARITAL STATUS OF PARENTS AND REASON SERVICE WAS REQUESTED

Marital Status of Parents on 1-1-47	Total	Reason For Request					
		Dependency and Neglect	Behavior Problems	Handi-capped	Unmarried Mothers	Court Cases	Other
Total.....	100.0%	67.2%	9.4%	3.2%	1.4%	1.7%	17.0%
Divorced, separated, deserted....	37.8	26.4	2.9	0.6	0.2	0.8	6.9
Married.....	25.3	16.2	3.4	1.7	0.3	0.5	3.3
Unmarried.....	10.3	7.6	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.1	1.4
Mother dead.....	6.9	4.7	0.8	0.3	*	*	1.0
Father dead.....	6.9	4.8	0.8	0.2	*	*	1.0
Remarried.....	6.6	4.2	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.2	1.3
Both parents dead.....	2.2	1.2	0.3	*	0.0	*	0.5
Other.....	1.5	0.7	0.2	*	0.0	0.0	0.5
Not reported.....	2.5	1.4	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	1.2

* Less than 0.1 per cent.

TABLE NO. 9.--NUMBER OF CHILDREN RECEIVING SERVICE
ON JANUARY 1, 1947, BY RACE AND MARITAL STATUS OF PARENTS

Marital Status	Total		Number By Race			
	Number	Per Cent	Anglo-American	Latin-American	Negro-American	Other
Total	3,312	100.0%	2,138	713	450	11
Divorced, separated, deserted	1,252	37.8	850	193	206	3
Married	838	25.3	618	149	66	5
Unmarried	341	10.3	152	101	88	0
Mother dead	230	6.9	109	87	34	0
Father dead	228	6.9	121	94	12	1
Remarried	217	6.6	168	28	21	0
Both parents dead	72	2.2	28	35	9	0
Other	49	1.5	25	17	7	0
Not reported	85	2.5	67	9	7	2

TABLE NO. 10.--NUMBER OF CHILDREN RECEIVING SERVICE
ON JANUARY 1, 1947, BY LOCATION AND MARITAL STATUS OF PARENTS

Marital Status of Parents on 1-1-47	Total	Location of Children				
		Own Home	Relative's Home	Foster Home	Institution	Elsewhere
Total	3,312	2,131	391	506	257	27
Divorced, separated, deserted	1,252	829	160	158	92	13
Married	838	710	31	63	30	4
Unmarried	341	123	40	156	19	3
Mother dead	230	92	64	29	41	4
Father dead	228	153	28	24	23	0
Remarried	217	146	28	19	22	2
Both parents dead	72	10	23	27	11	1
Other	49	26	9	8	6	0
Not reported	85	42	8	22	13	0

TABLE NO. 11.—NUMBER OF CHILDREN RECEIVING SERVICE ON JANUARY 1, 1947, BY MARITAL STATUS OF PARENTS AND CHILD WELFARE UNIT

Unit	Total	Number of Children by Marital Status of Parents on 1-1-47								
		Divorced, Separated, Deserted	Married	Un-married	Mother Dead	Father Dead	Re-married	Both Parents Dead	Other	Not Reported
Total.....	3,312	1,252	838	341	230	228	217	72	49	85
Bowie.....	149	54	29	17	15	22	5	3	3	1
Brown.....	148	40	47	5	10	11	27	1	7	0
Ector.....	31	10	3	3	0	5	6	0	0	4
El Paso.....	244	74	53	51	20	28	7	2	6	3
Grayson.....	71	31	22	10	6	1	0	0	0	1
Hidalgo.....	223	78	54	19	22	27	4	9	6	4
Jefferson.....	622	300	135	52	22	21	41	7	17	27
McLennan.....	295	114	83	23	15	9	38	7	3	3
Midland.....	151	53	58	13	12	6	5	0	0	4
Nolan.....	127	27	67	3	10	2	14	2	1	1
Nueces.....	252	68	38	40	17	19	48	15	3	4
Potter.....	195	116	38	15	17	4	1	2	0	2
Smith.....	252	102	68	33	20	12	5	4	0	8
Taylor.....	114	57	24	3	14	8	0	3	0	5
Victoria.....	177	40	75	12	10	24	11	4	0	1
Webb.....	100	28	8	19	9	19	0	12	0	5
Region 1-C.....	7	0	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	2
Region 2-C.....	15	9	2	3	0	0	0	1	0	0
Region 3-C.....	21	8	9	2	0	1	0	0	0	1
Region 4-C.....	45	22	3	7	4	4	0	0	0	5
Region 5-C.....	29	4	12	4	5	1	3	0	0	0
Region 6-C.....	21	12	1	1	1	3	0	0	2	1
Region 7-C.....	4	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Region 8-C.....	17	4	4	4	0	1	0	0	1	3
Region 9-C.....	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

18-Juvenile Delinquency

SUMMARY REPORT OF YOUTH SECTION
Citizens Crime Prevention Committee
201 Wesley Memorial Bldg.,
Feb. 19th., 1948

The following is a summary of results of the Youth Section meeting held January 16 and of subsequent telephone and personal conferences and special meetings

1. The Atlanta School Board has made available one of the Portables at Crew St. School, providing heating, lighting and janitorial services after school hours.

2. The Atlanta Recreation Dept. is starting with an every-afternoon and 2 night a week Recreation program for all age groups at the Crew St. Portable.

3. The Atlanta Lions Club is paying for a part-time trained recreation leader, secured and supervised by the Y.W.C.A. for a special teen-age program at Crew St. Portable.

4. The Painters and Carpenters Unions are donating the labor necessary and the Atlanta Paint, Varnish and Lacquer Dealers Association is donating the materials to redecorate Dr. Felton William's Atlanta's Mission on Pulliam St.

5. The Fifth District American Legion and its Ladies Auxiliary are paying for a part-time trained recreation leader, secured and supervised by the Y.W.C.A., for a special girls program at Atlanta's Mission.

6. A radio-phonograph combination was donated by the Women's Chamber of Commerce to the Crew St. School.

7. Mimeograph Machine was donated by Community Chest to the Carver Boys Club.

8. Books and Magazines for the Library of Carver Boys Club donated by the Women's Chamber of Commerce.

9. Set of reference books donated by Women's Chamber of Commerce to Girl Scouts.

10. Telephone Workers Club donating $150.00 to furnish small room at Atlanta's Mission Camp for Girls.

11. Booster Club paying $450.00 for furnishing one bedroom at Atlanta's Mission Camp for Girls.

12. A Commercial Artist, member of Fraternal Order of Eagles has volunteered to work with group of boys at Atlanta Boys Club.

13. A movie camera enthusiast, member of Eagles is giving volunteer time to Boys Club.

14. Two women volunteers are working with Public Affairs Committee of the Y.W.C.A. on improving movies shown to children.

15. Columbia Seminary Students have asked for a list of volunteer jobs they can undertake.

Julian Whatley, Chairman

SUGGESTIONS TO MINISTERS AND LAY CHURCH LEADERS
from
CHURCH SECTION, Citizens Crime Prevention Committee
201 Wesley Memorial Bldg. - La. 6391

TO HELP REDUCE CRIME AND DELINQUENCY, MINISTERS AND LAY CHURCH LEADERS CAN:

1. Help members of Congregation to become more aware of the causes of Crime and Delinquency and of the prevention measures which can be taken in the Home, School, Community.

2. Sponsor attractive, teen-age recreation programs for the youth served by the Church, permitting the boys and girls to plan and carry out their activities.

3. Sponsor Girl Scout, Boy Scout, Camp Fire troops, providing meeting space, necessary equipment and leadership.

4. Urge members to prepare themselves to serve as volunteers in Scout, Campfire, Y. W. C. A. and other similar programs, asking them to share their talents, hobbies, interests with boys or girls.

5. Organize and sponsor discussion groups of young people and adults on such subjects as Boy-Girl Relations, Preparation for Marriage, Family Life - Crime Prevention Committee can help find skilled and trained leaders, if Church desires such help.

6. Organize and sponsor discussion groups of parents, mothers and fathers on child guidance and training - Crime Prevention Committee can help as in 5 above.

7. Share with other Ministers and lay church leaders your knowledge of how to establish recreational, counselling, etc. programs, - Crime Prevention Committee will be glad to act as clearing-house for both those who will give much service and those who would like to receive it.

8. Help Congregation to develope keener interest in the well-being of others and of the community generally - urge their active interest and support of:

   School Programs, especially the further development of a specially skilled and trained visting teacher staff and the use of school buildings and facilities for community programs outside school hours;

   Public Recreation,, especially in sub-standard areas

   Slum Clearance Programs

   More adequate support of the Community Chest - so that the private social agencies can more nearly meet the needs of our children youth and adults.

   Public Welfare Department, Juvenile Court, Police - so that they can render the best possible service.

   Other Community Services

2-10-48

CITIZENS CRIME PREVENTION COMMITTEE - Fulton County & Atlanta

Why Needed - Purpose - Organization -Program

WHY NEEDED:

Records reveal that in 1927 and periodically since then, Judges, Grand Juries and civic and service organizations have "viewed with alarm" and passed resolutions about our "appalling crime and delinquency problem".

The latest nation-wide survey by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, shows Atlanta near the top among cities of like population in the incidence of crime -

There was a TWENTY-THREE percent INCREASE in serious crime in Fulton County in 1946 -

There was a TWENTY-NINE percent INCREASE in arrests of persons 16 to 21 years of age for serious crime in 1946 -

Records prove that the great majority of the criminals of today began their lives of crime by committing minor anti-social acts at a very early age -

It is well known that anti-social behavior is a composite program - the result of many influences on the individual -

Therefore the Citizens Crime Prevention Committee was organized to attack the causes of crime and delinquency and has the following purpose:

PURPOSE:

To marshall and unite the efforts of the entire citizenry of the Atlanta Area in action programs to attack and eliminate the causes of crime and delinquency -

To promote and support sound programs of crime prevention of existing agencies and organizations -

To secure more general understanding on the part of parents, teachers, church workers, civic club members and others - - of the causes of crime and delinquency - and of the preventive measures or services available.

ORGANIZATION:

The Citizens Crime Prevention Committee, composed of representatives of Business, Labor, Religious, Civic and Service Organizations, Schools, Police, Courts, Public and private Social Agencies - is the Governing Board.

The Board meets five times during the year, Sept., Nov., Jan., Mar., May, bimonthly except during the Summer and approves programs recommended by the Sections.

The Chairman is authorized to call emergency meetings of the Board when absolutely necessary.

The Executive Committee is elected by the Governing Board and is authorized to act between meetings of the Board. It approves section programs, secures

necessary funds, supervises all expenditures and operations, sets qualifications, tenure and compensation of staff and reports its activities to the Board.

Sections, composed of Committee members and other citizens, meet as often as, in their discretion, is necessary to carry out their responsibilities.

PROGRAM:

Youth Section: Mr. Julian Whatley, Chairman, Mr. Pup Phillips, Vice-Chairman - assists youth-serving agencies to secure more adult leadership and - assists civic clubs to find practical and needed youth projects to sponsor.

Church Section: Dr. A. V. Gibson, Chairman, Mrs. W. B. Suddeth, Vice-Chairman, suggests and sponsors the development of specific crime and delinquency prevention programs by all Churches of the area, making its information and services available to all Ministers, Priests, Rabbis and lay Church leaders.

Protective Agencies Section: Mrs. Malcolm Bryan, Chairman, Mr. Parks Huntt, Vice-Chairman - help Schools, Police, Courts, Probation Service, Social Agencies, to secure a better understanding of each others' programs and services - so that early detection and treatment of delinquents and pre-delinquents may be more extensive.

Neighborhood Effort Section: Mr. Harllee Branch, Jr., Chairman, Mr. Hinton Longino, Vice-Chairman - assist residents of and agencies working in areas of high crime and delinquency incidence to find and identify neighborhood causes and develop specific and practical prevention programs.

Public Education and Information Section: Mr. Charles Yates, Chairman, Mr. Alex Miller, Vice-Chairman - plan and carry out campaigns to acquaint every citizen with the size, seriousness and cost of the crime problem - and with preventive measures available, utilizing press, radio, films, speakers, leaflets, etc.

Also promotes and arranges various educational opportunities for parents, such as classes, discussions, forums, etc., working with schools churches, P.T.A. and others.

Research Section: Mr. James W. Wiggins Chairman - secures and keeps up to date from all existing sources basic facts concerning crime and delinquency and obtains special information as needed by other Sections.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS
of
JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

The following are excerpts from intensive and extensive studies made over a period of 15 years by Drs. Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck, Professor and Research Associate in Criminology of Harvard Law School.

CHARACTERISTIC	DELINQUENTS
1. Parents had 5th grade or less education	50%
2. Separation, divorce or desertion	20%
3. One or both parents dead	25%
4. Families in marginal economic circumstances	68%
5. Families dependent on social agencies	8%
6. Mothers had to work	41.5%
7. Fathers unskilled, irregular workers	40%
8. Homes overcrowded, unclean, inadequate	62%
9. Neighborhood with corrupting influences such as street gangs, centers of vice or crime, no nearby playgrounds or parks, etc.	80%
10. Stopped school at 6th or 7th grade	46%
11. Stopped school at 8th grade	25%
12. Were gainfully employed	66%
13. Of those gainfully employed - those in street trades, newsboys, bootblacks, etc.	58%
14. Frequented streets, gambled or made other harmful use of leisure	93%
15. Never belonged to supervised playgrounds, Scouts, Y's, etc.	76%
16. Seriously delinquent prior to appearing before Juvenile Court	95%
17. Truants from school	67%
18. First symptons of maladjustment or misconduct shown at 6 years or less	14%
19. First symptoms shown at 10 years or less	63%
20. Continued to commit crimes during 5 years after appearing before Juvenile Court	88%

CITIZENS CRIME PREVENTION COMMITTEE - 9-11-47
201 Wesley Memorial Building
ATLANTA-FULTON COUNTY

18 - Juvenile Delinquency

OUR FUTURE CITIZENS

Proceedings

Community Conference on Juvenile Delinquency

APRIL 26-27, 1948
MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM
ATLANTA, GA.

It Takes Many Things A Long Time To Make A Delinquent or Criminal

CHILDREN RECEIVING SERVICE FROM PUBLIC WELFARE AGENCIES,
BY STATE, DECEMBER 31, 1948*

State and Reporting Coverage[a]	Total
Total, 53 States	[c]223,187
Substantially Complete Reports:	
Total.....	[c]213,491
Alabama	8,239
Alaska	611
Arizona	2,208
Arkansas	1,549
Colorado	[c]1,719
Delaware	[c]779
Dist. of Columbia	[c]2,800
Florida	1,685
Hawaii	[c]2,228
Idaho	261
Illinois	3,675
Indiana	13,660
Iowa	2,222
Kansas	[c]2,543
Kentucky	3,025
Louisiana	2,026
Maine	[c]3,233
Maryland	2,534
Massachusetts	9,654
Minnesota	[c]10,407
Mississippi	1,744
Missouri	5,096
Montana	843
Nebraska	1,608
Nevada	273
New Hampshire	[c]2,165
New Jersey	9,443
New Mexico	1,094
New York	41,506
North Carolina	7,510
North Dakota	1,005
Ohio	[c]16,417
Oklahoma	1335
Puerto Rico	6,806
Rhode Island	[c]1,996
South Carolina	3,984
South Dakota	578
Tennessee	886
Texas	3,631
Utah	908
Vermont	1,999
Virgin Islands	858
Virginia	7,070
Washington	6,472
West Virginia	~~5,959~~ 5,944
Wisconsin	6,993
Wyoming	269
Incomplete Reports:	
Total.....	9,696
California	2,845
Connecticut	542
Georgia	1,593
Michigan	1,080
Oregon...	871
Pennsylvania	2,765

[a]The States classified as having substantially complete coverage reported 90% or more of the children served. Those classified as incomplete reported less than 90% of the children served.

[c]Includes a number of children for whom whereabouts are unknown (eg. not known whether they are in homes of parents or relatives, in foster homes, in institutions, or elsewhere)

* Source: Federal Security Agency, Social Security Administration, Children's Bureau (Division of Statistical Research, Social Statistics Section, June 1949), Washington 25, D. C.

	Total	Percent
Continental U. S.	212,684	100.0%
13 Southern States	44,277	20.8
Rest of U. S.	168,407	79.2

SRC computation

18 - Juvenile Delinquency

A SUMMARY OF THE MOST PRESSING NEEDS

EDUCATIONAL, HEALTH and WELFARE

OF AMERICA'S 46 MILLION CHILDREN

(17 YEARS and UNDER)

RECEIVED
APR 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

This statement was prepared by
THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE
EDUCATION FUND, INC.

from reports of U. S. Government, National Education Association, American Academy of Pediatrics, National Child Labor Committee, National Citizens Council for Migrant Labor, National Commission on Children and Youth, etc.

THERE is great inequality of health, educational and welfare facilities among the States. In the poorer States the citizens have not enough income that can be taxed by the State or by the towns in which they live to provide adequate schools and health and welfare services. Furthermore, in the poorer States there are as many as 50 percent more children per 1000 adult population than in the richer States. So children unfortunate enough to be born in the poorer States are getting a particularly raw deal! They are growing up without adequate schooling, without proper health facilities and without decent welfare services such as are provided in the more prosperous communities and States. Even in the richer States many schools are overcrowded and unsafe, and the child health and welfare services pitifully inadequate. Can the United States afford such shocking neglect of children?

Children are our most precious and promising national asset. They alone can assure our future as a democratic people. And yet we are subjecting them to the conditions described below:

Educational Needs of Children

More than 4 million children of school age do not attend school at all either because there are no schools or because school attendance laws are laxly enforced. Many children go to school only six months a year. In many communities there is no schooling beyond the eighth grade. Many schools are fire-traps. There are still about 100,000 one-room wooden schoolhouses, where one

teacher teaches children of all ages. 75,000 teaching positions remain unfilled; 110,000 "emergency teachers" are being employed without proper qualifications. Money for education is not only too little but is unequally distributed; some communities spend sixty times as much on education per child as others do.

Schools are already overcrowded. In some communities children have to attend two-shift, even three-shift schools. Because of the sharp rise in the birth rate during and since the war increasing numbers of children will be flooding the schools. In three years (1951) school enrollments will be up 2,400,000 more than in 1948; in eight years (1956) 8,000,000 over 1948. The estimated cost of needed new school construction between now and 1956 is $6,800,000,000 or $850,000,000 a year above present school expense budgets.

Health Needs of Children

Every hour 12 babies die! And many, many mothers also die needlessly. At least one-half the maternal deaths and one-third the infant deaths are preventable. Although the national death rate for babies under a year old has been reduced to 34 per 1000 births, yet in one State 28 babies out of 1000 died, while in the State at the other end of the list, 100 out of 1000 died. Nearly a quarter of a million mothers and babies have no medical care at childbirth and during the first few days of life.

Seventy-five percent of American school children need dental care; 10 million have

defective vision; 4 million have hearing defects. Half a million have orthopedic and plastic defects. 175,000 have active tuberculosis. Rheumatic fever and diseases of the heart cripple half a million children.

Forty percent of our counties have no hospitals. Twenty-five percent of our children live in areas where no full-time public health services are available.

Only 50,000 out of the 200,000 school units have a school lunch program. Approximately two-thirds of school-age children do not benefit. Growing evidence proves that the school lunch program, by providing proper nourishment, if only for one meal a school day improves health, reduces absences from school.

One out of every 20 American children is destined, as conditions are now, to be a patient at sometime in a mental institution. Most mental difficulties begin in childhood, yet 25 States have no child guidance clinic in any community. Full time clinical service for child guidance is provided in only 27 of the largest cities.

Welfare Needs of Children

Nearly four million children are fatherless, motherless, or both. Yet six out of every ten such children neither receive public assistance (grants for aid to dependent children) nor Social Security benefits (as survivors of men who have died after being in covered employment). Some 564,000 children are receiving Social Security benefits as survivors. The average monthly benefit for a family, in which a single child receives a

benefit, is $13.10. Half the children whose fathers died in 1946-47 did not qualify for even this meager benefit. For one million of the children receiving public assistance (23 out of every 1000 under 18 years) the average grant was only $24.21 per child per month. Five-sixths of all U. S. counties have no full-time child welfare workers paid from public funds one-half are concentrated in seven states, mainly in urban counties.

Other Needs of Children

Child Labor: More than 2,000,000 boys and girls 14 through 17 work, part or full time. This is twice as many as were gainfully employed in 1940. These figures do not include children under 14, many thousands of whom work in agriculture. 56% of these children are not attending school. Federal laws protect only about 20% of children against harmful employment, in industries which ship goods interstate.

Juvenile Delinquency: At least 250,000 youngsters annually come before juvenile courts.

Children in Migrant Farm Families: Hundreds of thousands of children in families of migrant farm laborers fail to receive the health, education, and welfare benefits available to children of fixed residence.

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AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE
EDUCATION FUND, INC.
52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

18-Juvenile delinquency

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Southern Regional Council

JUVENILE COURTS IN NORTH CAROLINA

By Wiley B. Sanders

Here is a book which explodes popular misconceptions and reveals shameful weaknesses in one of our most important social institutions. The medieval conditions of many North Carolina jails, for example, have become an old story, but how many people realize, for example, that as recently as 1944, 19.2% of all delinquents held in county jails were under fourteen years of age? Equally surprising are other findings: such as the recent decrease in delinquency hearings for boys and the increase for girls; and statistics on the nature of charges.

Any brief statement cannot even suggest the many startling and significant materials discovered and evaluated by Mr. Sanders, who the Asheville Times says has placed the state and its children in his debt for this competent volume. Presenting statistics and systematic information on 107 courts, the author concludes that much good has been accomplished, but he also asserts that only by focusing attention on such faults as he reveals can the system be improved.

"Every one who in any way has a sense of relation and responsibility for the conduct pattern of children will find it intriguing; that would seem to include teachers, preachers, doctors, social workers, intelligent parents, and those charged with public media interpretation. This book will serve as a guide for a new counter attack on a major problem in our State." -- The Durham Herald.

224 pages. Size 6" x 9". $4.00

- -

The University of North Carolina Press
Box 510
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Gentlemen:

Please send me _____ cop___ of JUVENILE COURTS IN NORTH CAROLINA by Wiley B. Sanders, at $4.00 per copy.

Remittance enclosed _____ Name _____

Send C. O. D. _____ Address _____

Bill me _____ City and State _____

4/22/49

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Dr. Hill has asked me to send these announcements to you because he feels that you are especially interested in this phase of the program. He would appreciate your passing them along to your constituency, friends and staff members.

Jeanette P. Cameron

J. P. Cameron
Secretary to Dr. Hill

18- Juvenile Delinquency

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENTS OF HISTORY AND PREHISTORY, POLITICAL SCIENCE,
SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Foundations of Social Science

Seminars in Crime and Delinquency
April 25, 26, 27, 1949

Dr. Mabel A. Elliott
Chairman, Department of Sociology
Pennsylvania College for Women

RECEIVED
APR 25 1949
Southern Regional Council

Seminars:
3:45-5:45 Monday, April 25 - "Theories of Criminality"

Tuesday, April 26 - "Types of Criminal and Delinquency Research and Special Needs for Further Research"

Wednesday, April 27 - "Treatment of Criminals and Delinquents"

PUBLIC FORUM:
8 P. M. Wednesday, April 27 - "Delinquent Behavior in Peoples and the Community's Responsibility for the Prevention of Delinquency"

The forum will be held in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library. Meeting place of seminars to be announced.

Dr. Elliott will be available for conferences with interested students and faculty. Arrangements may be made through the Office of the Department of Sociology, Room 209, Administration Building, WA. 7956.

THEORIES OF CRIMINALITY

Lecture I

I. Personality Theories
   A. Biological
      1. Heredity Factors
      2. Developmental Factors
      3. Race

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Charles Goring, The English Convict, London, 1913.
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W. A. Bonger, Race and Crime (translated by Margaret M. Horduk), New York, Columbia University Press, 1943.
Hans von Hentig, Crime, Causes and Conditions, Chapter VII, "Race and Crime" and Chapter VIII, "The Doctrine of Physical Determinism"

   B. Psychological
      1. Mentality
      2. Emotional
         a. Insecurity
         b. "Mental" illness

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William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment, Yale University Press, 1936.

II. Specific Types of Offenders
   A. The Woman Offender
   B. Murderers
   C. Sex Offenders
   D. Embezzlers
   E. Conscientious Objectors, et. al.

Lecture II -"Types of Criminal and Delinquency Research and Special Needs for Further Research"

I. Monographic Research on Characteristics of Criminals and of the Causation of Crime

A. Single Explanation type, as treated for example by following and many others

H. H. Goddard, Juvenile Delinquency (feeblemindedness), New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1921.

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B. Multiple Factors

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C. Crime Surveys

The Missouri Crime Survey

The Illinois Crime Survey

The Reports of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, 1931.

D. Institutional Surveys

The Report of the Kansas (Temporary) Public Welfare Commission 1933.

E. Crime Among the General Population

Austin L. Porterfield, Youth in Trouble, 1947.

F. Criminal Law

G. Texts - Compilatory Research

II. Research Needs for More Extensive Study of General Behavior Patterns.

A. Need for further study of relation between socio-economic-political status and criminal legislation, defining norms, etc.

Lecture III - "Treatment of Criminals and Delinquents

I. Socio-political aegis of criminal law and the conflicting viewpoints existing in our law.

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IV. Parole Procedures

The Attorney General's Survey on Release Procedures, 1935-1939

"The von-Hentig-Bates Parole Controversy." (Elliott) Jr. Criminal Law, 1944, (July, August).

"The Four Million" in New York

By Samuel R. Milbank

*Chairman, the New York State Citizens' Committee of One Hundred for Children and Youth**

The care and development of children is a responsibility of all the people, and I know that you will, therefore, go to the people of New York State for suggestions, ideas, opinions and facts to consider in your deliberations." With this charge Governor Thomas E. Dewey, on a memorable spring day in 1950, set the course to be followed by the New York State Citizens' Committee of One Hundred for Children and Youth.

Some fourteen months later the committee, having gone to the people, reported to the people. It had completed a painstaking study of services for the four million young people of the State. The report, entitled "The Four Million," is a 200-page document that is both an inventory and a blueprint. It is the embodiment of what was found, both good and bad, and what should be done to improve the spiritual, emotional, and physical development of the State's greatest resource: its younger citizens.

A few days after "The Four Million" appeared, *The New York Times* editorially expressed the hope that the report, "unlike many others which lie in dusty files, will become a living thing, a source of inspiration to community agencies and to the public, where, in the last analysis, responsibility rests."

Although this observation was prompted by an undertaking in New York, the concept of public responsibility quite obviously crosses all State borders, to apply with equal force everywhere in a democracy. The project in New York was paralleled, in one fashion or another, in every State and territory.

The nation-wide appraisal of child care and protection was made under the stimulus of preparation for the 1950 Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth. If one could call the roll of all who took part, directly or indirectly, in this vast enterprise, some 100,000 names would be sounded. Many of them would identify officials of State governments, for the studies generally were conducted by existing State youth agencies, or by specially appointed committees, assisted and supported by appropriate State departments and agencies.

The latter pattern was followed in New York. The ultimate purpose of the endeavors here, and in the other States, was to produce action for the benefit of children and youth. The project in New York was organized and executed to serve this objective in two rather definite and complementary ways: by bringing to public attention the information that is requisite to such action, and by presenting the information in such a manner as would sharpen the public's sense of responsibility for taking the action.

One of the strengths of the New York State Citizens' Committee of One Hundred for Children and Youth was that the Governor appointed it only after the greatest care had been taken to assure that the membership would be widely and strongly representative of the people of the State. To lay the groundwork for this, and to provide high level government support and cooperation, there was first appointed an Advisory Committee, under the chairmanship of the State Commissioner of Health. The other members were the State Commissioners of Agriculture and Markets, Correction, Education, Labor, Mental Hygiene, and Social Welfare, the Chairman of the State Parole Board and the Director of the State Youth Commission.

Three months later the Citizens' Committee was named. It was perhaps the most representative group of its kind in the State's history. Members were chosen from all sections of the State, from the larger religious groups, from management and labor, from the major political parties, from the fields of medicine, nursing, law, probation, social work, teaching, education, recreation, institutional care, etc. They came from the courts, the police, veterans' organizations, granges, women's clubs, scouting, 4-H clubs, the Y's and other groups.

To do the job of gathering and weighing the facts, the committee broke the problem into parts and organized sections on child care, child health, mental health, education, youth services, rural youth, industrial youth, and protective and correctional care. A member of the committee served as chairman of each section, and an official of the appropriate department of the State government served as secretary and technical adviser for the section.

The whole structure, as built in New York State,

*Mr. Milbank is President of the New York State Charities Aid Association, Vice-President of the Milbank Memorial Fund, a Trustee of the Community Service Society of New York City, and of Barnard College.

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therefore, rested on a foundation of partnership between government and private citizen. Each section, with members of the Citizens' Committee serving as a nucleus, took on additional members, both lay and professional, and before the organization of the sections was completed, the membership numbered more than 600.

As the work proceeded, hundreds of additional persons contributed by responding to questionnaires and otherwise providing facts and opinions on the needs of children and youth. Most of these persons were associated with cooperating organizations which already had available or could obtain material that was sought. The inquiry reached in many directions, into all facets of the subject and into all sections of the State. It was a grassroots study, searching and persistent, the most exhaustive of its kind ever undertaken in the State.

The mass of raw material thus acquired was analyzed and recorded so that each section could prepare a report. The section reports together comprised more than 2,500 typewritten pages of findings and recommendations. To prepare the final report of the Citizens' Committee, on the basis of these section reports, there was appointed a Steering Committee, consisting of the eight section chairmen, the State Commissioners of Health and Welfare, representatives of the three largest religious groups in the State, and the Chairman of the Citizens' Committee. This group, it will be noted, was large enough to be strongly representative, and small enough for a working assignment of this sort. The draft resulting from the Steering Committee's deliberations was then approved by the Citizens' Committee as a whole, and "The Four Million" went to press.

THROUGHOUT its 200 pages, "The Four Million" stresses the concept that child development must be viewed and nurtured as a whole, that growth embraces the emotions as well as the physique, and the spirit together with the intellect. A companion theme is that the home, school, church, and community all have an influence upon and a responsibility for the maturing of the child.

The report also reflects, through repeated emphasis, the conviction of the Citizens' Committee that religion is of the utmost importance in guiding children to maturity and throughout life.

To present the situation fairly and with validity, "The Four Million," of course, cites strengths as well as weaknesses in services for children. The report calls for improvements in many areas of child care and protection. But it points out that existing services are of a relatively high order. New York has, in general, sound laws relating to the health and welfare of its children, and sound policies and administrative practices. State budgetary provisions are reasonably adequate. By and large, too, the programs of local government agencies are basically sound, as are the programs of voluntary organizations.

The committee found, however, that services were inadequate, sometimes acutely so, in the rural areas of the State, where some 750,000 children and youth live. A large portion of these young people have not been provided with the more modern community benefits in health, education, social services, etc. In urban areas, too, there was found need for expansion and improvement of services.

To set forth here an adequate summary of 200 pages of findings and recommendations would consume a prohibitive amount of space. On the other hand, some of the more or less specific facts and conclusions of "The Four Million," it may be assumed, will be of interest to readers of STATE GOVERNMENT for purposes of comparison. The following paragraphs, therefore, are offered in the form of abstracts, but with some caution. They embrace only some of the findings and recommendations, and because of the need of compression, they cannot convey the more readable style of "The Four Million," which was intended expressly to reach laymen as well as professionals. Nor should they be read without bearing in mind that "The Four Million" necessarily turns the spotlight on those children who are distressed, underprivileged, handicapped, or in trouble, whereas the great mass of children are enjoying normal lives and are steadily advancing toward maturity. Because of space limitations, the many accomplishments of public and private agencies cannot be cited here, except in most general terms. The abstracted findings and recommendations are presented under the chapter headings employed in "The Four Million."

The Family: Many children today are denied the security and influence found in family unity, due to disruptions of the family, which often seem attributable to personality and emotional conflicts, heightened in many cases by economic need. The efforts of public and private agencies in helping families hold together have shown marked progress in the State, but additional efforts are needed to strengthen programs for the preservation of family solidarity. There is need for more parent education, more family life education in the schools, more of the fine influence to be found in religion, closer school-home relationships, better recreational programs, and more counseling and guidance services for parents and children. Also, more homemaker services seem to be required in many sections of the State, and a careful study should be made of the needs within various communities for day-care cen-

ters, particularly in view of the demands that may be made for the employment of mothers in defense industries.

There should be more teamwork within the community between individuals and agencies concerned with services to the family. It is also recommended that a statewide committee be appointed, to consist of members of the clergy and of the legal, medical, and social work professions, to develop a program for stabilizing family life.

Care Away from Home: When it is necessary for a child to receive foster care—care outside his own home for an extended period of time—it is desirable, in most instances although not in every case, to place the child with a family. A study of children in foster care in New York during the past ten years shows a decrease in the number of children in institutions, with a shift generally from institutions to family placements. Nevertheless, there are not enough foster homes, and the shortage is particularly acute for children with physical or emotional handicaps and those whose problems are complicated by delinquency.

The number of child adoptions in New York in 1949 was about two and one half times the number in 1940. More attention should be given, however, to the placement of older children, those with certain racial backgrounds, and those with physical handicaps. Furthermore, there should be greater recognition that adoption services are effective only when they are related to sound basic services for dependent and neglected children, such as good boarding home programs and adequate services for unmarried mothers.

Education: Schools in New York, like those all over the nation, have suffered from such problems as the bumper crop of "war babies" now beginning school; from overcrowded classes; from sometimes inadequate teacher personnel; from inadequate supplies and outmoded buildings in some instances; and from various economic and other pressures on teachers and other personnel.

The schools themselves must give training and education suited to the abilities, needs, and interests of the individual child. This requires a program that is broad and flexible, and the trend in the State is in this direction. Some elementary schools, however, still give attention almost exclusively to academic subjects, and in the secondary schools curricula are not sufficiently adapted to all students.

If the teacher is to have the necessary understanding of her pupils, she must be supported by a range of other school personnel, including school psychologists, professionally trained attendance workers, guidance counselors, visiting teachers, school nurses, dental hygiene teachers, etc. Many more of these workers are needed in the schools, particularly in the rural areas.

Good schools, like good communities, depend upon the support of the citizens, and it is recommended that school boards and administrators encourage more lay participation and interest in the schools, including the participation and interest of people who have no official or family connection with the schools, as well as those who are in parent-teacher associations and other groups.

Physical and Mental Health: Although a wide range of health services is available to children and youth in New York, there are various gaps which should be filled. The periodic medical examination, for instance, is an essential element in any health program for children; in New York infants up to one year old generally are receiving such examination, but many between the ages of one and five, for whom the regular examination continues to be important, are not. Greater effort should be made by physicians, nurses, teachers, and all others concerned with children to impress upon parents the value of health supervision after infancy.

The State has made progress in establishing county and city health departments with full-time personnel, but 40 per cent of the upstate residents still do not have the protection and benefits of locally coordinated health services.

Favorable legislation already exists and generous State financial aid is available for establishment of full-time local health departments; unprotected local communities are urged to take the necessary action through appropriate local governmental bodies.

Despite increased emphasis in recent years on the mental and emotional health of children, and the expansion of programs by official and voluntary agencies in the State, this aspect of child development should be promoted even more strongly. More attention should be paid to mental health principles and practices in the basic training of all individuals and groups working intensively with children and youth. Spiritual leaders, teachers, nurses, social workers, health educators, and many others must play more active roles in the field of mental health.

There is a widely recognized but serious need for more child guidance clinics, and here a primary problem is the finding of personnel to staff the clinics. More adequate and competent training should be given to personnel supporting the clinics, including social workers, teachers, nurses, and others.

Physically Handicapped Children and Youth: New York has more than 200,000 children whose development is impeded by physical handicaps, and although services for the handicapped have grown rapidly in recent years, many of these children still

are not receiving full care and protection. Some are being educated in special school classes, but there are many children in smaller communities for whom such facilities are not available. More adequate allowance of State funds is recommended for the education of certain types of physically handicapped children.

Necessary medical services are unavailable to many handicapped children; it is particularly important for them to have the services of teams of specialists, all of whom may contribute to the children's special needs, including those of an emotional and social character. Steps should be taken to assure the earliest possible detection of handicapping conditions and the most effective diagnosis and treatment.

It is important that every effort be made to keep the handicapped in the main stream of social and educational growth so far as possible. It is also important to combat the tendency to concentrate too exclusively on the problems of the more seriously handicapped, and thus give insufficient attention to the larger numbers of children who are less seriously handicapped but who also need special assistance.

All the physically handicapped would benefit from further coordination between the various individuals and organizations having a special interest in one or another category of the handicapped.

Mentally Handicapped Children and Youth: Another group of handicapped children, the mentally retarded, requires many more services than are now being provided. Many of these children could be trained for effective citizenship if they had special education; many could be employed in some capacity, and many could be taught to take better care of themselves.

Knowledge about the extent and nature of the problem of the mentally retarded in New York is meager. But it is clear that there are severe shortages in nurseries, special school classes, and clinical facilities for them.

A legislative commission should be established to study the entire question of mental retardation in the State, and funds should be supplied for research into causes, prevention, and treatment.

Children and Youth in Trouble: A study of services and facilities for children and youth in trouble confirms the principle that prevention is to be preferred to cure, and that treatment in the community is to be preferred to the use of institutions. Many of the delinquents in public and private institutions in the State have become delinquent because the family has failed to give the necessary security, guidance, and training; or, in a larger sense, because the community has failed the family.

A general strengthening of community programs to combat juvenile delinquency is strongly recommended, although the State government has been giving assistance to many communities for this purpose in recent years.

In New York City, the children's courts have full-time judges, appointed by the Mayor. The wisdom of leaving the selection of these judges entirely in the hands of one "as busy, harrassed and subject to pressure as any mayor of New York City must be" is questioned. Consideration should be given to limiting the mayor to appointments from a list of candidates submitted by a panel, on which there would be a substantial representation of agencies interested in the field of child welfare.

Of the fifty-seven counties outside New York City only eleven have judges who devote full time to the affairs of children. The children's court judge must be concerned with dependent, neglected, abandoned, and physically handicapped children, as well as with those who may be delinquent. The need for more full-time children's court judges in this upstate area is obvious.

In both New York City and upstate, probation services, which are essential to any children's court, should be strengthened by raising standards of selection and training and by appropriate adjustments in salary. Of the fifty-seven upstate counties, eleven make no provision for any full-time salaried probation services, and in thirty-eight upstate counties probation services are being rendered to the children's courts by departments which generally serve all the other courts within the county. The question of a State subsidy to help meet probation costs should be considered.

State and private training schools for delinquents are showing progress in the individualization of treatment, education, and training; the concept that the institution has only a custodial mission is falling further into the discard.

Institutions for the youth group (16–21 years old), however, were found to be inadequate. The two State reformatories for males are overcrowded and, as units, are too large for effective, individualized treatment. Thus, there should be more and diversified institutions for the application of effective treatment and training methods to the various types of delinquent youth. There is also a need for more specialized personnel to staff the institutions.

A study of laws relating to youth in trouble, with particular reference to the Youthful Offender Law and the Wayward Minor Act, showed that there was wide variation in their administration by the courts. Clarification is needed as to whether both laws are required and, if so, how they should be applied.

Children and Youth in the World of Work: The child labor standards of New York, in the main,

adequately serve the accepted principle that boys and girls, for a rounded development, must have enough time for both schooling and recreation, and that their work must not impair their physical or mental health or their morals.

New York's general legal maximum for working hours of children under 16 is 44 hours a week, and for children from 16 to 18, 48 hours a week. It may be time now to bring the 44-hour and 48-hour limits on children's employment into conformity with prevailing industrial practice, which is the 40-hour week. More restrictive measures, of course, already apply to children who are carrying the double burden of school and of work and thereby need special protection.

As regards the employment of children in hazardous occupations, it was found that for 40 years there has been no substantial change in the State law forbidding such employment. Most of the law's provisions apply to children under 16, but 18 is becoming the accepted minimum age in the United States for working at hazardous occupations. New York State accordingly should consider setting a higher minimum age for such employment.

The Child and the Community: In many communities of the State cooperative planning for recreation should be accelerated, so that children may take advantage of existing recreation opportunities and additional facilities may be effectively developed.

All communities should determine what youth-serving programs are in operation locally, and a central agency should integrate this information into an accurate statewide directory of youth services. Steps should be taken to promote better public understanding of the achievements and needs of youth-serving agencies.

Experience has shown that councils of social agencies and similar community-wide groups provide effective coordination leading to community betterment. Citizen advisory committees should be developed throughout the State for community services, and these committees should unite in planning with the boards of directors of private agencies.

NOW, WHAT of the response to "The Four Million?" What of follow-up action? These questions quite naturally have long been in the minds of all who participated in the project. Indeed, there was established, following the White House Conference, a national voluntary organization to encourage, guide, and coordinate follow-up activities through the country. Known as the National Midcentury Committee for Children and Youth, with headquarters in New York City, the group reports that almost every State is "doing something definite to put into effect the recommendations developed in its study."

The question of whether a follow-up organization was needed in New York was carefully weighed. Two facts were clear. First, the State already has many strong and experienced agencies, both official and private, which are devotedly concerned with the well-being of younger people. Secondly, through the years there has developed a close and fruitful cooperation between government and voluntary efforts in this field, as in others.

Against this background, it was decided that existing agencies generally suffice for the work, although they need more public understanding, public support, and public participation. It was also recognized that each agency could take up certain of the new tasks outlined by the Citizens' Committee; for most of the tasks, indeed, had been suggested, directly or indirectly, by the agencies themselves during the period of gathering material for the report.

Nevertheless, there appeared to be need for a group which would serve in the role of coordinator. The Governor, therefore, has appointed a coordinating body under the chairmanship of the State Commissioner of Education and composed of the same State officials who constituted the Advisory Committee that worked with the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred. To provide additional continuity, and even more importantly, to assure that the public would be directly represented by private citizens, the Governor named the chairmen of the eight sections of the Citizens' Committee to advise with the coordinating body. The State Youth Commission serves as the secretariat, and the Citizens Committee of One Hundred, having completed its assignment, has disbanded.

Thus the Governor wisely preserved, for the follow-up program, the public-private partnership that characterized the studying and reporting phases of the enterprise.

AT THIS writing, some four and a half months have elapsed since "The Four Million" appeared. It is, of course, too early to measure the report's impact in terms of new or expanded programs for children and youth. But, to date, "The Four Million" has been received with enthusiasm. The first printing of 5,000 has been exhausted, by distribution to key individuals and organizations, public and private, and by filling of requests for additional copies. To fill 1,500 more requests, it was necessary to reprint, and additional requests still are being received daily.

Throughout the State there have been many productive meetings on how various recommendations

of "The Four Million" can best be put into effect. Some of these discussions have been held by statewide organizations, like the New York State Association of Councils of Social Agencies and the State Charities Aid Association, both voluntary groups. Others have been of a more local nature. In many instances the leadership has been taken by prominent individuals who participated in the study as members of the Citizens' Committee or of its sections.

In this connection, it is noteworthy that at least two of the section reports, on child care and youth services, are being reproduced for wide circulation with the assistance of the State Department of Social Welfare and the State Youth Commission, respectively. Another report, based to a considerable extent on the findings and recommendations of the child health section, is being published cooperatively by the section, the State Health Department, the State Medical Society, and the American Academy of Pediatrics.

The more detailed information of all these reports, which may be considered supplementary to "The Four Million," accordingly, is being made available to State and local agencies which are in a position to take action. There is a good deal of evidence, therefore, that "The Four Million," directly and indirectly, is in fact fulfilling its purpose of informing and stimulating those who can and should act for the benefit of the State's four million young people.

This, then, has been the story of New York State's participation in a great national movement on behalf of children and youth. In the light of the reaction to "The Four Million," New Yorkers are justified in expecting that services for children will expand and improve until all the State's young people receive the best which current knowledge affords.

"The Four Million," as Governor Dewey has pointed out, has implications even beyond the prospect of such benefits. In accepting the report from the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred, the Governor said:

"This document is further evidence of the practical operation of a free republic. Our citizens do not look upon their government as something separate and apart from their lives but as a living social force of which they are creative components. It is in a nation composed of such citizens that our children can thrive and grow and, in the foreseeable future, achieve a world of lasting peace."

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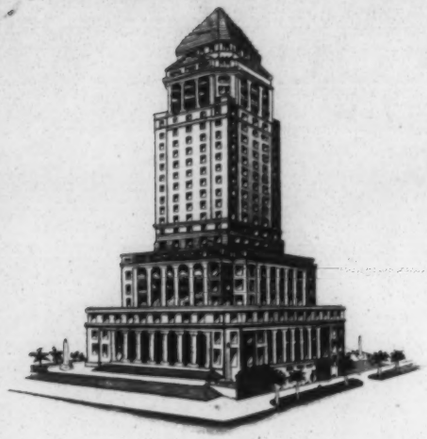

DADE COUNTY COURT HOUSE

SHERIFF'S OFFICE

DADE COUNTY

BUREAU OF JUVENILE AID & EDUCATION

MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

J. B. "SONNY" HENDERSON
SHERIFF
POST OFFICE BOX 3038
MIAMI 30, FLORIDA

December 24, 1952

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Asst. Professor of Human Relations, Univ. of Miami
Coral Gables 34, Florida.

Dear Dr. Routh:

Hereinafter are set forth the policies, aims and objectives of the Bureau of Juvenile Aid & Education, an office recently established pursuant to directives of the Sheriff's Department:

The alarming, unremitting and quasi-universal increase, in violence as well as incidence, of juvenile crime and delinquency, deplorable condition particularly accentuated in the metropolitan area of Greater Miami by an ever-growing influx of new residents, transients and tourists of heterogeneous origins, and aggravated by widespread family dislocations directly or indirectly stemming from the Korean emergency, has confronted the chief law enforcement authority of Dade County—the Sheriff's Department—with the compelling urgency of establishing a permanent Bureau of Juvenile Aid and Education.

This newly-constituted office has been commissioned with the duties and responsibilities of planning and organizing the creation and supervising the execution of county-wide programs of action, whose over-all objective is the speedy and effective curbing, and possibly ultimate reduction to a point of relative insignificance, of that malignant by-product of our times—rampant adolescent crime and delinquency—in this urban conglomeration of South Florida.

The accomplishment of this worthy, admittedly ambitious, goal entails and fervently envisages the active and generous cooperation of the highly civic-minded men and women of Dade County, who—whether individually, severally, or in existent organizations, including those whose activities only tangentially appertain to law-abiding, as well as delinquent, minors—have long distinguished themselves and earned the abiding gratitude of their beloved community by the rendering of selfless, invaluable, humanitarian services.

To this end, the Bureau has been designated to function as a central authority, coordinating related tasks of disparate local youth-serving agencies, private and public: educational, religious, social welfare, civic, public information, juridical, and law enforcement; singly and together engaged in tackling the essential problem of accurately re-evaluating the underlying pathological, psychological, sociological and economic factors contributing to or causative of youthful irresponsibilities and transgressions. Upon the basis of exhaustive findings derived therefrom, proceed with appropriate means to assist the juvenile's

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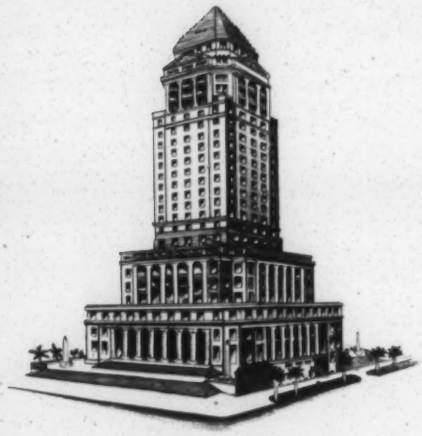

DADE COUNTY COURT HOUSE

SHERIFF'S OFFICE

DADE COUNTY

BUREAU OF JUVENILE AID & EDUCATION

MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

J. B. "SONNY" HENDERSON
SHERIFF
POST OFFICE BOX 3038
MIAMI 30, FLORIDA

CONTINUED:

re-integration into the normal patterns of society; and, as corollary thereto, recommend the institution of incisively deterrent measures or laws designed to minimize the occurrence of juvenile lawlessness within the county.

Inasmuch as the Statutes of Florida specifically provide, through the creation of county juvenile courts, for the juridical assistance and rehabilitation of those juvenile delinquents of both sexes under seventeen years of age, the mission of the embryonic Bureau of Juvenile Aid and Education manifests itself as being two-fold: Firstly, the inauguration of a systematically planned program of referral casework, affording professional assistance on an individual basis to those youthful offenders between seventeen and twenty-one years of age. The reconditioning and aspired-after permanent readjustment of these minors—whose incipient deviations have not progressed into stages of hardened, irreformable criminality and, therefore, still capable of being checked and removed, by public-spirited scientists utilizing the latest concepts and techniques of socio-psychiatric interviews, examinations and treatments found economical as well as successful—is to be sedulously attempted. The ultimate result, sanguinely anticipated from this project, shall be the enduring re-assimilation of inchoate juvenile criminals with the mainstream of life, thereby acquiring thereto decent and productive adherents, instead of perennially tax-absorbing, community-menacing adult reprobates.

The second, and concluding, mandate assigned to the Bureau of Juvenile Aid and Education consists of activating, spearheading, and becoming the centrifugal force of a county-wide, sustained drive, animated and staffed by zealous collaborators recruited from all segments of community life, whose dynamic function shall be the instigation and execution of preventive actions aimed not only at eradicating causes and iniquitous sources corrupting youth, but also improving facilities and services indispensable to their healthful physical, mental and spiritual development.

Of the varied programs, already devised or projected by the Bureau, to combat juvenile delinquency with preventive measures, the one to which it has accorded its paramount consideration, and from which it anticipates the most productive results, is the Junior Deputy Sheriff's League of Dade County, an organization, operating under the official sponsorship and guidance of the Sheriff's Department, closely modeled after the renown

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DADE COUNTY COURT HOUSE

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CONTINUED:

and highly successful Police Athletic League of New York City-County, financially supported by general public donations.

Recently charted, and just emerging from its fledgeling state, our Junior Deputy Sheriffs' League has already succeeded in enrolling a membership of nearly two thousand, attesting to its inherent popular appeal, and to its pressing necessity, in this area.

Implicit in the general framework of aims and objectives of the Bureau of Juvenile Aid and Education, described hereinabove, are the following subsidiary functions necessary to their proper implementation:

(1)--Effectuation periodically of thorough local surveys of conditions in Dade County, conducive to juvenile waywardness, and of machinery available to cope with it; and its prevention corollary, the

(2)--Initiation of research and study projects, in association with the aforementioned parties civicly-actuated, of local facilities and services, alloted to youth, and to ascertain from these findings, the extent to which the latter's needs are being adequately satisfied; and, its requisite supplementary action, the

(3)--Constant re-orientation of youth-ministering activities both, to avoid duplication of services, and to fill gaps in programs, as they appear and are recognized.

(4)--Establishment and maintainence of contact with local, state, federal and national officials and agencies, whose affairs affect juveniles, by entering upon exchanges of correspondence.

(5)--Institution of statistical, nation-wide studies, from time to time, of other comparative metropolitan areas, experiencing similar dynamic social problems.

(6)--Reformation of traditional detention practices prevailing in the County Jail, in reference to minors therein committed, e.g., the absolute segregation of youthful offenders from the vitiating influences of older, more habituated criminals.

(7)--Inauguration of a speakers' panel—composed of outstanding officials and specialists in youth guidance—to acquaint local adult groups

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MIAMI 30, FLORIDA

CONTINUED:

with the personnel, aims, objectives and achievements of the Bureau, and, additionally, to lecture before school children on topics susceptible of broadening the areas of understanding between youth and the law enforcement authority.

(8)--Preparation of articles and reports reviewing the progress, both in research and administration, accomplished by the Bureau—on special request, and for general publication.

(9)--Buttressing of the existent strict law enforcement policies of the pitifully underbudgetted and understaffed State Racing Commission, State Highway and County Road Patrols, Sheriff's Department, and State Beverage Department in the investigation of race tracks, frontons, poolrooms, or alcohol-dispensing establishments either absolutely forbidden or conditionally accessible to minors, and of the State Industrial Commission in the inspection of workshops employing juveniles under eighteen years of age.

My able associate, Mr. Murray S. Meyerson, Director of the Bureau, and myself, humbly accepted our difficult task, in the hope of receiving the moral support of all interested parties, not only within the confines of our county and State, but also from each and every private and public agency engaged in similar activities throughout our land. It shall be our turn, in the more or less distant future, to happily and significantly reciprocate your kindnesses. Any literature and data on the subject of juvenile crime and delinquency, ways and means of handling cases, results obtained, knowledge gained through experience, and your valued opinions and suggestions regarding the policies of our Bureau, hereinabove related, shall be immensely appreciated. You would, in effect, render our enthusiastically undertaken work exceedingly more productive.

Trusting this initial letter may mark the launching of a mutually interesting and beneficial correspondence, I remain, thanking you in advance for your kind and early reply, with cordial greetings and good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

A. Richard Finchell

DR. A. RICHARD FINCHELL
Executive Director.

ARF: tgp.

18 - Juvenile delinquency

AN APPEAL TO YOU

ON BEHALF OF

Georgia Boys and Girls

A Special Message to Men and Women Members of Civic Clubs Church Leaders

By The

Georgia CITIZENS COUNCIL

20 IVY ST., S. E. ATLANTA 3, GA.

1. Do You Know - -

The F. B. I. reports a tremendous increase in crime. Largest increases are in the 17 to 21 year old age group.

Georgia has 94% more males over 14 in prison than the national average—based on population. (According to 1940 U. S. Census.)

Today with an even larger prison population 10 per cent is composed of boys and girls 12 to 18 years of age—and half of these are first offenders. In addition, our training schools for delinquents are filled and have long waiting lists.

Crime is costing Georgia taxpayers millions of dollars. In just ONE county last year over THREE MILLION DOLLARS was spent on crime, *detection, detention* and *trials.*

Specific programs to build good citizenship and character—to prevent crime—receive much less money and much less effort. *Prevention can lower the "treatment" costs and build productive valuable human resources for our State.*

Home, School, Church

Test surveys reveal the average boy or girl between 13 and 17 years of age is awake 5,840 hours each year —about 16 hours a day.

The average school term consumes 1,080 hours of those waking hours. Twice a week in church—102 hours.

The average time spent in the home (awake) is 1095 or about three hours every day all year long.

This leaves 3,600 hours the boy or girl is *not* in the *home, school* or church.

If the average is too high or low for your community, adjust it to suit conditions. Add 1,000 hours to the home, school and church if the national averages do not apply in your case.

Nearly 50 per cent of those waking hours will still NOT be spent in the home, school or church.

What is provided in your community to attract boys and girls during the hours they are not in the home, school or church?

⅔ Youth "Unreached"

There are more than 708,000 boys and girls between seven and 17 years of age in Georgia. Only one-third are members of ANY of the 13 well known statewide character building agencies.

The agencies supported with private funds reported to the Georgia Citizens Council a combined membership last year equal to only 15 per cent of the total population seven to 17. This group includes Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Camp Fire Girls, Boys Clubs, etc.

The agencies supported with tax funds, including 4-H Clubs, Future Farmers, Future Homemakers, etc., report a combined membership equal to 19 per cent of the total eligible.

There are conceded to be duplications in instances where a boy or girl belongs to two or more agencies and is therefore included in both membership totals.

TWO-THIRDS of Georgia's boys and girls between seven and 17 are not being reached by any of the fine character building programs of these agencies.

Lack of Civic "Doers"

"We can not secure sufficient adult leadership and support to reach more boys and girls." That is the answer from Scout, Y', 4-H and all the leaders.

"If we had sufficient adult leaders who would volunteer their time and effort to our programs we could reach ALL the boys and girls between seven and 17 in Georgia."—that is the combined answer from the leaders of all these agencies serving youth.

BUT SEE HOW FEW THEY ARE ABLE TO REACH TODAY

Total membership as reported to the Georgia Citizens Council in May, 1947 for the latest reporting period.

Boy Scouts	28,272
Girl Scouts	10,058
Boys Clubs	4,901
Camp Fire Girls	2,688
Y.M.C.A.	53,235
Y.W.C.A.	4,124
Jewish Community Centers	816
Salvation Army	2,909

Total Privately Financed	107,003	(15%)
4-H Club	113,026	
Future Farmers of America	10,768	
Future Homemakers	6,760	
New Homemakers	4,166	
New Farmers	2,893	
Total Tax Supported Agencies	137,613	(19%)
Total All Youth Serving Organizations	244,613	(34%)
Total Number Boys and Girls (Age 7-17) (1940 Census)	708,133	

* * *

IN LIGHT OF THESE FACTS THE GEORGIA CITIZENS COUNCIL IN ITS MONTHLY MEETING MAY 23 ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT AND APPEAL TO CIVIC CLUB MEMBERS AND LAY CHURCH WORKERS.

"A great and challenging opportunity to put into practice the teachings of our religions and the principles of our Democratic way of life faces the civic club and church members of Georgia.

"Crime is increasing every month. Census reports show Georgia has nearly twice as many men in prison as the national average, based on population. Ten per cent of our prison population is composed of boys and girls twelve to eighteen years of age. Our training schools for delinquents are filled and have long waiting lists. . . ."

"There are more than 708,000 boys and girls between seven and seventeen in Georgia. Two-thirds of them were not members of any of these character building agencies last year.

". . . This situation is not a reflection on the splendid programs of these youth serving agencies. It is an indictment of the complacency behind which all of us are hiding—we are shirking our responsibility which we assume when we join our civic clubs or churches. Too many of us want to discharge our community responsibility with the donation of a little money. Volunteer leadership is the great need, if *all* boys and girls are to have the opportunity to come under the influence of these character building programs.

"Every member of a men's civic club, or a women's club should serve—should actually give time and energy —to a youth program. We should dedicate **one or more hours a week** to real community service in a program to develop our youth into productive, healthy future citizens.

"The Georgia Citizens Council, which numbers among its members two former District Governors of Rotary; two leading Lions; a former Kiwanis President; two past presidents of the State Federation of Women's Clubs; a past president of the State Parent-Teacher Congress; two ministers and two college presidents—sends this appeal directly to the presidents of every civic club and lay church organization in the State—an appeal that we all put into practice the teachings of our religions and the codes of our civic organizations.

*"Industrial, agricultural and commercial progress depends on strong, capable human resources. The **record of past** development of our human resources is found in our **high prison** population; our **crime** rate; our Selective Service **rejection rates;** our **mental hospitals** and juvenile **training schools.***

"The results of this survey by the Junior Citizenship Section of the Citizens Council should serve as a challenge and an opportunity for all of us. Georgia must have more adult leaders, more adult support of all youth programs.

"In many communities we have become too busy with our own club or church program to take time to learn of the whole community need. We are working separately, as it were, nibbling at little segments of an overall youth development job which cannot be adequately done unless we coordinate our efforts and work together."

MEMBERS OF THE

Georgia CITIZENS COUNCIL

June 1, 1947

DR. ALLEN D. ALBERT, EMORY UNIVERSITY
Head of the Department of Sociology

W. MORGAN BLAKE, ATLANTA
Columnist, Religious and Civic Leader

JULIAN V. BOEHM, ATLANTA
Life Insurance Executive, Civic Leader

MRS. RALPH BUTLER, DALLAS
Former State President, Federation of Women's Clubs

DR. HARMON W. CALDWELL, ATHENS
President of the University of Georgia

MRS. STEWART COLLEY, GRANTVILLE
President N. Ga. Women's Society of Christian Service

ROBERT COWART, DOUGLAS
Auto Dealer, Past District Governor of Lions Club

DR. JOSIAH CRUDUP, GAINESVILLE
President of Brenau College

ED DAVIDSON, COLUMBUS
Nehi Executive, Youth Leader, Civic Leader

W. ELLIOTT DUNWODY, JR., MACON — *President*
Architect, Past District Governor of Rotary Clubs

MRS. FRANCES C. DWYER, ATLANTA — *V.-President*
Attorney, Y.W.C.A. Leader, "Woman of Year 1946"

WILLIAM D. ELLIS, ATLANTA
Manufacturer, Past President Atlanta Rotary Club

MRS. R. C. FRYER, MANCHESTER
Past State President Federation of Women's Clubs

W. C. HENSON, CARTERSVILLE
Attorney, President Georgia Municipal Association

PARKS HUNTT, ATLANTA
Insurance Executive, Civic and Church Leader

WILMER D. LANIER, AUGUSTA
Attorney, Coordinator of Attacks on Social Problems

MRS. ROBERT A. LONG, ATLANTA
Past President Georgia Congress of Parents and Teachers

MRS. C. C. SAPP, ALBANY
Church and Civic Leader

DR. HERMAN L. TURNER, ATLANTA
Presbyterian Minister, Past President Planning Council

DR. L. M. TWIGGS, GAINESVILLE
Methodist Minister, Member State Board of Corrections

WILLIAM A. WATT, THOMASVILLE
Building Supply Dealer, Past District Governor of Rotary Clubs

WILL THE NEWBURGH PLAN WORK IN YOUR CITY?

Materials - Welfare

Tell under social myths or allegations about the negro

IN every city of the United States, people have read about the controversy over public assistance in Newburgh, New York, and asked themselves: "Would the Newburgh Plan work here?" or "Would it help reduce my taxes?" or "Would it hurt helpless people?"

These questions deserve your serious thought as a citizen concerned with the well-being of your neighbors, particularly those not in a position to defend themselves.

You should know that the Newburgh Plan is built not only on false claims but on concepts as old and as harsh as the Poor Laws in the time of Queen Elizabeth of England. They have been argued and rejected by the American people over and over again in the evolution of our present public welfare programs. Such programs are aimed at giving constructive assistance to those honestly in need, with full protection for their dignity and rights as human beings.

Newburgh's Welfare Code is not working — not even in Newburgh. A New York State Court has issued a temporary injunction against application of 12 of the 13 points in the Code — and, in an answer to the court, Newburgh officials have submitted a softer interpretation of them. Yet, the Code is still being discussed in many places as though it offered some new short-cut to progress. It is easy to rail against high welfare costs but the rational citizen will also want to take into account the facts about jobs. Of 150 major labor force areas, 101 have been in the past year "depressed employment areas."

This facts sheet, prepared by an organization representing 30,000 professional social workers, is designed to inform you and other citizens interested in knowing "the other side" of the Newburgh picture as it might apply to the public welfare programs in your own State or city.

We invite you to read it and to pass the facts on.

Norman V. Lourie, *President*
National Association of Social Workers

NEWBURGH'S 13 POINT WELFARE CODE—A FUTILE GESTURE

Newburgh's new "welfare code" purports to reduce "excessive" relief costs, eliminate "chiselers" from the welfare load, and relieve the community of some costs by denying relief to those who do not meet certain "moral" standards, whether or not they qualify in other ways.

Can such codes accomplish these aims?

Supporters of this approach doubtless think of themselves as being upholders of the American way of life, and profess a concern for their fellowmen which is equal to that of their critics. Yet a simple examination of such code provisions reveals them as being punitive, without rehabilitative value, and in violation of many commonly-accepted principles and ethical values inherent in a democratic, free-enterprise way of life.

Here are some key provisions of the Newburgh code and some comments on the concepts behind them:

Newburgh Code: "ALL ABLE-BODIED ADULT MALES ON RELIEF . . . ARE TO BE ASSIGNED . . . FOR WORK."

Comment: If these work-for-relief jobs are bona fide jobs, why aren't they simply offered at prevailing rates and paid in cash wages? Procedures like Newburgh's obviously are a form of forced labor, imposed on persons not in a position to make a free decision. They are in line with a chain-gang, workhouse philosophy, degrading both to the recipient and the administrator. As presently constituted, there is no stated wage for stated hours of work in the Newburgh code.

There is a place for work relief, and it is provided for under present regulations of New York and most other states. It is safeguarded, however, by medical determination of work fitness and non-competitiveness with private industry. Work relief can be constructive if it applies these standards, and is even better when combined with needed vocational rehabilitation and realistic job training in accordance with local opportunities.

Most people want real jobs rather than work relief or welfare subsistence. A major factor in high welfare costs has been continuing hard-core unemployment. We have had some 2,000,000 persons continuously unemployed for periods up to 16 weeks and 800,000 who have not been able to find work for a half-year or more. Of every 20 employable workers one is an unskilled laborer and it is among the unskilled that unemployment has been by far the highest.

Newburgh Code: ALL CASH PAYMENTS . . . SHALL BE ISSUED IN VOUCHER FORM HENCEFORTH.

Comment: Voucher relief payments tend to break down, not reinforce, an individual's self-respect and ability to handle his own affairs. Vouchers tag people as inferior to their neighbors, even though they may be without funds through no fault of their own. Vouchers lend themselves to abuses. When tried during the depression years, they invited chiseling by merchants who cashed them at a discount and profited by the difference.

Sound public welfare practice provides fully for direct payment of medical and other expenses in individual cases, *when necessary,* and when people are unable to handle their own funds properly for the appointment of a public representative to manage for them. The general use of voucher procedures, however, is unnecessary, punitive, and destructive to morale.

Newburgh Code: "ALL RECIPIENTS ...WHO ARE OFFERED A JOB BUT REFUSE IT, REGARDLESS OF TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT . . . TO BE DENIED," and "ALL APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF WHO LEFT JOB VOLUNTARILY . . . SHALL BE DENIED RELIEF."

Comment: These provisions, like forced work-for-relief, tend to lower general work standards and to compel acceptance of hazardous jobs, or jobs not in the persons' regular line of work, causing loss of skills in the long run. Such provisions can be used for strike-breaking or work for substandard pay.

Under existing public welfare regulations, registration with employment offices, as well as use of unemployment and other benefits, is strictly required before assistance or work relief is granted. Obviously, therefore, the offer of employment on a "take-it-or-leave-it" basis regardless of suitability, as in Newburgh, can only harass and punish recipients, without beating "chiselers."

Newburgh Code: "AID TO PERSONS EXCEPT THE AGED, BLIND AND DISABLED . . . LIMITED TO THREE MONTHS IN ANY ONE YEAR" . . . "THE ALLOTMENT FOR ANY ONE FAMILY UNIT

Claims and Facts about Newburgh's Welfare Problems

Claim No. 1: Newburgh's City Manager and Council have claimed that the city bears an unusually heavy welfare burden, which costs the city 31 to 33 percent of its budget, because five percent of the population are living on relief.

The Fact: The cost to the city is only 13 percent of its budget, and only 2.9 percent of the population are on relief. **Newburgh actually has the lowest percentage of population on relief of the five upstate New York cities of comparable size.**

Claim No. 2: Newburgh's taxpayers are being victimized by widespread fraud in its relief caseload.

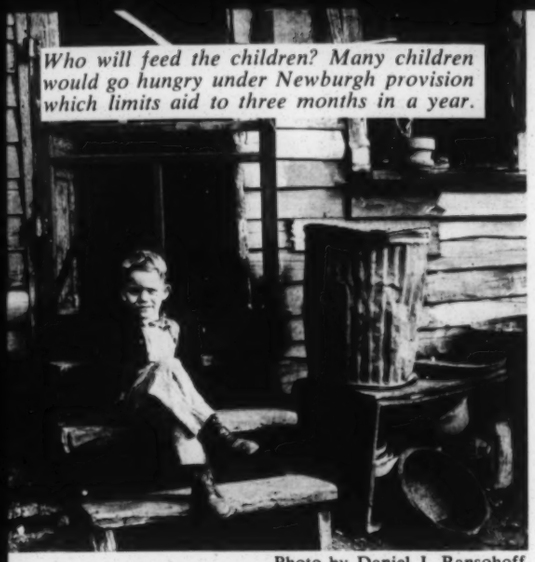
The Fact: No authenticated case of fraud has been found in Newburgh's welfare caseload. One accusation was made in 1960, under the regular welfare policy, and **was referred to the legal authorities, but not prosecuted.**

Claim No. 3: There are many able-bodied persons on relief, perhaps 60, who do not wish to work and should be forced to work for their relief payments.

The Fact: One able-bodied person has been found in the Newburgh caseload — a steel worker between jobs, and it was agreed that he should stay at home because his wife was in the hospital and there was no one else to care for their five children.

Claim No. 4: The relief rolls are loaded with "undesirable newcomers," mainly "migrants from the South."

The Fact: Sixteen percent of Newburgh's citizens are non-white, and 40 percent of those on relief are Negroes who in past years were recruited as temporary agricultural workers. They stayed on, found slum housing, and were caught by the city's inability to absorb them in other work, due to generally diminishing economic activity. **Only $205.00 was spent in 1960 for relief to residents who had been in the state less than one year. And this cost is met by the state, not the county.**



Who will feed the children? Many children would go hungry under Newburgh provision which limits aid to three months in a year.

Photo by Daniel J. Ransohoff

SHALL NOT EXCEED THE TAKE HOME PAY OF THE LOWEST PAID CITY EMPLOYEE WITH A FAMILY OF COMPARABLE SIZE" . . . "ALSO NO RELIEF . . . TO ANY FAMILY WHOSE INCOME IS IN EXCESS OF THE LATTER FIGURE."

Comment: It is self-evident that as long as people are without means of self-support, they must eat, be clothed and have shelter. The problem is not solved by arbitrarily ending relief at some stated date. Such regulations are punitive and restrictive in that they limit the duration of public assistance *regardless of the reason* (except for certain groups); they set an arbitrary maximum relief allowance *regardless of size of family or actual need;* they peg relief allowances arbitrarily to the salaries of workers who may themselves be underpaid, or supplementing their income from outside sources. They establish the dependent as a special group not entitled to minimum decent living standards. In addition to arbitrariness and punitiveness, the regulation is unethical and inhuman, by any of our commonly accepted standards.

Newburgh Code: "ALL APPLICANTS NEW TO THE CITY MUST SHOW EVIDENCE THAT THEIR PLANS IN COMING . . . INVOLVED A CONCRETE OFFER OF EMPLOYMENT."

Comment: Is it realistic to assume that people will ordinarily provide themselves with evidence of job offers when moving into a community, in order to keep themselves eligible for relief? This regulation seems to be an invitation, not a hindrance to chiseling, for chiselers would be most likely to prepare themselves with such "evidence."

From the days of the early pioneers, Americans have been a mobile people. Our present economy requires a mobile labor force as much as ever. To restrict the right to move freely about the nation for any economic or personal reason denies a fundamental right; such denial has been held unconstitutional. To enforce it generally would also stunt and hamper our economic and social system.

Newburgh Code: "ALL RECIPIENTS . . . NOT INCAPACITATED, SHALL REPORT TO THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE MONTHLY . . . REGARDING THE STATUS OF THEIR CASE. . ."
"ALL FILES OF AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN CASES . . . TO BE BROUGHT TO THE CORPORATION COUNSEL FOR REVIEW MONTHLY . . ."

Comment: The way this regulation already has been enforced, recipients have been ordered to appear in police courts to receive their checks, have been photographed, and have been threatened with publication of their names. Spread of these methods, thus far confined to Home Relief and Aid to Dependent Children recipients, has been promised for other programs.

This kind of procedure completely denies not only the right to human dignity and self-respect, but also thwarts a basic goal of public assistance, namely the rehabilitation of the individual and the family receiving assistance. Public assistance is a social service; as such, it should be administered by social workers who help recipients solve their problems and become independent. Solution of public assistance problems does not lie in legalistic inspections and police-type procedures. Degrading and humiliating relief recipients, aside from its cruelty, is not calculated to restore their earning capacity, health and social responsibility, or to save taxpayers money, either. Funds saved through harassment methods — if any — will be paid in other ways—through increased costs of correctional, mental hospital and other tax-supported services.

Newburgh Code: "ALL MOTHERS OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN . . . SHOULD THEY HAVE ANY MORE . . . TO BE DENIED RELIEF" . . . "PRIOR TO CERTIFYING OR CONTINUING ANY MORE AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN CASES, DETERMINATION SHALL BE MADE AS TO THE HOME ENVIRONMENT. IF . . . NOT SATISFACTORY, THE CHILDREN . . . SHALL BE PLACED IN FOSTER CARE."

Comment: Far from solving the problems involved, such policies may well press mothers into further illicit relationships or actual abandonment of children, because of the increased economic pressures they create. Policies like these clearly aim to punish, rather than to solve or prevent recurrence of a social problem. Furthermore, they attempt to convert a program which has the responsibility to alleviate poverty into one which will police private morals. Actually, placement of children will not save money even if strictly carried out, because foster care (when available) costs four to six times as much per child as Aid to Dependent Children.

Opposition to this approach to "solving" illegitimacy problems in the ADC caseload does not imply approval of widespread immorality, or changes in our sexual standards and morals. Realistically, the fact is that illegitimacy has increased nation-wide, among ADC and non-ADC populations alike.

Standards of family suitability for children aided through ADC should not be different from those prevailing in the general community. Only 13 percent of out-of-wedlock children in the nation receive ADC, even though this group is the most disadvantaged, socially and economically. Regardless of its economic level, if a home is unsuitable for a child, the community already has ample machinery through established law enforcement and social agencies, to improve home conditions and to protect children. Children in need must receive help in their own families, wherever possible. Because of the problems that surround them, they are especially vulnerable to social ills such as delinquency, crime, dependency, mental illness, etc. Their problems should not be compounded by punitive treatment from policy making officials. Rather should these children receive increased casework and other services to alleviate their problems and prevent future repetition of the difficulties to which they are being exposed as children. There are 2½ million American children on ADC, whose welfare must be safeguarded in the national interest.

ADC children need the same helpful influences as do all others, rich or poor, illegitimate or legitimate, namely: good neighborhoods, economic stability for their families, decent housing, religious guidance and wholesome opportunity for leisure time activities. Indeed, these are responsibilities that no American community can ethically and morally abdicate.

MANY CITIES SHARE NEWBURGH'S PROBLEMS . . . HOW CAN THEY BE SOLVED?

Like many other American cities, Newburgh has developed a hard core of unemployment which, it is not surprising, is reflected in certain welfare problems because the basic issues have not been met. As *elsewhere,* the greatest impact of unemployment is felt by those citizens, mostly Negroes, who must find their livelihood from marginal work — unskilled factory and maintenance jobs, temporary farm work, domestic jobs. (This is equally true of white marginal workers, but there usually is a smaller percentage of them.) In the past,workers have been actively sought from other communities, to work as migrant "pickers"; inevitably, some have stayed on and become permanent residents of the city. *As elsewhere,* Newburgh in post-war years has seen an exodus of older residents from the central city to the suburbs, with lowest income families remaining to live in slum areas characterized by overcrowding, inadequate sanitation services, and all the social ills which accompany such conditions.

Meanwhile, the city has fallen behind economically. Its needle trades, its resort employment, its function as a regional economic center, have dwindled and the city has not kept pace with the changes. *Newburgh's welfare problems are a symptom, not a cause of its troubles.*

The answers to Newburgh's problems lie in a many-sided, constructive program of economic and social re-awakening, not in a "crackdown" on its relief population. The national limelight thrown on Newburgh by its welfare "code" hopefully may shake the complacency of those who can change things, and stimulate them to renew the city through a positive, constructive program, as other communities have done.

What can a city like Newburgh do to reconstruct itself as a healthier city and economy?

Newburgh, like other American cities, can embark on a program of physical, economic and social renewal. It can survey its assets and go about attracting industries to replace those which have dwindled. It can take advantage of Federal and State aid to wipe out slums, renew the "downtown" section, provide decent public housing. It can improve present conditions by reducing overcrowding through building-control measures — team inspection of housing for safety and sanitation, reduction of overcrowding, elimination of hazardous and unsanitary dwellings. Like other cities, Newburgh can embark on a true "better Newburgh" campaign to reawaken civic pride and stimulate voluntary free enterprise in the many small ways that go to make a decent, self-respecting, and responsible community.

Newburgh certainly *can* analyze its welfare caseload, not for "chiselers" but for persons who can respond to social and vocational rehabilitation in order to become self-supporting again. On the basis of such analysis, it can institute a welfare administration of quality and skill that will aim toward the physical, social and moral rehabilitation of those welfare recipients who need and can respond to such services. This suggestion is not a pious wish; other localities (Washington, D.C.; San Francisco and Marin County, Calif.; Cook County, Ill.; Niagara County, N. Y.; Westchester County, N. Y., and various communities in Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Pennsylvania and Florida) have demonstrated that intensive professional social work services can reduce relief rolls and restore families to financial independence. Public welfare programs need a philosophy of rehabilitation toward independence through skilled services — not harassment for the sake of temporary case "closing." The latter method creates more problems than it solves.

Additional copies are available at 5c each or, in quantity, at $4.00 per 100 from:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS, INC.
95 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, NEW YORK

L437

18 - Juvenile Delinquency

BAD HOUSING BREEDS CRIME, IMMORALITY AND DISEASE, DESTROYS CHARACTER

Crime, juvenile delinquency, tuberculosis and other diseases breed in the slums of our rural and city areas, Lon Sullivan, Georgia Citizens Council director told the West End Civitan Club at their regular meeting July 22nd.

"Many of the reasons for Georgia's Selective Service rejection rate being 49% higher than the national average for physical, mental and educational deficiencies; many of the reasons for Georgia having 94% more men in prison, based on population, than the national average; many of the reasons for our big increase each year in crime, our high disease rates—stem from the slums of our cities and rural areas," Sullivan said.

"The recently publicized slum clearance program in Atlanta will fail unless the civic and church people rally behind those who are leading it and give them support and active interest. There will be opposition. There has always been opposition because someone is getting a good income from the slums with a minimum investment. If someone was not getting a good income you would not hear the shouts of "communism," "socialism" and "interference with free enterprise" which always come when someone cries out against this uneconomical and inhuman condition which exists in our city.

"Free enterprise, private capital, should do the job of providing decent housing at a price which all people can afford. It must be done and if there is not enough profit to attract free enterprise, then the government should do it because our slums are costing every single taxpayer money and at the same time depriving us of valuable, useful human resources.

If you and I lived in a house that was dirty, with cracks between the boards and the cold winds whistling in, with no toilets or baths, with filthy surroundings, I doubt if you and I would care too much about our children and what they are doing when they get out of the neighborhood—about their education, their health. It would just be too depressing. Living would be a mere existence.

The environment — physical and personal environment—of a human being has a great deal to do with determining the ambitions, the honesty, the physical and mental abilities, the emotional stability, and the regard the human being has for Democracy, Religion and the American way of life.

In Atlanta there are 137,000 people living in dirty, overcrowded, unsanitary, unhealthy, miserable slums. This is 39 per cent of our population which lives in 20 per cent of the land area of the city.

There are 22,000 housing units in this area, both white and Negro, which have no toilets. There are 26,000 without baths.

Fifty-nine per cent of the crimes, 72 per cent of the juvenile delinquency cases, and 69 per cent of the tuberculosis comes from this 20 per cent area in which the city spends 53 per cent of all it spends on protective services such as fire, police and health protection. The tax revenue from this area comprises only five per cent of the city's revenue.

These averages are similar to those throughout the nation. Charles S. Palmer, President of the Atlanta Rotary Club and a National authority on housing, recently pointed out that "there are twenty-four million Americans living in slums which cover 30 per cent of the areas of our cities but house 33 per cent of our people. These areas produce 60 per cent of the juvenile delinquency, 50 per cent of the arrests, 60 per cent of the tuberculosis, 50 per cent of all disease, and 35 per cent of all fires."

While Mr. Palmer's averages are national, with 33 per cent of the people living in 30 per cent of the areas—in Atlanta 39 per cent live in 20 per cent of the area. It is interesting that Atlanta's crime and disease figures from these areas are comparably higher than the national average.

It would seem that any taxpayer with a desire for long range economy would see the value of eliminating the areas which breed these costs in services and provide so little revenue in return.

The Atlanta Public Housing Authority has provided approximately 5,000 low-cost decent housing units. In spite of this splendid little start there are still 137,000 people, one-third of our population, living in filthy slums.

If the National Real Estate Board, the Savings and Loan League, and the National Home Builders Association would spend just half the energy and money trying to help meet such community problems intelligently as they spend lobbying and propagandizing against government subsidized housing — they could have eliminated the need. If they would assume this responsibility they would be strengthening the fibre of our free enterprise system that we treasure so rightly.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE SHOULD

If they would take the leadership so that all community resources could be pooled, local private enterprise could eliminate the slum areas and provide decent, low-cost housing for all people. It would not be a "quick return" investment. Nobody would get their dividends in great amounts. But the long range dividends to themselves and to the community and all its people would be of inestimable value.

History tells us that 'Isms and violent action always stem from people who have long, deep-seated dissatisfactions and frustrations.

HISTORY OF 'ISMS

Show me a group of people in dark, dirty houses, with cracks between boards, broken windows, cold winds sweeping in, no toilets, no nearby playgrounds, no opportunity for living in even decent ordinary comfort—and I will show you a people who are ripe for the first demagogue who comes along and promises them a better life if they will follow him. They will follow, regardless of the soundness of his promises or the threat he may be to the American way of life.

Free enterprise, Democracy, the American way of life—these mean very little to those people, because Democracy is not working for them. Democracy, to them, can be summed up in the words—might makes right. Hitler started in a beer garden and rose with his fanatical crackpots to almost destroy the world on the issue that his people are a "supreme race." Stalin spent many years in jail, a political prisoner, his people oppressed by the Czarist regime. Loomis, Burke and their Columbians had started on Garibaldi street in Atlanta, offering so-called "protection and relief" for people who have been dissatisfied and frustrated for many years. It has been the same through the ages.

Everything that you do in your civic work, in your business, in your home, in this community to raise the standard of living and improve the opportunities for all of the people—is strengthening the American way of life, and insuring the preservation of our own form of Democracy.

The dividends will come back to all of us in the form of higher purchasing power, in the form of more capable human resources on which to build the economic future of our community and Georgia."

Guide Available

Are you planning to organize a committee of citizens to meet a community need?

Are you interested in finding the needs of your community and stimulating action to meet those needs?

If so—the Guide to the Establishment of Community Coordinating Councils—entitled "United Citizens Action to Improve Our Human Resources"—is again available to community leaders **without charge.** The original supply was recently exhausted but a revised copy is now available to any community leader who writes for it. Write GEORGIA CITIZENS COUNCIL, 20 IVY STREET, S. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Solicitor Forms Crime Prevention Committee

(Continued From Page 1)

All information as to location of crimes, location of homes from which criminals come, conditions in those homes, etc., is being gathered from existing sources.

A subcommittee was named at the first meeting to prepare a recommended plan of action to be launched near the end of the summer.—By the Fulton County Citizens Crime Prevention Committee.

Some of the facts already developed by the committee about crime in the county are as follows:

TWENTY-THREE percent INCREASE in **serious** crimes, 1946 over 1945.

The above and the following received from Identification Bureau of Fulton County. (Excludes College Park—Includes Hapeville, East Point)

TWENTY-NINE percent INCREASE in serious crimes by those **16 thru 21** years old.

9005 arrested for **serious** crimes —**38%** were **Negroes.**

49,261 — TEN percent INCREASE—were arrested in 1946 by Atlanta police for offenses settled by the Recorders Court—(less serious assault, prostitution, offenses against family or children, drunkenness, disorderly conduct.)

37,973 of above 49,261 were for drunkenness—about **30% Negroes.**

1390 boys and girls adjudged **delinquent** in 1946 by the Juvenile Court—**40% Negroes.**

439 additional boys and girls under 16 were **neglect** cases—**22%** were **Negroes.**

154 additional children handled by Juvenile Court (custody cases and Superior Court Referrals).

1983 total children served by Juvenile Court came from **1212** families.

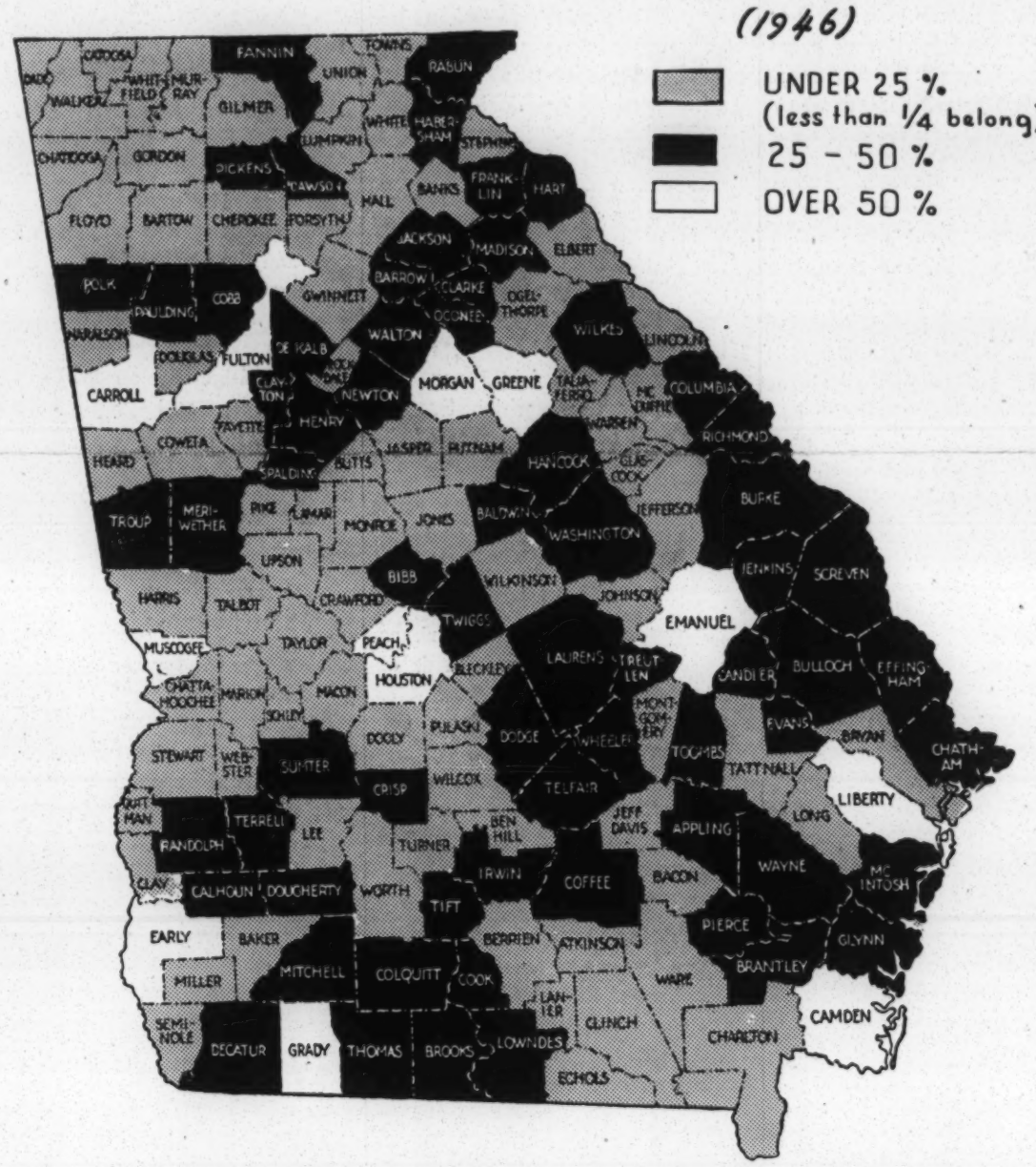
540 or 45% of the 1212 families had been known to Juvenile Court prior to 1946 (Social Service Index reports).

672 families served by Juvenile Court for first time in 1946.

59% of these 672 "new" families were known to and had received some service from one or more of our health or welfare agencies before coming to attention of Juvenile Court (Social Service Index reports).

PERCENT OF BOYS AND GIRLS AGED 7-17 BELONGING TO YOUTH-SERVING ORGANIZATIONS

(1946)



Lack Of Adult Leadership Is Reason

In only 12 of Georgia's 159 counties are as many as 50 per cent of the boys and girls seven to 17 years of age members of ANY of the well known youth serving character building agencies, reports by 13 agencies to the Georgia Citizens Council reveal. Throughout the state *two-thirds* of the boys and girls are *not members.* The reports included total membership of *Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Boys Clubs, 4-H Clubs, Future Farmers, Future Homemakers* and others.

Georgia has *94 per cent more males in prison,* based on population, than the national average. Ten per cent of the prison population is between 12 and 18 years of age. In addition Georgia's training schools for delinquents are filled and have long waiting lists.

"The splendid character building programs of these youth agencies are being denied two-thirds of our boys and girls *solely because of lack of adult leadership,* interest and support. The organizations could easily reach three times as many as they do if enough adult leaders would volunteer their services," a statement by the Citizens Council says.

The above map shows counties, in white, where more than 50% of the boys and girls seven to 17 belong to any of these agencies; in black those which from 25 to 50 per cent belong, and in grey those in which under 25 per cent are members. The reports of the 13 youth agencies to the Citizens Council were based on the latest reporting period. The survey included only the agencies with statewide contacts.

Social Science Research Council
230 Park Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.
and
726 Jackson Place NW
Washington 6, D.C.

Not for release until
further notice

MEMORANDUM OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL ON THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

October 1945

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October 1945

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL is convinced that the federal government for purposes of national interest should aid in promoting scientific research in both the natural and social fields, in the application of science to practical affairs, and in the training of scientific personnel. This conviction is based upon the Council's long experience with research related to national welfare and government and upon recent careful review of the issues involved. At its September, 1945, meeting the Council expressed agreement with the principles relating to research set forth in the President's message of September 6, 1945, to the Congress and voted unanimously to offer its aid in planning the specific steps required to accomplish the President's purpose and in facilitating the operation of the proposed agency to carry out the government's program.

The Social Science Research Council is gratified by the public and official recognition of the role that science has come to play in human affairs. Research holds promise of still greater contributions to the betterment of man's lot. Changes of wide scope appear to be impending in productive activity, in standards of consumption, in the leisure and energy available for other activities besides merely existing. These changes are largely unforeseen consequences of past research; to turn them to good account calls for further research. More knowledge than we now possess is needed regarding our physical environment, our bodies and minds, our social organization, our

cultural potentialities. The pace of change seems to be accelerating while its scope is extending, so that the gap between what we know and what we need to know grows wider.

The United States and the modern world are dependent upon scientific research to meet their material needs, security and future development. The startling series of successes achieved by the cooperative efforts of scientists and technologists in contributing to the effectiveness of combat forces in World War II have inspired faith that the resources of nature can be manipulated for the purposes of men in war or peace in ways and on a scale not yet comprehensible. There is, however, anxiety that the mastery of nature achieved through science will be exercised in directions which either through malice or, more probably, through ignorance will jeopardize human welfare. There is grave danger that man will find that he does not have the wisdom to guide his tremendous control over the forces of nature for his own greatest benefit. Fears exist not only that the powers of science will be misused in wars of unspeakable destructiveness but also that impending fundamental technological innovations cannot be made without serious internal social disorders. Scientists themselves perhaps more than the public are uneasy about potential evil uses of their inventions. It is obvious that man's inventions are in themselves of neutral character and that their value to humanity depends on the purposes which they are made to serve. The hazards to national and world interest created by new inventions can not be evaded by checking

the powers of invention even were such a proposal not too fantastic to merit serious discussion. Dependence for security and order must rather be on the improvement of the foundations of human relations.

The knowledge needed to understand and reinforce these foundations will be won only through the cooperative efforts of all branches of investigation concerned with man and the universe in which he lives. Extension of the federal government's interest in the planning, conduct and practical application of research in all the sciences which can contribute to this end is necessary and proper.

Every problem of national concern has its human as well as its material aspects. Public health is both a matter of medical knowledge and also a matter of knowing how to bring about the effective use of available knowledge and facilities. There are diseases which could be practically eliminated if it were known how to obtain general application of the existing findings. Security from external aggression requires continuing research on the weapons of war but is dependent equally upon research with respect to economic, governmental, psychological and other social factors. This was fully recognized by all the war agencies, including the Army and Navy, which came to make extensive use of social scientists and their accumulated knowledge in the war which has just ended. The need for the best research obtainable on the human aspects of innumerable matters of national interest and welfare is no less in times of peace. Although dramatic developments in a few fields such as aviation,

electronics and atomic power naturally win the widest general attention, recent years have seen unprecedented appreciation and recognition of significant contributions from the entire range of science with little respect for the traditional distinctions between the physical, biological and social fields.

The present inadequacy of knowledge of human relations is a source of danger which can be greatly reduced by more adequate applications of scientific techniques in the study of human problems. Social science personnel, research procedures and facilities are underdeveloped in terms of the tasks which must be undertaken. It has been demonstrated, however, that the earnest and objective investigation of problems of human relations can produce results of inestimable practical value when properly trained research workers imbued with scientific detachment and integrity are given opportunity to apply themselves with adequate resources. The fact that it cannot be claimed that the social sciences have reached a stage comparable to that of some of the other scientific disciplines is considered the strongest possible reason for advancing their development by every effective means. The problems with which they deal are urgent. The advances in research planning, techniques and organization which have been achieved during the war and the immediate prewar years offer promise of a period of unusually fruitful progress if adequate support is made available.

A considerable part of the research supported by the proposed

federal research agency will and should be carried on through the government's own research staffs. The Social Science Research Council is convinced, however, that in addition to the research done directly under government supervision, funds should be available to qualified universities and other nongovernmental research institutions for work on specific problems or specific areas of work whenever this will advance mutually advantageous objectives. Research institutions free of governmental commitments and administrative responsibilities, and under responsibility to exercise their own judgment with respect to techniques and standards of work, have been and will continue to be an outstanding source of contributions of a basic character and of types which less frequently develop within the governmental service itself.

The needs for research, and especially for the types of research which nongovernmental research organizations are peculiarly fitted to contribute, are so large that they far outrun existing financial resources on the scale on which these have heretofore been available. Research in the social sciences has been financed by a diversity of private, state and federal funds. The increase in support required to realize as quickly as can well be done the potential values of social science research to our society and to the government has little likelihood of materializing unless it is supplied by the national government. Precedents for government aid to research carried on by independent institutions are well established, notably in the field of agriculture and for war purposes.

The Council has been gravely concerned whether participation of the social sciences in a federal research agency would provide the best means for assuring their maximum contribution to the national security and welfare. Fears have been voiced in some quarters that the social sciences will come to be subjected to government control, and in others that in dealing with disputatious issues it may be difficult to hold clearly in sight the line between fact and opinion. It is clear to the Council that sufficient safeguards against either of these dangers are practicable. The greatest safeguard rests in the constant concern for scientific integrity which must control the federal agency's actions at every step if it is to be faithful to the trust vested in it.

For many years it has been the federal government which has financed and administered several of the major agencies which have successfully conducted social science research on matters of vital public interest. Their experience, the precedents already established, and the judgment of the social scientists who have collaborated with these agencies afford sufficient knowledge to provide any protections which may be needful. The specific operational problems which may arise are in any event small and easily soluble when compared with the problems of defense, of welfare, and of the national interest generally with which the federal research agency will be dealing.

Questions of specific mechanisms whereby government support for work

in the social sciences can be provided under mutually satisfactory conditions have been and are continuing to be carefully considered by the Council. One satisfactory mechanism consists of the development of contractual relations with universities or other research institutions for individual research projects or work on a specified series of problems. Definite and mutually-agreed objectives can be set, projects can be kept within manageable limits, and arrangements can be stipulated for the suitable termination of contracts. The government is enabled to draw upon knowledge and experience in particular types of research extending far beyond those which it would be economical to provide within its own staff. It is likewise entirely feasible to devise grant-in-aid programs covering research on particular problems conducted either by selected institutions or by specially chosen individuals. Applicable precedents exist in the government's agricultural research programs and in other fields of work. The definition of suitable areas of work involving matters of national interest, and the specification of proper and effective terms governing the conduct of the work to be done present no insuperable difficulties.

All scientists are necessarily constantly concerned with the maintenance of the freedom of inquiry and the independence of the spirit of research. There is some evidence that on occasion major advances have been achieved under conditions offering little individual freedom to the research worker. These are overshadowed, however, by the progress which has been made under conditions of

liberty. In the social sciences restraints on objectivity of inquiry by any agency, public or private, tend to debase research into the preparation of apologia and rationalizations for the courses of those under whose dominance research is undertaken. Social science, under these circumstances, ceases to be scientific in spirit.

The first and most effective safeguard against improper interference and restraint consists in making certain that an earnest insistence upon preserving the freedom of research guides the thinking and action of all those who may have the power to direct and influence the spending of research funds. Beyond this, as long as diversity of public and private support is maintained research institutions and workers have a powerful lever with which to resist domination by any one interest. The preservation of a diversity of institutions and auspices under which research can be conducted is also essential. The limits of human wisdom and motivation are such as to make it highly inadvisable that any one agency or group of persons be permitted to establish a hegemony over research.

The development of a more adequate supply of research personnel in the social sciences requires that a larger number of superior students have opportunity for training in the various fields that contribute to research competence. The inadequacy of the present supply of superior graduate students in the social sciences is a consequence both of the limited number of such students who are able to bear the costs of research training and also of the limited number

of superior students who are able to bear the costs of undergraduate education. Investigations in several states have shown that high school graduates who do not go to college include large numbers who are intellectually as competent as those who go to college. A large number of potentially superior students are lost to the scholarly fields in which they could be of great service because they cannot meet the costs of undergraduate education.

The Social Science Research Council favors a program of government scholarships for superior undergraduate students and of fellowships for unusually promising graduate students. Such a scholarship and fellowship program should be planned to meet the needs for research personnel in the several scholarly fields, the natural sciences, the social sciences and the humanities. This joint program is essential because if scholarship aid is made available in some fields but not in others, superior students would be attracted to the former and drained away from the others. Choices of subjects of study would in part necessarily be made on the basis of the availability of scholarship funds rather than in terms of the student's aptitudes and interests.

It is, of course, essential that the scholarship and fellowship program utilize valid methods for identifying superior students. The experience of the armed forces, of the universities and of other professional groups has demonstrated the possibility of doing this job with a high degree of effectiveness. It is also essential that

valid and impartial methods be used in the selection and appraisal of institutions and training programs for which scholarship and fellowship aid is given.

The Council's position concerning the government's research program rests upon the fact that a decision to support basic scientific research would fall far short of reaching its avowed objectives if by failure to include the social sciences it neglected to take advantage of the urgent need for greater knowledge in the social fields. If the government's program is concerned with national defense and security, with national health and welfare, and with the nation's prosperity any research agency which may be established inevitably will find itself dealing with research in the social sciences.

The traditional lines of demarcation between the natural and the social sciences have little meaning when confronted with the research problems involved in the safeguarding of the human aspects of every major problem of national interest. Collaboration and cooperation among the sciences rather than an intensification of past rivalries and competitions is essential if the contemplated program is not to worsen the existing situation instead of achieving the goals set for it. The proposed research agency will be concerned with social science problems whether it so wishes or not; the only relevant and essential question is whether it will from the outset be able to deal competently with these problems.

Great opportunities, accompanied by grave hazards, have been opened by victory in war, international organization for keeping peace, and man's recently demonstrated ability to produce goods in unprecedented variety and volume. Responsibility for making wise use of the opportunities must be laid upon and accepted by all the sciences to the full extent of their powers.

5- Church & Social Action

Reprinted from the October 24, 1946 issue of the Michigan Christian Advocate

Chaplain to Organized Labor

Note: For the first time Mr. Webber states his own case relative to his appointment as a chaplain to organized labor. White Methodists in the south have vigorously opposed the appointment as an embarrassment to them. The Council of Bishops, meeting at Grand Rapids recently, set up a special committee to study the matter. The case may necessitate General Conference action and has caused widespread interest throughout the church and labor groups. Mr. Webber's statement is released this week through *Zions Herald* and the *Michigan Christian Advocate*.

By CHARLES C. WEBBER

MY RECENT appointment as a "Chaplain to Organized Labor," heralded as "unprecedented," was not in fact unprecedented. It was grounded in the traditions and practices of the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Methodist churches.

In medieval times, the officials of the Catholic church appointed chaplains to the guilds, forerunners of our modern trade unions.

John Ball, the principal leader of the Peasants' Rising in England in 1381, was a chaplain. John Wycliffe, the priest who was called the Morningstar of the Reformation, sent out "poor priests" to the common folk of England with instructions to proclaim the individual man's right to judge for himself, and to be provided with his fair share of the goods of life.

John Wesley, the Anglican founder of Methodism, "was persuaded of the necessity of field preaching as a means of reaching the toiling masses." "He supported fair prices, a living wage and honest, healthy employment for all." "Repeatedly, at election times, he convened the enfranchised members of his Societies and urged them to vote for the candidate of nobler character who would support humanitarian and Christian principles." (See "This Freedom —Whence?" by J. Wesley Bready.)

Wesley's local and itinerant preachers followed in his steps as we find Jack Lawson, a member of the British House of Parliament, writing in his autobiography. "A Man's Life," "*The first fighters* and *speakers* for *Unions, Cooperative Societies, political freedom* and *improved conditions* were *Methodist preachers.* That is beyond argument."

Three of the six "Tolpuddle Martyrs" of the early English Trade Union movement were Methodist local preachers. (See Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam's "Labor and Tomorrow's World.") They were sent as prisoners to Australia simply because they dared to organize a union of "farm hands" and in the process had administered a "secret oath."

A strong petition of protest was circulated shortly after their imprisonment and on April 21, 1834, according to Bready, "not less than 30,000 organized workers (in London) bearing thirty-three trade banners and the petition with over a quarter of a million signatures, marched from Copenhagen Fields to Whitehall. . . At the head of the procession, wearing full canonicals, including the scarlet hood of a Doctor of Divinity, rode the "chaplain to the Metropolitan Trade Unions, Rev. Dr. Arthur Wade."

Within the last decade the Catholic church in the United States has been taking the lead once again in assigning members of its clergy to active work among Catholic Trade Unionists both as chaplains and as directors of Workers' Education projects.

In view of these precedents in ecclesiastical tradition and practice for the appointment of a "Chaplain to Organized Labor," why, you ask, has the Council of Bishops of The Methodist Church appointed a committee of bishops to make a study of "special appointments" such as mine?

The answer, as far as my case is concerned, briefly stated is as follows:

In May, 1944, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, then the presiding bishop of my Annual Conference —the New York East—appointed me—a Methodist minister with a record of over twenty years' service as a pastor, as a member of the faculty of Union Theological Seminary and as a secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service—field secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (CIO).

The following year, 1945, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam renewed the appointment with the concurrence of the necessary two-thirds majority of the members of my Conference.

When Bishop McConnell first appointed me to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (CIO), I was stationed in Knoxville, Tennessee. When Bishop Oxnam renewed the appointment I was stationed in Chambersburg, Pa.

In November, 1945, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (CIO), transferred me to Richmond, Va., where I was given the primary responsibility of organizing the employees of the Crawford Manufacturing Co.

This last April, 1946, I was elected president of the Va. State CIO and director of the Va. CIO-PAC. This election brought a protest from a Methodist layman and made it necessary for me to go before the Conference Relationships Committee of my Conference at its May, 1946, session to face a request that I accept the supernumerary ministerial relationship.

After I presented my reasons for being kept in the active relationship, the Committee *unanimously* adopted a motion that they would approve Bishop Oxnam's continu-

ance of me in an active ministerial relationship. Whereupon Bishop Oxnam appointed me as a "Chaplain to Organized Labor."

Immediately thereafter vigorous protests were made by conservative Methodists to Bishop Oxnam and to Bishop W. W. Peele (the Bishop of the Virginia and North Carolina white Conferences) to the effect that my "appointment would do The Methodist Church in Virginia more harm than good," and requesting Bishop Oxnam to *move* me back to the New York East Conference and to *keep* me there.

A few days later, after I had gone to Smithfield, Va., at the request of the Secretary of the Va. State CIO, to help protect the right of our Negro CIO members to vote without being intimidated in an N.L.R.B. election for a CIO union to represent them in collective bargaining with the management of a Smithfield ham packing house, I was denied permission to speak *even during the discussion period* in the Wesley Bible Class at the Trinity Methodist Church.

The moment I introduced myself as a Methodist minister and as president of the Va. State CIO, the presiding officer of the class said they did not allow any discussion of controversial issues (even though the scripture lesson for the day contained Jesus' statement, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God"), and I was unable to point out that "The Methodist Church stands for the right of employees and employers alike to organize for collective bargaining and social action and for the protection of both in the exercise of this right."

My aiding and protecting unorganized Negro and white workers in the exercise of their right to organize, together with my directing the CIO-PAC campaign against the re-election of Senator Harry F. Byrd who, during his thirteen years in the Senate of the United States, has voted against the major progressive social welfare bills, caused Dr. George S. Reamey, editor of the Virginia Methodist Advocate, to suggest to Bishop Oxnam that he take prompt and appropriate action because I had devoted my "chief attention to the work of a labor organizer," and that I either surrender my credentials as a Methodist minister or confine my work to the spiritual activities as a labor chaplain and resign as CIO-PAC head in Virginia.

Bishop W. W. Peele took the position that my appointment had proved to be a very great embarrassment to him personally, and he appealed both to Bishop Oxnam and to me to relieve him of this embarrassment. (In 1943, when I was representing the ACWA in Martinsville, Va., while on a leave of absence from the M.F.S.S., Bishop Peele unsuccessfully requested Bishop McConnell to withdraw me from Virginia on the grounds that my life had been threatened. Bishop Peele asked me to leave, however, not because my life was endangered but because my union organizational work was, as he said, hurting the reputation of our Methodist Church.)

Bishop Alexander P. Shaw, the Bishop of the Negro Methodist Churches in Virginia, on the other hand has *not* been embarrassed by my appointment as a "Chaplain to Organized Labor" because our CIO unions have both Negro and white workers in their locals and are practicing economic and political brotherhood in their day by day activities in the shop, mill, factory, union hall and at the ballot box on election day.

They are ending Jim Crow discrimination, and are fighting for the abolition of the Poll Tax and for the adoption of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. In consequence, our Negro Methodists, agreeing with Bishop Oxnam's statement, "I see more religion in ending Jim Crow than in preaching abstractions about brotherhood," are of the opinion that the CIO and some of its leaders are a genuine religious force in the Southland.

If I were to appear before the Committee of Bishops, I would appeal to them to recommend to Bishop Oxnam and to the New York East Annual Conference that they continue my appointment as "Chaplain to Organized Labor" at the 1947 session of the Conference for the following reasons:

My appointment gives me a unique opportunity to aid the Crusade for Christ movement which has for its goal the establishment of the Kingdom or Commonwealth of God and man upon the Earth—a commonwealth without man-made depressions and wars.

Many economists are convinced that unless the American workers, farmers, and members of the middle-class are able to purchase a sufficient amount of the goods that our agricultural resources and our mass-production industries are capable of producing, we—the people of the United States—are in for another major depression which may precipitate another world war.

In the light of this conviction I am fully persuaded that when I, as a "Chaplain to Organized Labor," bring to unorganized Negro and white workers the moral sanction of The Methodist Church of their efforts to organize, and when I aid them, through collective bargaining, to end Jim Crowism, and to secure a more equitable amount of the products of agriculture and industry, I help prevent another world-wide calamity—a calamity that may well bring destruction upon us all, irrespective of whether we are workers or farmers, or whether we secure our living primarily through the ownership of property. (During the last eighteen months I have helped over 2,300 workers, through what I call Parable of the Day of Judgment activities, to organize and to secure an annual increase in wages of over $620,000.)

I am also of the conviction that when I, as a "Chaplain to Organized Labor," bring to the potential voters, not only of Virginia—because I do not consider my appoint-

ment as being limited to any state or nation—but also of other states, the moral sanction of The Methodist Church of their efforts to become qualified voters; and when I bring to them the moral sanction of The Methodist Church of the obligations of good citizens to vote for socially-minded legislators and governmental officials at all levels of government who have shown by their records that they are working for the common good, I help working men and women (especially those who are ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed and confronted with rising costs of living) to rely on ballots, not bullets, for the solution of their religious-socio-economic and political problems; and these activities further the Crusade for Christ.

My appointment as a "Chaplain to Organized Labor" has also enabled me to be a living demonstration that The Methodist Church not only believes in, but also practices its Social Creed at the point where it hurts—namely, at the risk of loss of financial support from its anti-union members.

This has made a profound impression upon thousands of working class men and women, many of whom have been indifferent, if not hostile, to the program of the Church; and has made it possible for me to give an interpretation of the life and teachings of Jesus to persons who otherwise would have been unwilling to listen with an attentive and receptive mind.

Some have objected to my appointment on the grounds that I am on the payroll of a labor organization. They contend therefore that I may be required to carry out activities contrary to the policy and program of our Church.

My answer to this objection is found in the requirement of my Annual Conference that all ministers who have "Special Appointments" must report every year to the Bishop on their activities. It is to be assumed that, if he finds that the activities of a "Chaplain to Organized Labor" are contrary to the policy and program of our Church, he will take the necessary steps to correct such a situation.

I am more than willing, if the Committee so desires, to appear before it with a detailed report on all my work since I have been appointed a "Chaplain to Organized Labor." I am positive that none of my major activities have been contrary to the policy and program of The Methodist Church.

A recommendation on the part of the Committee that bishops in the future refrain from appointing active ministers as "Chaplains to Organized Labor" with the knowledge that organized labor, like the U.S. government, is paying the salaries of the chaplains, and my being required to either "locate" or accept a "supernumerary" appointment, would, in my judgment, and that of working-class Methodists, greatly handicap our Church in bringing the full Gospel of Jesus to bear upon the major religious-socio-economic-political problems of our day.

Congress of Industrial Organizations

718 Jackson Place, N. W. • Washington 6, D. C.

C
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RECEIVED
SEP 13 1947

September 10, 1946

The Reverend G. Bromley Oxnam
Bishop of the Methodist Church
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, N. Y.

Dear Bishop Oxnam:-

Yes, indeed, I know of Charles Webber's work. He does an excellent job for the CIO wherever he goes. The precedent of a Methodist minister being elected to the presidency of a state industrial union council is a unique one, and it seems to me that it indicates how important it is for men of goodwill to work within organizations and also points to possible avenues of advance.

I am sure that our country could feel much more secure in regard to its future, if more Christians translated their ideals into specific action.

I have a great deal of confidence in Charles Webber, and I can assure you that my support is back of him in his work of projecting Christian concepts into practical action.

Sincerely yours,

Philip Murray

Congress of Industrial Organizations

718 Jackson Place, N. W. • Washington 6, D. C.

EXECUTIVE 5581

Office of
KERMIT EBY, *Director*
Department of Education and Research

RECEIVED
16 1948
Southern Regional Council

March 9, 1948

DEAR FRIEND:

This is a call to action in behalf of a constructive and long-needed educational undertaking—the Labor Extension Service Bill.

Senate hearings on the Bill have just ended and the Committee will probably make its decision in two weeks. Won't you, after reading the enclosed leaflet, simply write to the following Senators and urge that they take favorable action on S. 1390, the Labor Extension Service Bill?:

ROBERT A. TAFT (R) Ohio
GEORGE D. AIKEN (R) Vermont
H. ALEXANDER SMITH (R) New Jersey
FORREST C. DONNELL (R) Missouri
IRVING M. IVES (R) New York
ALLEN ELLENDER (D) Louisiana
ELBERT D. THOMAS (D) Utah
LISTER HILL (D) Alabama

We are still waiting for hearing dates in the House. Won't you help us by also writing to the following Congressmen, simply indicating your interest in H. R. 4078 (the Bill's House number), its right to be heard, and the importance of setting immediate dates for a hearing?

FRED A. HARTLEY (R) New Jersey
JOSEPH W. MARTIN (R) Massachusetts
CHARLES A. HALLECK (R) Indiana
EDWARD O. MCCOWEN (R) Ohio

Letters should be addressed to the Senate or House Office Buildings, Washington 25, D. C. If you are short on stamps, won't you please write to any on the list who may be from your own state *first* and get to the others as soon as possible?

The Labor Extension Service Bill is supported by all branches of organized labor. It is our suggestion for a positive program to help resolve industrial disputes by the use of facts and reason rather than picket lines. Your good will and pen can help us now.

Sincerely yours,

Kermit Eby.

KERMIT EBY, *Director*
Department of Education and Research

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THE LABOR EXTENSION SERVICE BILL IS PASSED....

DO YOUR PART

THIS IS IT: LABOR EXTENSION SERVICE A NEW LABOR PROGRAM

A bill to promote a better AMERICA

S-1390

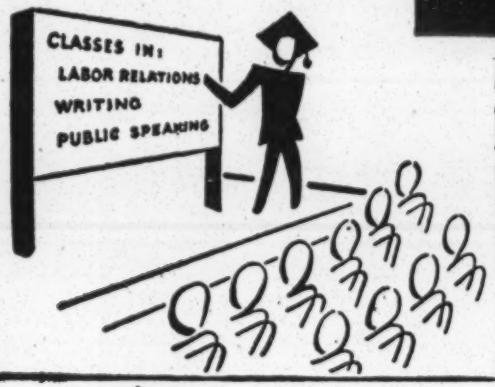
Labor Extension Division to be created in U. S. Department of Labor to serve workers as Agriculture Extension serves farmers.

Colleges and Universities will provide labor extension services at the request of labor organizations.

$ 10 MILLION	1948
$ 20 MILLION	1949
$ 30 MILLION	1950

Government funds to be divided among states on quota basis.

HERE'S WHAT IT WILL MEAN . . . TO YOU . . .



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WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMEN

Send contributions, resolutions, requests for information and materials, letters telling what you think of the Bill

TO

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE EXTENSION OF LABOR EDUCATION

3117 PENN AVE., N. W., WASHINGTON 7, D. C.

THE PLAN FOR A LABOR EXTENSION SERVICE IS ENDORSED BY *ALL* OF LABOR

THIS IS WHAT LABOR SAYS:

AFL

"Such a service would give workers the material and tools with which to meet their educational needs."

Unanimously adopted, 65th Convention. AFL Chicago, Illinois, October 1946

CIO

"All affiliated International Unions, Councils, and Local Industrial Unions are urged to support this program, by resolution, publicity, financial assistance and communications to their respective members of Congress, and cooperate with the Committee for the Extension of Labor Education towards this end."

Unanimously adopted, 8th Constitutional Convention CIO, Atlantic City, New Jersey, November, 1946

RAILROAD LABOR

"Our Association endorses the principle and objectives of this proposed legislation."

A. E. Lyon, Executive Secretary, Railway Labor Executives' Association, January 14, 1947

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
Wednesday, May 20, 1953

Communism and Conformity

By George F. Kennan

Following are excerpts from the text of an address delivered by Mr. Kennan, former Ambassador to Russia, at a University of Notre Dame convocation on May 15.

THE sense of warmth and reassurance that flows from this occasion means all the more to me because I cannot forget that there are forces at large in our society today that do not inspire me with this same feeling—quite the contrary. These forces are too diffuse to be described by their association with the name of any one man or any one political concept. They have no distinct organizational forms. They are as yet largely matters of the mind and the emotion in large masses of individuals. But they all march, in one way o another, under the banner of an alarmed and exercised anti-Communism—but an anti-Communism of a quite special variety, bearing an air of excited discovery and proprietorship, as though no one had ever known before that there was a Communist danger, as though no one had ever thought about it and taken its measure, as though it had all begun about the year 1945, and these people were the first to learn of it.

I have no quarrel to pick with the ostensible purposes of the people in whom these forces are manifest. Surely, many of them are sincere. Surely, many of them are good people. Surely, many of them have come to these views under real provocation and out of real bewilderment. But I have the deepest misgivings about the direction and effects of their efforts. In general, I feel that what they are doing is unwise and unfortunate, and I am against it.

They distort and exaggerate the dimensions of the problem with which they profess to deal. They confuse internal and external aspects of the Communist threat. They insist on portraying as contemporary realities things that had their actuality years ago.

AND having thus incorrectly stated the problem, it is no wonder that these people consistently find the wrong answers. They tell us to remove our eyes from the constructive and positive purposes and to pursue with fanaticism the negative and vindictive ones. They sow timidity where there should be boldness; fear where there should be serenity; suspicion where there should be confidence and generosity. In this wa they impel us—in the name of our salvation from the dangers of Communism—to many of the habits of thought and action which our Soviet adversaries, I am sure, would most like to see us adopt and which they have tried unsuccessfully over a period of some thirty-five years to graft upon us through the operations of their Communist party.

I would not mention these things if I felt that they were only my personal concern and had no relation to the undertaking which we have gathered today to celebrate. But I fear that there is here a serious relevance which we cannot ignore.

Thanks to the vision of wise and generous people, this university is now adding one more important unit to the number of those facilities in our country in which men can cultivate their own understanding, and extend the boundaries of knowledge, in the field of arts and letters. Certainly there could be no finer undertaking, and none more needed. But I feel that this undertaking, too, will have to deal at some point with the forces I have just described.

I feel this first of all because these forces are narrowly exclusive in their approach to our world position, and carry this exclusiveness into the field of international cultural exchanges.

The remote pasts of foreign artists and scholars are anxiously scanned before they are permitted to enter our land, and this is done in proceedings so inflexible in concept and offensive in execution that their very existence often constitutes a discouragement to cultural interchange.

A SECOND reason why I think you will have to concern yourselves with the forces to which I have pointed is that within the framework of our society, as in its relations to external environment, the tendency of these forces is exclusive and intolerant—quick to reject, slow to receive, intent on discovering what ought not to be rather than what ought to be. They claim the right to define a certain area of our national life and cultural output as beyond the bonds of righteous approval. This definition is never effected by law or by constituted authority; it is effected by vague insinuation and suggestion. And the circle, as I say, tends to grow constantly narrower. One has the impression that if uncountered, these people would eventually narrow the area of political and cultural respectability to a point where it included only themselves, the excited accusers, and excluded everything and everybody not embraced in the profession of denunciation.

I recall reading recently, twice in one day, the words of individuals who proclaimed that if certain other people did not get up and join actively in the denunciation of Communists or Communism, they would thereby themselves be suspect. What sort of arrogance is this?

I have lived more than ten years of my life in totalitarian countries. I know where this sort of thing leads.

In these forces I have spoken about, it seems to me that I detect a conscious rejection and ridicule of intellectual effort and distinction. They come together here with a deep-seated weakness in the American character: a certain shy self-consciousness that tends to deny interests other than those of business, sport, or war. There is a powerful strain of our American cast of mind that has little use for the artist or the writer.

WHAT is it that causes us to huddle together, herdlike, in tastes and enthusiasms that represent only the common denominator of popular acquiescence rather than to show ourselves receptive to the tremendous flights of creating imagination of which the individual mind has shown itself capable? Is it that we are forgetful of the true source of our moral strength, afraid of ourselves, afraid to look into the chaos of our own breasts, afraid of the bright, penetrating light of the great teachers?

It may not seem to many of us too dangerous that we should all live, dress, eat, hear, and read substantially alike. But we forget how easily this uniformity of thought and habit can be exploited, when the will to exploit it is there. We forget how easily it can slip over into the domination of our spiritual and political lives by self-appointed custodians who contrive to set themselves at the head of popular emotional currents.

There is a real and urgent danger here for any one who values the right to differ from others in any manner whatsoever, be it in his interests or his associations or his faith.

THE forces of intolerance and political demagoguery are greedy forces, and unrestrained. There is no limit to their ambitions or their impudence. They contain within themselves no mechanism of self-control.

It is for these reasons that I feel that you, in setting up at this time within this great academic community a center for liberal arts, are taking upon yourselves a great, though honorable, burden. You are going to have to swim against the tide of many of the things I have been talking about. You are frequently going to find arrayed against you, whether by intent or otherwise, the materialists, the anti-intellectuals, the chauvinists of all sizes and descriptions, the protagonists of violence and suspicion and intolerance, the people who take it upon themselves to delimit the operation of the principle of Christian charity, the people from whose memories there has passed the recollection that in their Father's house there are many mansions.

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REPORT OF THE
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ON
SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION

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  - "OMER" daily for new immigrants
  - "OHEL" Theatre
  - "AM OVED" Book Publishing
  - Hebrew Classes
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Civil Liberties

JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Civil liberties:

"the direct and daring course"

excerpts from an address on the occasion of the 100th Anniversary of Governor Altgeld of Illinois by Associate Justice William O. Douglas of the Supreme Court of the United States at Chicago, Illinois, December 30, 1947

John P. Altgeld
Governor of Illinois 1893-1897

Sleep softly . . . eagle forgotten . . . under the stone,
Time has its way with you there and the clay has its own.
Sleep on, O brave-hearted, O wise man, that kindled the flame —
To live in mankind is far more than to live in a name,
To live in mankind, far, far more . . . than to live in a name

— VACHEL LINDSAY

(From: GENERAL WILLIAM BOOTH ENTERS INTO HEAVEN AND OTHER POEMS. Copyright, 1913 by The Macmillan Company and used with their permission)

Civil liberties: "the direct and daring course"

JOHN PETER ALTGELD is probably unknown to most Americans. . . . His name has not yet become, as it should, a force which we call American idealism . . . .

But as Vachel Lindsay nobly said of him, "To live in mankind is far more than to live in a name." Altgeld does, I believe, "live in mankind." It was the cause of mankind which he pleaded. . . . Those who would not have seen eye to eye with him on many of the contentious issues of his era nevertheless gain inspiration from the character of his advocacy.

He feared no man. As a lawyer, his clients did not cause him to stand mute when his conscience urged him to speak out. As a politician, he did not follow the safe course of indecision or of ambiguous pronouncement when his instinct for justice told him to meet an evil head on. As a

private individual, he did not turn his back and withdraw to the ease and comfort of his wealth when the victims of an industrial system cried out against its inhumanities.

THE powerful social forces of his age moved him to action. . . . He lost almost every major cause he pleaded. But those were the skirmishes and the battles which were mere episodes in a larger and more far-flung campaign. His failures caused new recruitments. A full generation later men who never knew his name were summoned by the ideas which he had generated or espoused. They marched to great victories of which he perhaps had never even dreamed . . . .

Altgeld came to maturity during the days of our Robber Barons. The great industrial and financial strength of the East had won a war and had grown stronger in the process. A large productive capacity, a huge reservoir of capital awaited new ventures. Men of vision saw untold opportunities in the exploitation of the western two thirds of the Continent. . . .

Banker, industrialist, builder, and speculator were the driving forces in that tremendous undertaking. Some maintain that, at least in days of peace, the job never could have been done so fast any other way. However that may be, it is clear that it was extravagant in its cost, inhuman in its methods, corrupt in its influence. . . .

The nation had just rid itself of chattel slavery, renouncing for all time the idea that men could be bought and sold and exploited like cattle. But it seemed to many that the nation was on the verge of embracing a form of industrial slavery, which in its consequences was almost as vicious as the slavery which had just been abolished. . . .

A GREAT restlessness swept the country. There was a depression in the early '90's and millions were unemployed. They swept over the Cascades and the Rockies on the move to Washington for currency reforms, for a public works program. Some stole trains and were jailed. So were the hitchhikers who rode the boxcars. Strikers, too, were jailed. Contempt of court became a weapon in industrial warfare. It was a powerful weapon. It aligned the forces of government — the courts, the marshals, the troops — on the side of industry and against the workers. Government was there not to adjudicate the justness of the claims, not to mediate or to arbitrate the disputes, but to crush and suppress those who protested against the injustices of the new industrial era. . . . The enormous injustices which he (Altgeld) saw violated his sense of social justice. He first wrote and spoke his protests; then he moved to action, giving and expecting no quarter.

As governor of Illinois he put through a law aimed at sweatshops, at the employment of children who were under 14, and at the employment of women over eight hours daily or more than 48 hours a week. The latter provision was held unconstitutional on grounds which reflected the dominant political philosophy of the age — that it violated both the employer's and the worker's freedom of contract.

He put through a law in aid of collective bargaining, which made it a crime to dismiss an employee because of membership in a labor union, and thus sowed one of the first seeds out of which the National Labor Relations Act grew a generation or more later. He inaugurated a system of mediation and arbitration of labor disputes. He put through a law that outlawed limitation of production,

price fixing, pooling agreements, and other restraints of trade. He got an inheritance tax law passed. . . .

He protested vigorously against the use of Federal troops to break strikes. He resisted the use of the injunction in industrial disputes. . . .

As governor he put his influence behind the development of a strong, progressive university. He feared that monopoly capital might spawn its own seats of learning and dominate the minds of men as well as their bodies. . . .

Altgeld knew what we are apt to overlook or forget, that the procedural safeguards of the Bill of Rights were designed to protect the citizen against the tyranny not only of legislatures and of executives but of judges, too. . . .

The framers of the Constitution, knowing that, designed the constitutional requirement of a fair trial to protect the accused not only against the police and the prosecutors, but against the judges as well. . . .

WHEN Altgeld became governor, four of the men found guilty in the Haymarket riots had been hanged. Three were still in prison. Altgeld reviewed their cases and granted them pardons. The pardon was for him a simple, uncomplicated act. . . . Unfair attitudes of both judge and jury had in his view, infected the trial.

The reaction was violent. . . . He at once experienced what many both before and after him experienced — that he who calls for the application of the Bill of Rights to unpopular minorities, as well as to other groups of the community, often becomes himself suspect. Thus when Altgeld insisted that even anarchists were entitled to due process of law, he was dubbed an anarchist.

But a man whose devotion to our system of government was so great that he did not want it to become the tool of a capitalist oligarchy was not even remotely related to the anarchists. He was merely seeking to apply the philosophy of Jefferson to the workaday world of the '90's — due process of the law for every man, whatever his race or creed or political faith; social justice for those at the bottom, as well as those at the top, of the economic pyramid. . . . Altgeld's philosophy has relevance to current American problems in at least two respects:

FIRST, Altgeld placed human beings higher than the dollar in the national scale of values. A nation's industrial plant represents not only the daring of capital and the imagination of executives, but the blood and sweat of men. The men and women who compose a nation are its greatest natural resources — greater than its mines or forests or rivers.

The nation is healthy only if its people are strong. The state must concern itself with their economic disasters. For the greater share of their troubles is due not to laziness but to economic forces beyond their control. There is in most men a lively sense of decency, of good will, of fraternity. The poor have those instincts, as well as those blessed with more worldly goods. The powers of government should be directed to protect them in their struggle to survive and in their efforts to live in dignity and to share the fruits of freedom. . . .

We will be wise if we carry that philosophy into the world problems which confront us today. There are active bidders for the good will and support of the common

people of the world. There are emissaries of totalitarian regimes in the capitals of the world, bargaining with bags of wheat for the souls of men. They are our competitors; but we need not emulate their example.

THE victims of war in Europe and Asia need and ask our aid. But these people must not be treated as if they can be purchased with the dollar. We must not manage this great crisis of democracy as if it were an auction; as if the peoples of the world were on the block and going to the highest bidder.

The sensitiveness of people increases with their suffering. The peoples of the world have suffered beyond our comprehension. If we so manage this crisis as to leave the impression that our standards are mercenary, we will have generated a revulsion to our system which may well be irreparable.

As a result of their struggles all peoples of the world are closer together. Their common interests have made them parts of something which is bigger than their own country. That is true of us, too. We have wider horizons, greater obligations. So when we come to the aid of the distressed people of the world, we act not out of charity alone but in answer to a responsibility to support in peace the ideal for which we were willing to wage a war.

Someway, somehow, we must let the people of the world know that. We must reach behind the façade of ministers and cabinets and commissions and let the common people feel our warm handclasp. We must let them know that we understand their suffering. We must make sure they know that our desire is not to make them our

satellites but to meet them as equals in a world where standards of decency and justice prevail.

My remarks are not directed to agencies of government. I refer more particularly to the role which all groups — civic, cultural, and religious — can play in keeping close ties with the peoples of the world.

Behind even the iron curtain of eastern Europe are human beings whose thirst for freedom is as great as our own. We must manage to let them feel the warmth of our understanding and friendship. We must not let them become the forgotten people of the world. They must know that their problems are our concern too, that we respect their worth as human beings, that they also are part of the brotherhood which we have come to symbolize in the world.

Governments may be imposed on these people. But the people themselves are the ultimate source of political power in every state. The pattern of an enduring peace will be found only in their hopes and aspirations.

Altgeld once said that "all great reforms, great movements, come from the bottom and not the top." That is true in the international as well as the national field. Thus it is doubly important that we do not lose the link which we have with all peoples whose dream is political, intellectual, and religious freedom.

SECOND, there is another current problem to which Altgeld's philosophy is relevant. On the domestic scene his courage and steadfastness of purpose are needed for protection of the civil liberties of our people.

We are apt to leave that task to the faraway court in the

state or national capital. Those courts, by their examples, exert a great influence. But the great percentage of the grist is found in the lower courts. A more accurate measure of the vitality of our Bill of Rights is not in the sporadic rulings of our highest tribunals but in the day to day attitudes of the lower courts.

Moreover, it is not in the courts alone that the strength of our civil liberties is to be ascertained. The executive and legislative branches of government also have responsibilities for enforcement of the Bill of Rights. The administration of the voting booths, the habits of the police in law enforcement, the nature of the city's ordinances — these all are indexes of the vitality of the Bill of Rights in the life of the community. So is the attitude of the community. For an indifferent community, like a misguided one, will surely breed disrespect for the standards embodied in the Bill of Rights.

We may never reach perfection in our practice of the ideals of the Bill of Rights. But there is no earthly reason why with education and organization it cannot become an increasingly potent force in the everyday lives of our people. The extent of a community's respect of the human rights of all of its citizens is in fact the measure of its program in civilization. Altgeld broke the trail — making it easier for every man of conscience who followed.

The creation of a healthy community attitude is not the exclusive task of any one group. The task starts in the homes, in the schools, and in the churches. But city and state officials, editors, lawyers, and other groups of citizens have an important share of the responsibility.

I remember recent instances where tyrannical judges sitting in local courts rode roughshod over the civil liber-

ties of defendants charged with crime. In one case it was a doctor, in another an editor who thundered personal disapproval and started campaigns to rid their cities of those oppressive practices. They were indeed the ones that alerted the local bar associations and caused civil liberties committees to be formed to patrol the local scene.

THESE are not always easy steps to take. When Altgeld insisted that even anarchists were entitled to due process of law, he himself was labeled a subversive influence. That will often be said today when one insists that the safeguard of the Bill of Rights be extended to all groups, including any minority group in our midst that may be at the whipping post or the subject of temporary hysteria.

Yes, it takes courage to stand between an unpopular minority and the community, insisting that our Bill of Rights was designed for the protection of all people whatever their race, creed, or political faith.

The lawyer may feel uneasy when it seems that important clients may slip away because of his attitude. The editor may be tempted to stand mute by reason of the views of important advertisers. Even the clergyman may be under pressure to hold his tongue because of the influence of some of his parishioners.

But those who are devoted to the democratic ideal expressed in our Bill of Rights will take the direct and daring course. Once they are sure of their facts and know they are doing right they will, like Altgeld, espouse the cause of the victims of ignorance, prejudice, or passion. They, too, may be pilloried or cursed. But institutions become great

by the greatness of the men who champion them, by the greatness of the advocacy that defends them.

A PEOPLE indifferent to their civil liberties do not deserve to keep them, and in this revolutionary age may not be expected to keep them long. A people who proclaim their civil liberties but extend them only to preferred groups start down the path to totalitarianism. They emulate either the dictatorship of the right or the dictatorship of the left. In doing this they erase a basic distinction between our system of government and totalitarianism.

To allow that to happen is to lose by default. Far better to lose pleading the cause of decency and justice. Then we win greatness even in defeat, and leave behind a rich heritage for those who later rebuild on the ashes of our lost hopes. But there will be no failure if we adhere steadfastly to our faith. For the goal of people of all races is toward a system which respects their dignity, frees their minds, and allows them to worship their God in their own way. None has yet designed an article of political faith more suited to those ends than our own Bill of Rights.

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1- Civil Rights

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CIVIL LIBERTIES NEWS

A Monthly Summary of the Struggle for Human Rights

The Secret of Liberty Is Courage

Published by the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee
Affiliated with the American Council for Human Rights
and the International Committee for Human Rights

Wm. Scott Stewart, Chairman
21 East Van Buren St., Chicago 5, Illinois
Telephone Harrison 8460

EDITOR—IRA LATIMER

572

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Illinois Law a Blind Alley - U.S. Supreme Court

Illinois was dealt a blow by the Supreme Court of the United States in its decision No. 93, October Term 1947, in **Marino v. Ragen** 332 U.S. 561. The unanimous decision of the court, in the light of confession of error by the Illinois Atty. Gen., and the undisputed facts, concluded "that petitioner was denied due process of law which the Fourteenth Amendment requires . . . and the judgment below is vacated and remanded to the Circuit Court."

However Justice **Rutledge** (who specializes on Illinois law for the court), joined by Justice **Douglas** and Justice **Murphy**, wrote a concurring opinion which condemns Illinois justice. They say: "If the federal guarantee of due process in a criminal trial is to have real significance in Illinois, it is imperative that men convicted in violation of their constitutional rights have an adequate opportunity to be heard in court. This opportunity is not adequate so long as they are required to ride the Illinois merry-go-round of **habeas corpus, coram nobis**, and writ of error before getting a hearing in a federal court. Consequently, as far as I am concerned, the Illinois remedies are exhausted here, apart from the state's confession of error. I also think that, until that state affords a reasonably clear and adequate means for presenting and disposing of such questions as Marino's case involves, this court should no longer require exhaustion of its present scheme of ineffective and inadequate remedies before permitting resort to the federal district courts sitting in Illinois. We should neither delay or deny justice, nor clog its administration, with so useless and harmful a procedural strangling of federal constitutional rights."

Behind this tongue-lashing of Illinois justice is the steady fight on Illinois criminal procedure carried on by a handful of able criminal lawyers and more particularly a group of prisoners at Statesville Prison. The rawest cases became known to the self-educated prisoner "lawyers" who assist these best cases to draft petitions to the U.S. Supreme Court alleging deprivations of due process and other constitutional rights. "Thus in the 1944 term, out of a total of 339 petitions filed **in forma pauperis**, almost all by prisoners, 141 came from Illinois; in the 1945 term, 175 out of 393 were from Illinois; and in the 1946 term, 332 out of 528 came from that state. With mechanical regularity petitions for certiorari to review Illinois' refusals to grant relief, often even to grant a hearing, have been denied." Of the 322 petitions filed in the 1946 term, only two were granted. The Court has tried the policy of requiring petitioners to "exhaust his state remedies."

Chairman Stewart Asks Representation For Criminal Lawyers in Law Revision

Chairman **Wm. Scott Stewart** has written President **Jas. P. Carey, Jr.**, of the Chicago Bar Assn., comments on a law revision commission for Illinois. "When reforms are considered," writes Mr. Stewart, "in the law relative to property and business, both sides are represented. The lawyers see to it that neither side gains an advantage. I am afraid that in my branch of the law the defense is defaulted too often. Pressure groups prevail because the individual lawyer cannot keep up."

"The lawyer in civil business would not knowingly give the prosecution an advantage, in the guise of reform, but he cannot be expected to keep up with the probable effects of new legislation—any more than I can know of the real meaning of proposed reforms in the law of trusts, taxes or insurance. Those of us who know a little about the criminal law, know also that if we oppose the pressure groups, we open ourselves to personal attack. I am not complaining of this particularly for such is life. My objection to any new commission, such as you propose, is that it will operate as a departure from our form of government."

UNITED NATIONS DAY DINNER TUES. OCT. 26, AMBASSADOR EAST

The International Committee for Human Rights will hold its second annual fund-raising banquet Tuesday, October 26, at 7:00 P. M., in the Sarah Siddons Walk banquet room of the Ambassador East Hotel. Guests are limited to those contributing $25 or more to the ICHR work for the coming year.

Invited speakers include: Dr. **Petre Zenkl**, former chairman of the former Socialist (Benes) Party of Czechoslovakia, just arrived this month from Europe; Dr. **Josef Lettrich**, former chairman of the former Democratic Party of Slovakia, a political exile now living in Chicago; **Prof. Herman Finer**, Univ. of Chicago Political Science Dept., and former Londoner; and Judge **John J. Gutknecht**, Municipal Court of Chicago, who spent the past summer in Europe. President **Wm. Scott Stewart** will preside.

Send reservations to the office—guests limited to 150.

ENROLL ONE NEW MEMBER IN OCTOBER

CCLC MEMBERS WHO ARE CANDIDATES NOV. 2, 1948

At each election the CCLC has for a decade listed members of the Committee who are candidates for public office. The Committee is non-partisan and has never endorsed any candidate or even recommended appointees.

The following candidates for Judge of the Municipal Court: Judge Harry P. Beam, Judge Oscar S. Caplan, Judge Chas. S. Doughtery (Adv. Bd.), Judge Leon Edelman, Judge Wendell E. Green, Judge Erwin J. Hasten, Judge Justin F. McCarthy, Judge John V. McCormick, Judge George L. Quilici, Judge Jay A. Schiller, Judge Michael Tremko, Judge John T. Zuris, Joseph Pope (Adv. Bd.) and Fred (Duke) Slater (Adv. Bd.).

The following candidates for Congressman: Cong. William L. Dawson, Cong. Adolph J. Sabath, Cong. Thos. J. O'Brien, Cong. Thos. S. Gordon (all on Adv. Bd.); John Haderlein (Acting Postmaster), Cong. Martin Gorski, Cong. Robt. J. Twyman, Cong. Ralph E. Church, Earl B. Dickerson.

The following candidates for state offices: Senator C. Wayland Brooks, Gov. Dwight H. Green, Hon. Edward J. Barrett, Hon. Wm. G. Stratton, Hon. Arthur C. Lueder, Hon. George F. Barrett, Curtis MacDougall.

The following candidates for city and county offices: Hon. Albert J. Horan (Adv. Bd.), Chief Justice Edward S. Scheffler, Hon. Joseph L. Gill, Hon. A. L. Brodie (Adv. Bd.), Hon. John E. Conroy, Hon. Henry Sonnenschein.

The following candidates for members of the General Assembly: Sen. Wm. G. Knox, Sen. Frank McDermott, Sen. Frank Ryan, (The even numbered districts elect state senators in 1948.) Rep. Jas. J. Adduci, Rep. Stanley C. Armstrong, Rep. H. R. Blomstrand, Rep. John F. Boyle, Rep. Corneal A. Davis (Adv. Bd.), Rep. A. L. Auth, Rep. Louis G. Berman, Rep. Alan Best, Rep. John D'Arco, Rep. Jos. L. De La Cour, Rep. Andrew A. Euzzino, Rep. Wm. S. Finucane, Rep. Matt Franz, Rep. John J. Gorman, Rep. Wm. J. Gormley, Rep. Peter C. Granata, Rep. Michael E. Hannigan, Rep. John O. Hruby, Rep. Peter J. Jezierny, Rep. Arthur M. Kaindl, Rep. John C. Kluczynski, Rep. Stanley R. Kosinski, Rep. Frank Kuklinski, Rep. Noble W. Lee, Rep. Vito Marzullo, Rep. Walter McAvoy, Rep. Ragnar G. Nelson, Rep. George Noonan, Rep. Edward P. O'Grady, Rep. Thos. A. Patton, Rep. Robert Petrone, Rep. Anthony C. Prusinski, Rep. Paul J. Randolph, Rep. Jos. L. Rategan, Rep. Michael A. Ruddy, Rep. Elroy C. Sandquist, Rep. James J. Ryan, Rep. John G. Ryan, Rep. Edward Schneider, Rep. Pierce L. Shannon, Rep. Chas. M. Skyles, Rep. Fred J. Smith, Rep. Chas. H. Weber (Adv. Bd.), Rep. Jos. Zientek.

Dear Member:

CCLC income has dropped due to inflation, political campaign, overseas appeals and confusion. Your membership is doubly appreciated. If you can afford to join the International Committee for Human Rights this month ($2 for CCLC members) please do so. The ICHR United Nations Day fund-raising dinner Oct. 26 will help carry the office overhead till spring — and provide some funds for projects on the international level. A conference to consider holding a second world congress on human rights is being held Nov. 14-15 in London. The international front has become the most important civil rights issue.

The citizens committee to advise the Police Commissioner on comic books will meet in the City Council chambers Oct. 11 at 2 P. M. CCLC has offered to secure the RKO "This Is America" featurette No. 6 "The Funny Business" to show the civic leaders the pros and cons on comic thrillers. CCLC has invited the Comics Publishers executive secretary to come to Chicago and explain the new Code to the advisory committee.

The CCLC was not permitted by Asst. Coroner Ingalls to present witnesses from the neighborhood at the inquest into the death of Robert Mayes. The Jury decided the death was "justifiable homocide." The Mayor said that the Police Commissioner would make an investigation. No word has been received of any action by Prendergast to get the true facts about how Robert Mayes was shot to death by policemen. A civil suit for wrongful death on behalf of the boy's estate is being filed.

CCLC Adds 300 Gift Members in August

Chairman **Wm. Scott Stewart** raised $900 to help tide the Committee over August and gift memberships were sent to aldermen, judges, legislators, police captains, H.S. principals and other public officials. Several police captains went to Police Commissioner Prendergast to ask what they should do about their gifts and he told the **Tribune**, which printed a story and a facsimile of Mr. Stewart's letter, that captains could accept or decline. Eight of the 40 captains of police districts have declined our gift memberships. Nearly a score of other officials to date have also declined, mostly with regrets because of their official positions. New gift memberships have been sent to replace those declining. The purpose of our gifts is to maintain our numbers, educate public officials on civil rights issues through the CLNews, increase the number of available advisory board members, and secure added income from renewals and special contributions. Criticism to the effect that making police captains members will tie the hands of the Committee is apparently not familiar with CCLC history. John Knight took note of the CCLC gifts in an inspired News editorial.

CCLC Urges Civil Rights Ordinance

In this election year the Committee has high hopes of having the City Council adopt the first municipal civil rights ordinance in the country. The CCLC had the Illinois state civil rights statute drafted as an ordinance and had it introduced in the Council by Ald. Harvey. It has gathered dust in committee but action is promised by Democratic leaders before election.

CCLC Works for Teaching Democracy in Schools

The Committee is cooperating with Supt. **Herold C. Hunt** in an old project of the CCLC—the teaching and practice of democratic principles in the public schools as a major activity. CCLC has urged a uniform program of student government in all high schools, mock elections of city and county officials for one-day-in-office experience, student assemblies to celebrate all U.S. holidays of democracy and emphasis on "the American Heritage" in social studies, English, and civics. Supt. Hunt this summer attended a special conference on this subject with President Eisenhower at Columbia University. Asst. Supt. **Butler Laughlin** in charge of high schools is appointing a committee to draft a new course of study for Civics teachers to use as a result of the Noack case and the lack of attention to this subject under the Johnson-McCahey regime. The CCLC Exec. Dir. attends Board of Education meetings regularly and all visitors note the atmosphere of freedom of expression and debate of the "new board."

CCLC Prints "Your Rights if Arrested"

Chairman Stewart, noted criminal lawyer who fills the shoes of **Clarence Darrow**, is the author of "Trial Strategy" and "Criminal Trial Procedure in Federal Court." Since the CCLC has again turned its attention increasingly on problems of due process of law the Committee is fortunate to have the interest and leadership of Wm. Scott Stewart. He has contributed a new printing of a revised Committee leaflet and poster on "Your Rights If Arrested." If you wish copies for distribution send a postal card with the number you can use.

Chairman Stewart is currently appealing for a new trial, as a public service, the 22 year sentence of 11 year old Howard Lang for murder on a plea of guilty. Defense counsel and defendant allege that they were under a misapprehension as to sentence when they agreed to plead guilty. He is also appealing to the Illinois Supreme Court, at his own expense, the refusal of Warden Ragen and the Circuit Court of Winnebago Co. to release Tony Marino who has served 25 years of a life sentence which the U. S. Supreme Court declared was a denial of due process of law. The U. S. Supreme Court in the Marino case denounced the criminal law of Illinois as a denial of due process. The decision said: "In short, the effect of the state's confession of error in this case is not to clarify, it rather is to confuse further, a situation already so muddled that only one rational conclusion may be drawn. It is that the Illinois proceedural labyrinth is made up entirely of blind alleys, each of which is useful only as a means of convincing the federal courts that the state road which the petitioner has taken is the

CCLC members will receive as a gift of the Committee a pamphlet reprint of two addresses by Supreme Court Justice **William O. Douglas**: one delivered Oct. 1947 "Proceedural Safeguards in the Bill of Rights" and the other delivered March, 1948 "The Way to Win Without War." These and 28 other addresses of Justice Douglas have just been published in book form "Being An American" (John Day, $2.75, 214 pp).

To better understand current trends you may want to purchase from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.: "Espionage Laws," 29 p. 10c 1943 Catalog No. Y 1.2: Es 6/943; "Foreign Agents Registration Rules and Regulations" 1942, 38 p. 10c, Catalog No. J 1.8: F 76; "Communism in Action" (Free from CCLC office —Govt. price 25c)—courtesy Chicago congressmen; "Strategy and Tactics of World Communism" — Foreign Affairs Subcommittee report—1948, 430 p., 75c, Catalog No. 80-2: H. doc. 619; "Nazi Conspiracy & Agression" 1947, 190 p., 45c, Catalog No. W 1.2; N 23/2.

—IRA LATIMER, Editor

Solicitor General Warns Chicago Bar on Communism

In a one hour address U.S. Solicitor General **Philip Pearlman** warned the June 29 annual meeting of the Chicago Bar Assn. of the necessity to resist Communist infiltration into the vitals of the nation. The Solicitor General again expressed his regrets to the Exec. Dir. at not being able to speak for the May 20 CCLC banquet. Since this address might have been made for the Committee it is reported here in some detail.

Mr. Pearlman is the lawyer for the people of the USA and his brief and oral argument before the U.S. Supreme Court helped win the decision against racial restrictive covenants. He called on the Chicago Bar Assn. to help draft legislation and work out methods of controlling the subversive activities of Communists and yet not impair civil rights. The Attorney General opposed the House version of the Mundt-Nixon bill because it was unconstitutionally written — but recommended 8 amendments to existing statutes to strengthen the power of the government to act against subversive groups.

The Solicitor General said that the Communist dictatorship is actively attempting to destroy every other form of government in the world, using the methods of espionage, sabotage, internal disruption, and psychological warfare, which Nazi Germany brought to a high stage of perfection. There is a remorseless extension of one-man rule, dictatorship and police inquisition today throughout the world which the U.S.A. must resist.

He praised the great care taken to protect the constitutional rights of federal employees in the Loyalty Investigation. He stated that of 3,000,000 government workers screened only 4,000 required field investigations, of which 1,300 are completed and 1,100 will have hearings before the Dept. Loyalty Board (230 having resigned under fire). If the Dept. board finds these employees guilty of advocating or engaging in "disloyal acts" they may appeal to the Dept. head and then to the 23-man President's Loyalty Review Board. On this board from Chicago are Prof. **Chas. Merriam**, Dean **Aaron Brumbaugh** and Prof. **Harry Biglow** all of the University of Chicago. Greater protection is given government employees charged with disloyalty to their government than to those charged with other offenses before the U.S. Civil Service Commission.

Mr. Pearlman also pointed out that membership in or association with organizations designated by the Attorney General as "subversive" was only one small factor in the charge of "disloyal acts" and there has been no attempt to establish the principle of guilt by association. The 103 "subversive and totalitarian organizatons" listed by the Attorney General were very carefully investigated by the FBI and checked by the highest legal talent in the Justice Dept. The list was condemned by ultra-conservative MCs as being too small and by Communist sympathizers as being too large.

The Solicitor General then reminded the Bar Assn. that under our government of laws, any excesses in subversive activities control procedures now being adopted for the first time, will and should be resisted in the courts. There should be no unnecessary invasion of privacy and there must be tolerance of personal opinions. Yet the facts cannot be ignored that Russia and the USA have been unable to make peace anywhere, the USSR and satellites have raised interminable obstacles to the functioning of the United Nations, and the Cominform parties have announced their intention to destroy democracy everywhere.

Lack of Home Rule Is Termed Greatest Stumbling Block to Municipal Progress

By MAYOR deLESSEPS S. MORRISON
President, American Municipal Association
(Written for NEA Service)

New Orleans.

A PESSIMIST COULD LOOK at America's cities and towns today and report: Expenses high. Income inadequate. Debt increasing. Problems mushrooming. Authority often hamstrung. The typical major's face usually has a worried look.

Last year three cities the size of New Orleans could have been formed from the nationwide increase in urban population.

These new city dwellers need police and fire protection, streets, schools and a thousand other municipal services.

The key problem of American cities is to make up for construction deferred by the depression and World War II, and then to provide entirely new facilities and services for a war-swollen population.

This is the dark side of the picture. Yet there are no lasting grounds for pessimism. City governments are moving ahead as never before. Item: The 397 largest communities in 1948 invested 50 per cent more in capital improvements than in 1947.

This means steamrollers in the streets, the banging of pile drivers and the hammering of carpenters in the building of new highways, schools, youth centers and the like.

BIGGEST STUMBLING BLOCK

Uppermost in the thinking at the American Municipal Assocation meeting will be the greatest single stumbling block to municipal progress in the United States—lack of home rule.

Most communities are at the whim and mercy of state legislatures, which frequently reduce local revenues while increasing local e[illegible] frustrate local attempts to meet pressi[illegible] lems and meddle in every conceivable [illegible] affairs.

[illegible] tide of home rule sentiment is sw[illegible] on. The next few years will see a[illegible] states to make local self-governm[illegible] constitution.

[illegible] will also be an all-out attack [illegible] ipally through the [illegible] which the A[illegible]

the taxpayers' bill for crime, disease and social unrest.

We are also seeking a "little Hoover Commission" to make sense out of the overlapping, duplication and competition between governments in finding revenues and performing services.

The cities are squeezed in a financial vise between federal and state taxes. At a time when cities need more money to serve more needs, their chances of getting it are not good.

One particularly sore spot is the division of revenues from street and highway user taxes.

FEDERAL-MUNICIPAL PROBLEM

Then there is the federal-municipal problem created by the fact that Uncle Sam now owns one-fifth of the nation's land, tax-exempt. Yet cities derive most of their income from taxes on property.

Our Association will consequently support to the fullest plans now being developed by the Federal Government for payments to cities of sums in lieu of taxes on federal property.

Some people say the surest way to bring on a decline is to talk about it. Yet, facing the tremendous responsibility of meagre revenues and potentially tremendous relief demands, few officials wish to blind themselves deliberately to the dangers.

Besides, the new spirit of resolution and leadership within the city halls of the nation demands that we see ahead and plan ahead and be prepared to act in any emergency—be it economic or atomic.

There is a stirring within the people across the land that augurs well for the future of municipal government.

ADL SOUTHERN OFFICE
11 PRYOR ST., S. W.-ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

Justice Terrell's statement
is worth reading.

Alex Miller

6 - Court Decisions

RECEIVED
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Southern Regional Council

CACCIATORE et al. v. STATE
Cite as 49 So. 2d 588

Supreme Court of Florida, en Banc.

Dec. 22, 1950

Rehearing Denied Jan. 16, 1951.

Phillip Cacciatore, Bennie Calderone and Salvatore T. Tarallo were convicted in the Circuit Court for Citrus County, F. R. Hocker, J., of stealing a calf, and they appealed. The Supreme Court, Per Curiam, affirmed the judgment as to the defendant Cacciatore and reversed the judgment for new trial as to defendants Tarallo and Calderone.

Judgment affirmed as to defendant Cacciatore and reversed for new trial as to defendants Tarallo and Calderone.

Adams, C.J., Sebring, Terrell, Chapman and Hobson, J.J., dissented in part.

Criminal law 1182, 1189

In prosecution of three defendants on a charge of stealing a calf, conviction of two of the defendants was reversed for a new trial, while conviction as to the third defendant was affirmed.

- - - - - -

Whitaker Brothers and W.N. Burnside, Tampa, for appellants.
Richard W. Ervin, Atty. Gen., and Murray Sams, Jr., Asst. Atty. Gen., for appellee.

Per Curiam.

Appellants were tried and convicted on an information charging that they did unlawfully take, steal and carry away a calf of the bovine species, the property of Ruth E. Smith. As a prelude to the trial the court called two bailiffs and instructed them to take charge of the jury, one of whom was a Negro, and keep them together. The sheriff was directed to make provision for their feeding and lodging during the trial. At the conclusion of the State's case a motion for directed verdict in favor of defendants was overruled. Defendants offered no evidence. The jury returned a verdict of guilty as to each, a motion for a new trial was overruled and a sentence of two years in the State penitentiary was imposed.

This appeal is from that judgment.

The record and the briefs have been thoroughly considered and Mr. Chief Justice ADAMS, Mr. Justice THOMAS, Mr. Justice SEBRING and Mr. Justice ROBERTS are of the view that the judgment should be affirmed as to the defendant Phillip Cacciatore. Mr. Chief Justice ADAMS and Mr. Justice

SEBRING are of the view that the judgment should be affirmed as to defendant, Salvatore T. Tarallo and Mr. Chief Justice ADAMS is of the view that the judgment should be affirmed as to the defendant Bennie Calderone. Mr. Justice TERRELL, Mr. Justice THOMAS, Mr. Justice CHAPMAN, Mr. Justice HOBSON, and Mr. Justice ROBERTS are of the view that the judgment should be reversed as to defendants Tarallo and Calderone, Mr. Justice TERRELL, Mr. Justice CHAPMAN and Mr. Justice HOBSON are of the view that the judgment should be reversed as to all three defendants because the confession as to Cacciatore was unlawfully secured and the constitutional guaranty of fair trial was denied them.

It follows that the judgment is affirmed as to defendant Cacciatore and it is reversed for a new trial as to defendants Tarallo and Calderone.

ADAMS, C.J., and TERRELL, CHAPMAN, THOMAS, SEBRING, HOBSON and ROBERTS, JJ., concur.

TERRELL, Justice (concurring).

I concur in the order of reversal but I think it unfortunate that it fails to discuss the questions raised, particularly the charge that discrimination was practiced on the Negro juror during the trial. The major portion of appellant's brief is devoted to this point. The record shows that there was confusion as to the applicable law and I think we are on notice that the trial courts will be confronted with the question in the future. When this is the case it should be adjudicated in order that the error may not again recur. The law requires the jury to "sit together" and hear the pleadings, proof and other aspects of the trial. The court in his discretion, may order the jury placed in charge of a bailiff to keep them together and see that no one from the outside communicates with them. When this is done the bailiff is required to make provision for their meals and lodging during the trial.

It is not denied that the jury sat together and heard the pleadings, proof, and charge of the Court but it is contended that they were separated when provision was made for lodging, in that they were required to sleep in separate rooms and that when meals were provided the Negro juror was required to eat in a "cubbyhole" separated from the dining room where the white jurors ate. I do not think the fact that the jury slept in separate or adjoining rooms with a door open between them, as the record shows, violated the requirement that they be kept together during the trial. The purpose of this requirement is to remove the danger of outside communication with the jury or any member of it and the number of rooms they occupy is not material so long as they are under the supervision of the bailiff and are not communicated with. The task imposed on the bailiff is to treat all jurors alike, keep them together and exercise such supervision over them as to prevent outside communication with them.

As to the charge that the Negro juror was required to eat in a "cubbyhole" separated from the dining room where the white jurors ate, it is pertinent to point out that the alleged "cubbyhole" was a corner or sector of the dining room. It was created by setting up a buffet to isolate the Negro juror from the white jurors and others who might be in the dining room at the time. I find nothing in the record that convinces me

that this procedure affected the verdict in this case, but I think it was bad practice and in many instances might have a serious effect on the verdict. Whether or not it does so would depend on the Negro juror's intelligence and emotional reaction. If he is stupid and untutored such discrimination would likely make no difference, if he is intelligent enough to be a competent juror it would make plenty of difference.

There are practical considerations that will confront the bailiff in every community where he meets this question. If the county has made no provision for such a contingency, I think he can do so within the law by providing such dining and lodging facilities as will enable him to keep supervision over the jury and prevent outside communication with it. I do not think the Negro juror should be required to eat in anything that savors of a "cubbyhole," neither should he be placed in an environment that in any manner tends to humiliate or otherwise subtract from the place of importance his station as a juror clothes him with. Serving on a jury is a civil responsibility that the law imposes on white and colored alike so we are concerned here only with the law regulating such service. The law of segregation as defined in this State is in no way involved. Segregation in Florida is in the main concerned with separate schools for whites and coloreds and the prohibition of intermarriage between members of the two races. Social taboos are in another category, but neither has any more place in this case than Newton's law of gravitation.

The verdict of a jury is the composite judgment of six good and true men as to which party to the controversy offered the more convincing legal proof. I have serious doubt of its being a composite judgment if the Negro juror is isolated during part of the trial in such a way as to arouse personal resentment at his treatment. If fact, I doubt that the weight of his judgment contributed anything to the verdict under such restraint. The very gist of our constitutional tradition is equality before the law, trial by jury, the worth and freedom of the individual and justice by due process of law. To insinuate taboos in the trial of a case that are calculated to arouse racial or emotional resentment is contrary to every concept of fair trial and may destroy confidence in that phase of the administration of justice.

In this country jury duty is one of the many aspects in which democracy works. Making democracy work is the business of every citizen. It is not partial to any race, creed or color because all have had a part in its creation. In respect to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, the state and Federal constitutions make no distinction between white and colored citizens. Every racial and religious group that came to this country has contributed greatly to the stability, vigor and effectiveness of the freedoms that constitute democracy. We should be the last to embarrass or discriminate against any of them in the performance of jury duty. Unless it be tinkering with the ballot, corrupting a jury's verdict is the surest way I know to destroy confidence in democratic processes.

As for the Negro juror he has a claim for fair treatment to himself. He was not indigenous to this country, neither did he come here voluntarily.

He was yanked out of Africa by the white man and brought here against his will. The early ancestors of the present Negroes were here breaking new ground and ploughing tobacco and cotton when the Mayflower landed at Plymouth. The first white men they ever saw were the ones that shackled and brought them to this country. They were pagans, unschooled in moral precepts. Their belief in God, their language, their morals and their religion were imbibed from the white man. The seed of their vices and virtues were sown by the white man. Every phase of his culture is a product of the white man's teaching. He has hewn his share of wood and he has drawn his share of water. He spent 250 years as the white man's slave, he was manumitted 87 years ago and has excelled in many lines of endeavor. Some of them were revolutionary soldiers and they have played a part in every war this country has been engaged in. History records that the first man killed in the revolution was a Negro. I think he has established his right to sing the Star Spangled Banner, to claim this as his country and feel a just pride in the performance of every civic duty the law imposes on him.

In fine, the question sums up to this: The law in explicit terms prohibits discrimination, on racial grounds, in the selection of a jury. The law also requires that when a jury is selected every precaution shall be observed to aid it in reaching a fair and lawful verdict. The Court may designate a bailiff to see that such precautions are observed. When the jury is composed of whites and Negroes all should be treated alike but this does not mean that they must be fed from the same table or required to sleep in the same room. The bailiff may exercise a reasonable discretion in this and may fit that discretion to the circumstances with which he is confronted but in doing so he is not permitted to impose conditions on a Negro juror that tend to humiliate or embarrass him or that in any wise detract from his responsibility as a juror. His concern is that everything be done to encourage a righteous verdict and that nothing be done to impede it.

I therefore concur in the judgment.

6- Court Decisions

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Arnold Forster and Edwin J. Lukas

DATE: March 14, 1951

SUBJECT: Cacciatore v. State, 49 So. 2d. 588

We believe you will be interested in certain sidelights contained in a recent decision of the Supreme Court of Florida involving an appeal by three white defendants from their conviction for theft.

The appeal was based, in part, on the ground that the one Negro in the jury was required to sleep in a room separate from the white jurors, and also was required to eat in a "cubbyhole" separated from the dining-room where the white jurors ate.

The appellant's brief claimed that this segregation was a violation of the Florida law which requires that juries "sit together" while hearing the case, and while in the charge of a bailiff in the period during which they were reaching their verdict.

While the majority opinion of the court did not discuss this argument raised by the convicted defendants, Mr. Justice Terrell, in a separate concurrence, discussed the question at length. Regarding the segregation of the Negro juror in the dining-room, he stated that he thought "it was bad practice and, in many instances, might have a serious effect on the verdict", since it would affect the Negro juror's intellectual and emotional reactions. He went on to say:

> "Serving on a jury is a civil responsibility that the law imposes on white and colored alike so we are concerned here only with the law regulating such service. The law of segregation as defined in this State is in no way involved. Segregation in Florida is in the main concerned with separate schools for whites and coloreds and the prohibition of intermarriage between members of the two races. Social taboos are in another category, but neither has any more place in this case than Newton's law of gravitation.
>
> "The verdict of a jury is the composite judgment of six good and true men as to which party to the controversy offered the more convincing legal proof. I have serious doubts of its being a composite judgment if the Negro juror is isolated during part of the trial in such a way as to arouse personal resentment at his treatment. In fact, I doubt that the weight of his judgment contributed anything to the

verdict under such restraint. The very gist of our constitutional tradition is equality before the law, trail by jury, the worth and freedom of the individual and justice by due process of law. To insinuate taboos in the trial of a case that are calculated to arouse racial or emotional resentment is contrary to every concept of fair trial and may destroy confidence in that phase of the administration of justice.

"In this county jury duty is one of the many aspects in which democracy works. Making democracy work is the business of every citizen. It is not partial to any race, creed or color because all have had a part in its creation. In respect to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, the State and Federal constitutions make no distinction between white and colored citizens. Every racial and religious group that came to this country has contributed greatly to the stability, vigor and effectiveness of the freedoms that constitute democracy. We should be the last to embarrass or discriminate against any of them in the performance of jury duty. Unless it be tinkering with the ballot, corrupting a jury's verdict is the surest way I know to destroy confidence in democratic processes."

Mr. Justice Terrell then pointed out that the law is explicit in prohibiting discrimination on racial grounds in the selection of the jury, and that the law also requires that, when a jury is selected, every precaution should be observed to aid it in reaching a fair and lawful verdict. He concluded that, when a "jury is composed of whites and Negroes, all should be treated alike". But he went on to point out that this did not mean that they must be fed from the same table or required to sleep in the same room. It meant, he contended, merely that the bailiff in whose custody the jury is, may exercize a reasonable discretion adapted to the circumstances with which he is confronted, but he may not, in so doing, "impose conditions on a Negro juror that tend to humiliate or embarrass him, or in any wise detract from his responsibility as a juror".

meeting on

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

NEW STATE DEPARTMENT BUILDING
JUNE 4TH, 5TH AND 6TH, 1947

Office of Public Affairs
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, D. C.

A Constitution *for* *World Trade*

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Problems of European Revival

AND

German and Austrian Peace Settlements

ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Office of Public Affairs
Department of State

The following script was prepared for broadcast over the Columbia Broadcasting System's Country Journal from 2:30 to 3 pm on Saturday, January 24th, 1948. Mr. Willard Thorp, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, represented the Department of State.

ANNOUNCER: What will the European Recovery Program cost in terms of tractors and fertilizer?

THORP: The program calls for 545 million dollars of farm machinery over a period of four years and 136 million in the first 15 months. That sounds like a lot, but actually, that means we will send to Europe less than 10 per cent of our total production. It is only about one half the amount the European countries requested. The European program calls for 71 thousand tons of nitrogen from the United States in the coming crop year. That is about what we exported during the last crop year. The second year of the plan calls for about half that amount, and nitrogen shipments will be entirely discontinued after that. Actually, the program puts great emphasis on reconstructing the nitrogen and farm machinery plants in Europe, itself.

ANNOUNCER: Mr. Thorp, before any more questions are put I'd like to get clear what the European Recovery Program is. Among the questions I have received from farmers are some like: "Is the European Recovery Program more than just a foreign relief measure, and how do we know what we send Europe will be effectively used?"

THORP: The distinguishing feature of the European Recovery Program is that it is a plan for recovery. It is not a relief program, merely to keep things going. It was planned by sixteen European countries, and worked over here in Washington by the government. It is specifically intended to help Europe get on its feet, so that it can pay its own way again. Europe has to buy goods abroad, but until her production is up and she can export, she can't do it. Now as to control. First, the European countries will control each other through a central organization. Then, in addition to pledging the most efficient use of their own resources and the commodities we send them, each of the European nations will be asked to commit itself in formal agreements with the United States Government to fulfill other conditions. These probably will

include an undertaking to expand production, to cut government expenses and increase taxes, to restore confidence in national currencies and to take measures to expand trade. In addition the program for administration of the European recovery plan calls for on-the-spot checks by our representatives abroad on the distribution and utilization of our assistance, supervised by an Ambassador-at-large. If they don't do their share, we can always stop any further aid.

ANNOUNCER: Will an effort be made to export commodities which are in surplus supply, and on the other hand, will we refrain from exporting commodities that are in limited supply?

THORP: Obviously, the task of the Administration will be to match up Europe's needs with our own requirements. The Government has already revised Europe's estimates of assistance from this country, on the basis of production and demand here. Some European calculations were cut sharply, others were increased.

ANNOUNCER: What does this all mean for specific commodities?

THORP: First let's take items more or less in surplus. Our fruit industry, which formerly did a large export business, is in trouble today because its European market has, in large measure, dried up. The same is true to a lesser extent of the demand for our tobacco, and many specialty products. Europe must have dollars to buy these things, and the only way it can obtain them is by producing and exporting things that other countries are ready to buy for dollars. Normally, western Europe is the world's largest market for foodstuffs. More than sixty percent of our food exports used to go to the countries of western Europe. That's why it is important to support that market today, and build it up to full operation as quickly as we can. It is not <u>only</u> the producers of export crops that are affected, however. Our farmers have an interest in building up foreign markets for our manufactured goods as well, since an increase in industrial exports means an increase in industrial buying power, and a larger market for <u>all</u> farm produce.

ANNOUNCER: What about the commodities in short supply? Will meeting Europe's requirements place in excessive strain upon our own economy?

THORP: There is no doubt that we shall need to export some foods which are in demand in the domestic market, and that the prices of these commodities will be somewhat higher than if there were no foreign exports. However, the quantities which we expect to provide under the program decrease each year. During the current year we expect to export approximately 450 million bushels of wheat. Next year we estimate - and this is just an estimate - that our exports to all countries, including Western Europe, can be reduced to 300 million bushels. And during the last two years of the Recovery Program our proposed wheat shipments go down to 250 million bushels, which approaches the level of good soil conservation practice. The Secretary of Agriculture says that these amounts not only make ample allowance for feeding our own population and for seed and livestock feeding but probably represent a fairly good estimate of the amounts which we want to export with our present high levels of production. We anticipate exports of feed grains amounting to about 100 million bushels during each year of the program. Half of this will probably be corn. With a normal yield of about 3 billion bushels from the anticipated corn acreage, it is clear that our feed exports would have very little effect on the amount of feed available here, or on the domestic meat supply. As to meat, we do not expect to export any meat to Europe during the program except horsemeat. The only other commodity in serious short supply is fats and oils, and although we do plan to ship certain types of oils from the United States, the quantities will be more than offset by anticipated imports, primarily of copra from the Philippines. Supplies available to domestic users will probably increase from here on. Actually, you see, the amounts we plan to export will be less than last year. But they are a great deal more than if there were no plan at all.

ANNOUNCER: What does all this food do to the European standard of living?

THORP: I'm sorry to have to say that even at the end of the period, when the Europeans have built up their production again, they will still be below 1938. Remember, there are 28 million more people to feed in Western Europe today than ten years ago.

ANNOUNCER: What effect will the sending of food and raw materials to Europe have on the farm picture here? Is one of the purposes of the Marshall Plan to maintain farm

prices? As a Kansas wheat farmer, for instance, how does the Marshall Plan affect me?

THORP: This is a plan for European recovery. It didn't start as a program to help the American farmer. But it definitely will do so. It is intended to maintain the European market temporarily, and puts it on its feet permanently. That certainly should help farm prices.

ANNOUNCER: Will ERP tend to ruin our own future markets? Will we be building up European agriculture at the expense of our future normal share of the European market?

THORP: ERP will not ruin our future markets. It tries to build them on a sounder basis and on conditions which will enable other countries to pay directly for the products they receive from the United States without any more help. Even after recovery has been achieved, Western Europe will still need to import food, just as it did before the war.

ANNOUNCER: How does Eastern Europe come into the picture?

THORP: No one knows the answer to that one. Eastern Europe before the war was a source of supply for much of Western Europe's food requirements. Eastern Europe refused, or was forced into refusing, to participate in the European Recovery Program. We hope that as recovery progresses, trade between Eastern and Western Europe will increase just because they each will have things to sell to the other. But that one, I can't predict.

ANNOUNCER: As a farmer, will I have to expect higher taxes, or government controls?

THORP: Certainly no higher taxes are to be expected. Both Congress and the President have indicated the desire to have some tax relief this year. The European Recovery Plan should cause no additional pressure on domestic prices since exports will be somewhat less than last year, and probably will decrease in subsequent years as Europe recovers. Our high domestic prices are due primarily to the tremendously increased demand by Americans, who have more money to spend than at any time in our history. As to government controls, they may be necessary in some instances to assure the most effective utilization of our assistance and in the mechanics

of export control. There won't be controls unless they are really needed.

ANNOUNCER: Some farmers feel that we should send mainly farm machinery, fertilizer and technical help and then Europeans could get by with less farm products from us. Others are afraid that sending such items will deprive us and hurt our own production. Is there a satisfactory answer to these two differencnt views?

THORP: Both food and farming supplies will be required. Europe is hungry. She is still suffering from the war and two disastrous harvests. Her crops will not yield nearly enough to prevent starvation at home without assistance from the United States. So food is needed. But farm machinery, fertilizer and technical help are also needed to get Europe back on her feet. Even after the result of such assistance is evident, she will still need food imports. So it takes both elements to do the trick.

ANNOUNCER: How much thought is being given to maintaining our own soil fertility, that is, how much longer will farmers be asked to continue to overwork the soil?

THORP: This question was answered to some extent by the committee headed by Secretary of Interior Krug, which studied the natural resources of the United States in relation to foreign assistance. The Krug report made clear that, with or without a foreign aid program, this country must expand conservation practices "such as those for preserving the fertility of its soil." It added that such conservation and utilization of our resources can "far exceed the drains that might result from a foreign aid program."

ANNOUNCER: Obviously the Recovery Program will entail cost and sacrifice to the farmer and all other Americans. What would be the cost of <u>not</u> carrying out the Program?

THORP: No one can calculate the cost for us of a disorganized and disturbed Europe. It is a risk without limit. Europe now is under tremendous strain and stress, but the evidence is clear that those countries are fighting hard to keep on the list of democracies. But hungry people and masses of unemployed cannot be expected to maintain social discipline and order. They need help to get back their economic independence and protect their political independence. If they lose the fight, the costs for

us will be much greater than the cost of the Recovery Program. As Secretary Marshall once said: "This program is an economy; not an expense." But this is more than a cold calculation in dollars and cents. If we really believe in freedom and democracy, it means more than that we should practice it ourselves; we should help others who believe as we do. Secretary Marshall called it "friendly aid", and that is the spirit in which we should support the European Recovery Program.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

MARCH 25, 1948
NO. 242

The Department of State announced the signing of the Final Act of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment at Habana, Cuba, marking the completion of a Charter for an International Trade Organization. The representatives of about 60 nations participated in the preparation of the final draft of the Charter.

The Charter is a momentous achievement and one from which the whole world will benefit. It is the product of more than two years of constant and conscientious labor by experts and representatives of the many nations who worked long and weary hours to reach agreement on a code of international economic activity which would be acceptable to all. First, the United States issued in December 1945 its Proposals for the Expansion of World Trade and Employment which suggested the formation of an International Trade Organization. This was expanded by the United States into a Suggested Charter in September 1946. The following month a Preparatory Committee of 18 nations established by the United Nations modified this draft at London, in February 1947 further changes were made at a meeting at Lake Success, and in August 1947 a fourth draft was drawn up at Geneva. Finally, at Habana from November 21, 1947 to March 24, 1948, the present Charter was prepared. Through this series of conferences the proposed Charter received the fullest possible consideration and the utmost care in its formulation.

The Charter will now be submitted to the various countries for acceptance according to the constitutional procedures established by each country. In the United States it will be submitted to the Congress for approval.

The completion of the Charter is a clear and unmistakable demonstration of the ability of a major part of the world to work together for the common good. It goes far beyond study and recommendation. It contains numerous and detailed commitments which are mutually beneficial to the Members. It is broader in scope and greater in detail than most, if not all, previous agreements between nations on economic relations.

Many of the changes and modifications made in subsequent drafts of the Charter were suggested by interested groups in this country. The Charter includes

provisions recommended by the Finance Committee of the United States Senate, by business, labor, farm and other organizations. As a result the Charter is a live and meaningful document concerned with practical rules for encouraging the flow of international trade.

The main objective of the Charter is the raising of living standards throughout the world. It proposes to do this by promoting the expansion of international trade on a basis of multilateralism and general nondiscrimination, by fostering the growth of production and employment, and by encouraging the economic development of backward areas. Its substantive chapters set forth a series of international commitments with respect to national policies regarding tariffs, customs administration, hidden restrictions on trade, import and export quotas, exchange controls, preferences and other forms of discrimination, state trading, subsidies, restrictive business practices in international trade, intergovernmental commodity agreements, the international aspects of domestic employment policies, economic development, and international investments. Other chapters outline the structure, functions, and procedures of the International Trade Organization.

The Chapter on Employment and Economic Activity emphasizes the fact that employment, production, and demand for goods and services are not only of domestic concern but are necessary for the well-being of all countries. Members agree to take action designed to achieve and maintain full and productive employment through measures appropriate to their political, economic and social institutions.

The Chapter dealing with Economic Development and Reconstruction was, as it had been in the previous conferences on the Charter, one of the most hotly debated sections at the Habana Conference. Under the provisions of this Chapter, Members agree to cooperate with other countries through the Medium of international agencies for the purpose of promoting general economic development as well as the reconstruction of those countries whose economies have been devastated by the war. The Chapter specifies the principles which shall apply to the promotion of economic development and reconstruction and the treatment of international investment. It indicates the conditions and specifies the procedures under which particular measures, otherwise inconsistent with the Commercial Policy provisions of the Charter and with trade agreements made pursuant thereto, may be used to promote economic development and reconstruction. Similarly, the Chapter delineates the

particular conditions and procedures under which preferential agreements for economic development and reconstruction may be employed.

Almost a third of the Charter is devoted to provisions on commercial policy. Under the provisions of the Charter dealing with this subject Members agree to extend to each other general most-favored-nation treatment and to undertake negotiations directed toward the reduction of tariffs and the elimination of preferences on a reciprocal and mutually advantageous basis. In general, the Charter also prohibits the imposition of discriminatory internal taxes and regulations on foreign products. In view of the peculiar features of moving pictures as a commodity in international trade, special provisions were included to deal with cinematograph films.

Since quantitative restrictions on imports and exports can have an even more limiting effect than tariffs, taxes, or other similar charges, it was agreed that basically such quantitative restrictions would not be allowed. It was recognized, however, that under certain conditions and with regard to certain commodities it might be advisable to allow exceptions. The permitted exceptions are carefully enumerated and circumscribed, with safeguards to prevent their possible abuse. These exceptions include the use of import quotas on agricultural and fisheries products if they are necessary in connection with governmental programs restricting domestic marketing or production. Import quotas are also permitted for the purpose of safeguarding a Member's balance of payments.

Safeguards are also included to ensure that the interests of other Members are not unreasonably prejudiced by the indiscriminate use of subsidies. A modification of considerable interest to the United States was made in the provisions dealing with export subsidies. Such subsidies may now be used without the prior approval of the Organization, as had been previously required under the Geneva Draft over the objection of the United States. They, however, must not be employed by a Member to acquire more than its equitable share of world trade in the particular commodity.

Since state trading has become of growing importance in recent years, the Charter has included a section dealing with this aspect of commerce. This section provides that countries carrying on trade through state enterprises should conduct their commerce in accordance with the

general principles of nondiscriminatory treatment which are applicable under the Charter to private trade. In particular, state trading enterprises are required to make their purchases and sales solely in accordance with commercial considerations and to give the enterprises of other Member countries adequate opportunity to compete for such purchases or sales.

The Charter also contains general commercial provisions dealing with freedom of transit, anti-dumping and countervailing duties, customs valuation, documents and other formalities in connection with importation and exportation, marks of origin and the publication and administration of trade regulations. These provisions are designed to reduce or eliminate the many burdensome restrictions imposed on trade through administrative devices, including the so-called "invisible tariffs", which often prove to be more of an impediment to trade than the usual form of tariffs.

A final section of the Chapter on Commercial Policy contains a number of special provisions. Of particular importance are the provisions which permit a Member to withdraw tariff concessions in the event that they should lead to such relatively increased imports as to cause or threaten serious injury to domestic producers. This is the so-called "escape clause" which the United States has included in previous trade agreements, notably the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade recently concluded at Geneva, to ensure that domestic interests are adequately safeguarded. Also of interest in this section are provisions permitting the formation of customs unions and similar arrangements. Finally, the section lists a number of general exceptions to the obligations of the Charter so as to permit measures for the protection of public morals, health, safety, and the like and to meet certain temporary exigencies arising as a result of the war, such as measures for the acquisition or distribution of commodities in short supply.

Closely related to the commercial policy provisions of the Charter is the Chapter on Restrictive Business Practices. This Chapter requires that Members shall take appropriate measures to prevent business practices, whether on the part of private or public enterprises, which restrain competition and foster monopolistic control whenever such practices have harmful effects on the expansion of production or trade. The Charter sets up various consultative and investigative procedures to

implement this obligation for the prevention of restrictive business practices.

The Charter recognizes that primary products such as agricultural commodities and minerals, are sometimes subject to special difficulties which necessitate special treatment of the international trade in such commodities through intergovernmental agreements. The Charter therefore defines the general principles which are to govern intergovernmental commodity agreements, the circumstances under which they are to be used, and the procedures for developing and administering them. These provisions seek to safeguard the interests both of producer and consumer countries and to afford an effective solution to the particular commodity problem involved.

The remaining articles of the Charter deal with the structure and functions of the International Trade Organization, procedures for the settlement of differences, and a number of general matters including relations with non-members, general exceptions for national security reasons, methods of amending the Charter, procedure for withdrawal of a Member from the Organization and for termination of the Charter, and requirements to be met for entry of the Charter into force. The principal organs of the Organization will consist of a Conference, an Executive Board and a Secretariat, including a Director-General and his Staff. Differences may be settled by consultation or arbitration between the Members or by reference to the Executive Board or Conference or to the International Court of Justice under certain circumstances. The Charter prohibits a Member from entering into a preferential arrangement with a non-Member which prevents the latter from according to other Members any benefit of such an arrangement. In general, Members are prohibited from according to non-Members treatment which, being more favorable than that accorded to other Members, would injure the economic interests of the latter. Members are free under the Charter to discriminate against non-members if they so wish.

The Charter is to enter into force when a majority of the countries which signed the Final Act of the Habana Conference have approved the document. However, if a majority fail to approve at the end of one year after the signature of the Final Act, then the Charter may come into force whenever 20 countries approve the Charter. If the Charter has failed to come into force by September 30, 1949, those countries which have approved the Charter may consult among themselves as to whether and on what terms to bring the Charter into force.

The Department of State

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE SCHUMAN PLAN

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE SCHUMAN PLAN

Introduction

On May 9, 1950 Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister, announced his Government's proposal to merge the coal and steel industries of France and Germany, together with those of any other European country, in a single market. His announcement was a major development in the political and economic life of Western Europe.

Mr. Schuman's invitation to develop a treaty was extended to all European nations. Five nations accepted his invitation—Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Luxembourg, and Western Germany. These five nations, together with France, have now developed a detailed treaty in implementation of the original proposals; except for a few remaining issues which have been held in abeyance for negotiation among ministers of the six countries, the treaty is now ready for ratification by national parliaments. The treaty proposes that any necessary governmental powers over these industries be vested in new institutions akin to those of a federal government. The keynote in the administration of these industries would be the elimination of national barriers to trade and of private restrictive agreements. The discriminatory devices heretofore frequently employed in the sale of coal and steel in member country markets would be removed. Coal and steel products and coal and steel workers would move freely among the member countries. When critical shortages or other crises required governmental controls, these emergencies would be developed and administered by the new supranational institutions.

The single market, created by these provisions, would not be isolated from the rest of the world. Nonmember producers would also have access to the market, without any increased trade barriers being interposed to the import of their products. Furthermore, countries which import from producers in the single market would be assured equitable treatment and reasonable prices.

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[*Released to the press March 21*]

The United States Government welcomes the action taken by the six Western European countries in initialing the provisions of the Schuman Plan treaty last Monday in Paris. In developing this unprecedented agreement, the six countries have provided dramatic evidence of their will to merge their national interests in order to contribute to the peace and well-being which are the objectives of the free nations of the Western World. The United States is confident that, in the same spirit, the six countries will be able to settle any remaining issues on which agreement must be reached before the Schuman Plan can be put into actual operation.

These revolutionary agreements and institutions deserve the most careful study. The summary which follows indicates the chief provisions of the plan and how it can be expected to operate.

Historical Background

Throughout the present century, the coal and steel industries of France and Germany have had an important effect on their political and economic relations. One reason why these two basic industries have figured so prominently in French-German relations has been their location. The bulk of the coal and steel industry of France and Germany lies in a compact area close to the border dividing the two countries, an area which includes Lorraine, the Saar, and the Ruhr.

Within this small area, divided by the French German border, lie the raw materials essential for the development of a modern steel industry. The iron ore on which the French and German industries were originally built lies largely in Lorraine, an area which was a part of France until the Franco-Prussian War of the 1870's,

which Germany controlled until World War I, and which France thereafter regained. The coal deposits which initially led to the creation of the French and German steel industries lie largely in the Ruhr area, and to a lesser extent in the Saar region; both of these areas are close by the western German border, and the status of the latter area has frequently been in dispute between the two countries.

The explosive nature of French-German relations in the past century led each of these countries to use her possession of raw materials, which the other needed, as a prime bargaining weapon and retaliatory device.

From the end of World War I until the time of Mr. Schuman's proposals, the one development which might have been characterized as French-German cooperation in the field of steel production was the creation of the European Steel Cartel in the middle 1920's, an organization which enjoyed a checkered but increasingly significant role up to World War II. The European Steel Cartel, however, was basically a negotiated truce among the steel industries of the Western European countries. Particularly in its later versions, it was an agreement among producers and sellers of steel on the terms under which each national group would sell in the markets of any other group and in the market of third countries. The emphasis was primarily on avoiding market situations that would cause a decline in the price of steel. Far from promoting increased efficiency and wiping out national barriers, the cartel froze Europe's steel industry and national markets into a rigid mold, which was a major reason for the inefficiency which has handicapped the industry since. After the initial enthusiastic reactions to the cartel, which were expressed in 1926 and 1927, little was heard of its contribution to political harmony between France and Germany.

Schuman's proposals were broached at a time when, with a revival in her industrial capacity, Germany was seeking to be freed of any restraints imposed upon her freedom of action. Meanwhile, most of the Western World was becoming increasingly convinced that the long-run solution to the German problem lay in the closer integration of the German economy with the West, rather than in isolation and restraint. Accordingly, Schuman's proposals, which are based upon the principle of a pooling of German resources on a basis of equality with other Western European countries, were greeted by large segments of the Western World as a welcome and courageous development in French national policy.

Schuman Plan Principles

The principles of the Schuman Plan, as enunciated in the French Foreign Minister's statement of May 9, 1950, were without precedent. A group of supranational institutions would be created and would be endowed with broad powers of a sovereign nature over the coal and steel industries of the member countries. The basic purpose of these institutions would be to achieve the elimination of all elements of nationalism in the conduct of the coal and steel industries of the member countries; among other things, this arrangement would mean the elimination of all barriers to trade among the member countries. The new institutions also would have the means of encouraging the modernization and improvement of mine and plant facilities. They would also be charged with improving and equalizing the living standards of coal and steel workers. Finally, provision would have to be made for transitional measures to ease the shock of merging into a single market area the coal and steel economies of countries with widely varying cost structures.

INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

The constitution of the Schuman Plan reflects the delegation of sovereignty through a number of basic provisions. An executive body will be created under the agreement with power to enforce most of the substantive provisions. The members of this executive body, known as the High Authority, will be elected for a 6-year tenure by the member governments acting together, from a slate of nominees drawn up by them; and no member of this Authority would report to or receive instructions from the national Government of any participating country.

The powers proposed for the High Authority are extensive. They include the right to tax the production of enterprises under their jurisdiction; to issue directives relating to coal and steel which are binding on the individual enterprises and states to which they are addressed; to fine enterprises in violation of their orders and to offset the effects of any illegal acts by member states by fines

on the production of the enterprises in their area; to borrow and to lend; and to make studies and suggestions to the enterprises and states under their jurisdiction. Member states are bound to use their respective police powers to enforce the directions of the High Authority.

The High Authority will report periodically to a Common Assembly, made up of representatives drawn in agreed proportions from each of the member countries. The Assembly will review the Authority's work annually. By a two-thirds vote, the Assembly will be able to censure the Authority and compel its members to resign. The Assembly also will have the right to review and approve, as a whole, an annual budget proposed by the High Authority.

A third institution basic to the Plan is the special Council of Ministers. The concept of a Council arose out of a need to find some means whereby the work of the High Authority in the coal and steel sectors of the economies of the member countries could be tied in closely with the measures being taken by these Governments in the rest of their economies. The impact of actions by the High Authority in coal and steel upon such national problems as the maintenance of an adequate defense, the control of inflation, the balance of external accounts, and similar problems, was recognized early in the negotiations.

Accordingly, the Council of Ministers, which is to consist of ministers drawn from the Governments of each of the signatory countries, will be endowed with the powers necessary to insure this coordination. For example, the Council will have the right to initiate proposals and will have a voice in the determinations of the High Authority whenever the question of market control is involved, such as the possibility of the fixing of maximum prices or allocations to meet a shortage situation. The Council of Ministers also will be directly concerned in the process whereby the tariff rates of the six countries applicable to coal and steel shipped in from outside sources are set.

Another element in the structure created by the Schuman Plan is the proposed Court of Justice. In most typical intergovernmental agreements, differences over interpretation ordinarily are settled by agreement among the signatory Governments, with provisions sometimes included for the right of appeal by Governments to the International Court. The Schuman Plan provides for its own Court to deal with the juridical problems arising out of the relations among the constituent organs created by the Plan and arising out of complaints by aggrieved Governments, enterprises, or individuals. The Court's membership will be determined by very much the same process as that provided for the membership of the High Authority. The Court's most important power is the right to nullify the decisions of the High Authority, in much the same way and on much the same grounds as the courts of the United States may declare laws of Congress unconstitutional or nullify the decisions of administrative bodies of the Government. In short, if the Authority were exceeding its powers under the treaty or were acting capriciously, the Court would have a basis for reversal. The Court could also nullify acts of the Council of Ministers or the Common Assembly, where these bodies were exceeding their powers.

The system of institutions is completed with one final organ, the Consultative Committee. The Committee is to provide a direct link between the High Authority, on the one hand, and producer, labor, and consumer groups, on the other. It will consist of 30 to 50 representatives, drawn in equal numbers from the three groups, and will have advisory functions of a general character.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR REMOVING TRADE BARRIERS

The dominant principle of the Schuman Plan is that the coal and steel industries of the member countries are to be treated as if no national boundaries existed among them. The countries of Western Europe are to abandon their efforts to be self-sufficient in coal and steel and are to allow these industries to develop in a common market embracing all the member countries.

Accordingly, the principal operative provisions of the plan deal with the elimination of existing national barriers to trade. They call for the immediate suspension of virtually all tariffs applicable by any member country to the coal and steel products of any other member country. The provisions also require the suspension of quantitative restrictions on imports and exports of coal and steel products among the member countries, and the elimination of various other restrictive or discriminatory devices.

These proposals, which are not unlike those typically associated with a customs union, are sup-

plemented by more revolutionary provisions with respect to restrictive arrangements among producers of coal and steel. Any agreements among producers which restrict competition, whether by fixing prices, allocating customers, limiting the introduction of new technology, or other means, are outlawed. Joint selling agreements or agreements among companies to promote specialization in the manufacture of particular products may be permitted in some circumstances; however, any such agreements would require the prior approval of the Authority, which is only to be granted if the Authority has found that the agreement would make a positive contribution to the efficiency of the enterprises in question and would not significantly affect the degree of competition in the markets concerned.

Additional provisions are aimed at reducing the possibility on the part of enterprises in the single market, through stock ownership, interlocking directorates, and similar devices, to circumvent the prohibition against restrictive business practices. Transactions which, in effect, would merge or affiliate previously independent enterprises in the area under the Authority's jurisdiction, require the prior approval of the High Authority, which must act under standards similar to those by which it judges joint selling and specialization agreements.

Under the High Authority's general powers to prevent or offset governmental measures which have a discriminatory effect upon the coal and steel enterprises in its jurisdiction, the High Authority can bring about a change in discriminatory freight rate structures imposed by the public carriers operating in the area. The negotiating countries intend that the High Authority would exercise this power early in its life, thereby ending a long-standing source of friction.

Once the provisions were in force, it is expected that producers in the common market would be exposed to a considerable degree of price competition. The expectation is that the long-run impact of this release of competitive forces would be to increase productivity, cut costs, and lower prices of coal and steel in the single market. Unless some safeguards were provided, however, the danger would exist that producers might develop pricing practices which generally fall under the head of "unfair competition." They might, for example, seek to drive competition out of a local market by selling temporarily in that market alone at a greatly depressed price. Another possibility is that producers might follow the practice of favoring customers of one nationality over those of another. Possibilities such as these have led to provisions vesting in the Authority the power to impose rules which would govern the pricing practices (not the prices) of the producers in the area. The general objective of the Authority would be to enforce a nondiscriminatory pricing pattern without unnecessarily inhibiting price competition and price flexibility.

The provisions of the agreement also allow for more direct intervention by the Authority in the market for coal and steel under certain special circumstances. Current European thinking on the subject of coal and steel is, of course, greatly influenced by the recurrent shortages of recent years and the strong inflationary pressures which such shortages have created. Accordingly, provision has been made for dealing with such situations; the agreement would permit the High Authority, acting in concert with the Council of Ministers, to impose price controls or to initiate a system of allocations for coal and steel in periods of shortage. At the other extreme, the Authority, acting together with the Council of Ministers, is empowered to limit production and to introduce minimum prices in a period of "manifest crisis."

Relations With Outside Countries

At present, each of the prospective members of the pool has undertakings to many countries outside the pool to grant the latter most-favored-nation treatment in trade matters; that is to say, each of the prospective participants is now bound by agreements which require them, for example, to apply the same tariff rate to coal or steel imported from the United Kingdom or the United States as is applied to coal or steel imported from other countries participating in the Schuman Plan. The participating countries will have to negotiate for the modification of these commitments in order to be able to eliminate coal and steel tariffs among themselves while continuing to apply them to imports from nonparticipating countries. Until the negotiations associated with these waivers are completed and the terms of the waivers are known, any discussion of the commercial relations of the Schuman Plan countries with outside coun-

tries is bound to be tentative in nature. Meanwhile, the High Authority is not empowered to take any measures inconsistent with the international obligations of the participating countries.

Despite the unresolved state of the trade relations between the six countries and the outside world, a few basic points are clear. Although the dominant theme of the Schuman Plan is the creation of a single market among the participating countries, the agreement also stresses the principle that the single market should not be an area which enjoys heavy protection from the coal and steel exports of the rest of the world. This intention will be put to the test initially in connection with the process of harmonizing the tariff structures of the participating countries. This problem of harmonization is an unavoidable consequence of the agreement to suspend tariffs on coal and steel among the participating countries. If Germany imposed a very much higher tariff rate on imports of British steel than Belgium imposed on its imports of British steel, German importers of British steel would be likely to bring their products through Belgium and thereby avoid the high German tariff. Similar problems would arise if the countries had very different policies regarding other types of import restrictions. To deal with these problems, therefore, member countries would have to develop arrangements whereby the import restrictions which each of them applied to outside countries were not sufficiently different to encourage needless transshipments among them.

The member countries would reserve one important right to the High Authority, however, which might in some circumstances reduce the import of the products of other countries. In the event that a "manifest crisis" developed, justifying the imposition of production quotas on coal or steel in the single market area, and, in the event that imports were being effected in such relatively increased quantities and under such conditions as seriously to injure producers of competitive coal and steel products in the single market, the Authority would be authorized to impose import quotas. This power, it should be noted, is directly analogous to the so-called escape-clause rights which participating countries reserve to themselves under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The treaty says little regarding the treatment to be accorded by the pool to outside countries which import their coal and steel. Such provisions as exist, however, are of a constructive nature. The objective of the group is to be the development of sales practices which would produce equitable prices for exported coal and steel. Among other things, the Authority will have the means of preventing companies in its jurisdiction from "dumping" coal or steel abroad, that is, selling these products at a price below their sale price in the single market or below their cost of production.

Influencing Coal and Steel Investment

In general, competitive forces are expected to determine the location of coal and steel facilities in the single market and to encourage the expansion and modernization of these facilities. The High Authority will have no direct power to close down high-cost mines or steel plants, nor can it compel investments in added coal or steel facilities; in these fields, the Authority will have to rely upon market forces to bring about the results it desires.

On the other hand, the Authority could influence the pattern of investment in several other ways. To begin with, the Authority could veto a proposed investment in coal or steel facilities which a company proposed to finance from funds other than its own reserves, if the Authority concluded that the proposed facilities could not be expected to survive without subsidies or other artificial means of support. In addition, the Authority could make loans to enterprises to help in the expansion of their facilities. Finally, the Authority will have the obligation of making continuing studies of the coal and steel facilities of the complex, to point out the needs and opportunities for added investment in the area.

Protecting Labor's Interests

In the course of negotiating the provisions of the Schuman Plan, it became increasingly apparent that the project for a single market might well involve shifts in coal and steel facilities among the participating countries. These shifts, in turn, might require the migration or displacement of some workers engaged in those industries. Accordingly, the High Authority was given responsibility for assisting workers in the readjustments which might be involved. This assistance may take any of several forms. It may include liberal separation pay, retraining courses, or pay-

ment of resettlement expenses and similar payments. It might also include the financing of new industries in the affected areas which could absorb the displaced workers.

The High Authority's obligations with respect to labor also have certain more positive objectives. One of the High Authority's major purposes is to eliminate the deliberate use of wage reductions as a technique of competition. One provision of the treaty prohibits any reduction in wages, except in certain defined circumstances, such as when living costs also had declined. In addition, the Authority may enter into consultation with Governments with a view to correcting abnormally low wage situations already in existence.

The treaty also contains other commitments which have few precedents in international labor history. The participating countries will be committed to the development of a detailed agreement to eliminate virtually all restrictions in the hiring of experienced steel and coal workers who are nationals of any of the other countries. Particular efforts are to be made to eliminate barriers to the reemployment of workers displaced in other countries. Any discriminations practiced against coal or steel workers of other member countries, whether they are experienced or not, also will have to be eliminated by the treaty.

Transitional Measures

From the first, the drafters of the plan considered that certain special measures would have to be taken, during a relatively short period at the outset of the plan's operation, in order to deal with the differences in costs which existed among the coal and steel industries of the various nations. It appeared that free trade among the coal and steel industries of the six countries might force shifts in production in the merged area on so large a scale as to be intolerable for some of the countries concerned. The most difficult problems in this category are those presented by the relatively high cost Belgium coal industry and by the Italian steel industry.

To deal with the Belgian coal problem, provision is made for the operation of a so-called coal equalization fund which would operate during a transitional period of 5 years. The fund would be raised by levies on the coal and steel production of the low cost producers in the area and would be paid to the highest cost segment of the Belgian producers. These subsidies would taper off at a rapid rate, the exact pace depending on the speed with which Belgian industry can adjust itself to the situation.

The solution for Italian steel takes a different form. The negotiators concluded that for technical reasons it was not practicable to operate an equalization fund for the steel industry. Accordingly, if the High Authority considers it necessary, the Italian industry can be protected by tariffs during the transitional period. However, the duties involved cannot in any case be higher than those which prevailed at the beginning of the plan and would be reduced by some fixed percentage in each of the transitional years, until the duty was eliminated.

Next Steps

Six countries have participated in the development of the Schuman Plan treaty—Belgium, France, Western Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, and Luxembourg. Ratification by the parliaments of the signatory Governments will put the plan in operation. The discussions on ratification will raise political issues of the first importance in most of the countries concerned. Each country is bound to test the plan for its impact on its domestic economy and to explore the effects of participation on other international issues.

Ratification of the plan will be a tribute to their imagination and courage. It will represent an experiment in new concepts of sovereignty and of international organization, which will help to knit the free nations of the world with stronger and more enduring ties.

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Concerning Freedom of Information

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INTERRACIAL TRENDS

R. B. Eleazer March 27, 1945

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"Of all the problems confronting American democracy none is more crucial than that of race relations. Left to pressure groups and revolutionary organizations it can be fraught with more danger than any other problem with which we must deal. The fellowship of Christians called the Church must play a major role in its solution, if peace, good will, and understanding are to characterize our future. This is our problem now and in the days to come."--Dr. M.S. Davage.

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DARK PEOPLES AT UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE

According to a statement from Washington, the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations, meeting on April 25, will be attended by representatives of a number of countries populated by dark peoples, among them Ethiopia, Liberia,Haiti, Santo Domingo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Egypt, India and the Philippines. It is not yet known, however, to what extent the problems of dependent peoples will be included in the discussions.

Meantime the National Association for the Advancem ent of Colored People has addressed to Secretary Stettinius a strong appeal, asking that the conference affirm the legal equality of the great racial groups of mankind, and that dependent peoples be accorded immediate voice in their governments, be protected in the ownership and use of their natural resources, and be given assurance of ultimate choice of full citizenship or political independence. To safeguard their rights the appeal calls for an international mandates commission.

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NEW YORK ENACTS FAIR EMPLOYMENT LAW

The New York legislature has enacted and Governor Dewey has signed a bill intended to prevent racial and religious discrimination in employment, and providing for a five-man commission to administer the law. The Indiana legislature has passed a similar, but weaker law placing upon the State Department of Labor the responsibility for preventing such discrimination.

Meantime legislation for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee for the nation is still pending in Congress, and the Massachusetts legislature is considering a number of bills directed to the same end. Speaking for a commission appointed to investigate the need for such legislation in Massachusetts, L.M. Friedman reported that "Not a public utility in Massachusetts employs a Negro in any job higher than janitor and elevator operator; only one Boston department store hires Negroes as clerks; not a hospital in the State will train a Negro girl, and insurance companies do not hire Negroes as solicitors."

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CONCERN FOR DENVER'S SPANISH AMERICANS

Plans are under way in Denver for an extensive survey of conditions affecting the city's Spanish-American population. It is said they are suffering from lack of employment opportunities, discriminatory treatment by the police, and poor housing. The survey, it is hoped, will result in remedial action. (over)

"A CUP OF COLD WATER"
Dr. Ernest F. Tittle

Last summer a Japanese girl just released from a concentration camp in Arizona came to Chicago looking for work. Almost immediately upon her arrival she was stricken with appendicitis and was sent to a hospital for an operation. Sick, a stranger, a Japanese, with no job yet in sight, she viewed the future with no little apprehension. What, then, was her surprise when certain young people from a Christian church came to the hospital to see her, offering friendship and practical help. Brought up a Buddhist, she decided that if Christianity made people think and act like that, she herself wanted to be a Christian, and she is now a loyal and most grateful disciple of Christ.

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A GRAND OLD MAN LOOKS BACK

Ten years a slave in Georgia, fifty years a school teacher and college president in that state, and now at 91 still active as president of a two-million-dollar bank in Philadelphia, Major R. R. Wright in an article in February Negro Digest pays tribute to America as a "country that allows one to hope, to dream, to lift himself by his boot straps, to petition, to protest, as well as to pray." After modestly surveying his remarkable career, which has included personal acquaintance with twelve United States presidents, Gladstone, Clemenceau, and many other notables, he writes:

"If I had youth and a long life before me, I would attempt to live a better and more useful Christian life, and would endeavor to translate my Christianity into developing and cementing friendship and good will between the races.... This finding a way for all Americans to live to their fullest and highest, regardless of racial or cultural differences, is to me the greatest challenge facing the nation. I would want personally to accept this challenge as a life work, interwoven into all I did and thought."

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RACE RELATIONS SUNDAY IN ST. LOUIS

In the citywide observance of Race Relations Sunday in St. Louis, Dr. O. E. Woolfolk, pastor of Union Memorial Church, (Central Jurisdiction), was chosen as one of the speakers. Mayor Kaufman was so favorably impressed with his address that he requested a copy as resource material for the city's official Interracial Commission.

AND IN ABINGDON, VIRGINIA

Writes Rev. W. M. Bunts, of Abingdon, Virginia: "We had a splendid service in our church on Race Relations Sunday, with the largest attendance we have had this conference year. About one third of the congregation were colored people, who furnished the speaker and the music."

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United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 80th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

The Battle for World Peace and Stability

SPEECH

OF

HON. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 1, 1948

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, for the sake of continuity I respectfully ask my colleagues to permit me to conclude my general statement on the pending bill without interruption.

Mr. President, with the unanimous approval of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I report the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 in its perfected text. In the name of peace, stability, and freedom it deserves prompt passage. In the name of intelligent American self-interest it envisions a mighty undertaking worthy of our faith. It is an economic act—but economics usually control national survivals these days. The act itself asserts that "disruption following in the wake of war is not contained by national frontiers." It asserts that "the existing situation in Europe endangers the establishment of a lasting peace, the general welfare and national interest of the United States, and the attainment of the objectives of the United Nations."

Every Senator knows that these dangers are even greater than they were when those words were written only two short weeks ago. The fate of Czechoslovakia, where any semblance of democracy has just been gutted by subversive conquest, underscores this solemn thesis. The kindred fate of brave little Finland may be adding to the ominous score this very afternoon even while we debate an axiom, namely, that aggressive communism threatens all freedom and all security, whether in the Old World or in the New, when it puts free peoples anywhere in chains.

The act asserts sound doctrine when it says that it is "the policy of the people of the United States to sustain and strengthen principles of individual liberty, free institutions and genuine independence through assistance to those countries of Europe which participate in a joint recovery program based upon self-help and mutual cooperation." Mr. President, this act may well become a welcome beacon in the world's dark night, but if a beacon is to be lighted at all it had better be lighted before it is too late.

Nevertheless, Mr. President, the decision which here concerns the Senate is the kind that tries men's souls. I understand and share the anxieties involved. It would be a far happier circumstance if we could close our eyes to reality, comfortably retire within our bastions, and dream of an isolated and prosperous peace. But that which was once our luxury would now become our folly. This is too plain to be persuasively denied in a foreshortened, atomic world. We must take things as they are.

The greatest nation on earth either justifies or surrenders its leadership. We must choose. There are no blueprints to guarantee results. We are entirely surrounded by calculated risks. I profoundly believe that the pending program is the best of these risks. I have no quarrel with those who disagree, because we are dealing with imponderables. But I am bound to say to those who disagree that they have not escaped to safety by rejecting or subverting this plan. They have simply fled to other risks, and I fear far greater ones. For myself, I can only say that I prefer my choice of responsibilities.

This legislation, Mr. President, seeks peace and stability for freemen in a free world. It seeks them by economic rather than by military means. It proposes to help our friends to help themselves in the pursuit of sound and successful liberty in the democratic pattern. The quest can mean as much to us as it does to them. It aims to preserve the victory against aggression and dictatorship which we thought we won in World War II. It strives to help stop World War III before it starts. It fights the economic chaos which would precipitate far-flung disintegration. It sustains western civilization. It means to take western Europe completely off the American dole at the end of the adventure. It recognizes the grim truth—whether we like it or not—that American self-interest, national economy, and national security are inseverably linked with these objectives. It stops if changed conditions are no longer consistent with the national interest of the United States. It faces the naked facts of life.

Within the purview of this plan are 270,000,000 people of the stock which has largely made America. These are 26 percent of all the literates of the earth. Before the war they operated 68 percent of all the ships that sailed the sea. They grew 27 percent of all the world's cereals. They produced 37 percent of the world's steel. They sold 24 percent of the world's exports and bought 39 percent of the world's imports. They are struggling, against great and ominous odds, to regain their feet. They must not be allowed to fail. The world—America emphatically included—needs them as both producers and consumers. Peace needs their healthy restoration to the continuing defense of those ideals by which free men live. This vast friendly segment of the earth must not collapse. The iron curtain must not come to the rims of the Atlantic either by aggression or by default.

I wish, Mr. President, swiftly to sketch the chain reaction of events responsible for the issue we here confront. It is a significant narrative which speaks for itself in behalf of the need and justification for this heroic adventure, the greatest ever initiated by any one nation for the sake of peaceful humanities. In the background, of course, is the war itself; the military defeat of the Axis; the utter prostration of postwar Europe amid the ashes of its victory; the resultant tragedy of far-flung human want and suffering; the paralysis of the peace that has not yet come; the rise of new aggression reaching out for ominous conquest amid distraught and disintegrating peoples. I do not here assess whatever mistakes in statesmanship may have helped precipitate or prolong these catastrophies. It is enough, for the present consideration, that the tragedies occurred and that they still threaten the peace, stability, and security of this whole earth, the United States again emphatically included.

In the sanctuary of our relative good fortune where not one bomb fell during all those desperate days when the skies of Europe were raining death, we promptly and willingly went to the postwar aid of our prostrate friends. We literally leaped with them from one crisis to another. Bill after bill went through Congress for their relief, and billion after billion went from us to them. Two years of this went by. Often the efforts failed of the desired results—although, despite all debits, I hesitate to think what would have happened in the absence of the efforts. But it became clear that the process could not indefinitely go on, first, because western Europe could not wait longer for real emancipation; second, because America could not longer afford to underwrite futility. We were both near the ends of our ropes.

Then came June 5, 1947. Secretary of State Marshall made a speech at Harvard. Just as at neighboring Concord in an earlier century, it proved to be "a shot heard round the world." At the moment it was just a few sentences in a quiet sequence. I quote:

> It is already evident that before the United States Government can proceed much further in its effort to alleviate the situation and help the European world on its way to recovery, there must be some agreement among the countries of Europe as to the requirements of the situation and the part those countries themselves will take in order to give proper effect to whatever action might be undertaken by this Government. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe.
>
> The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European program and of later support of such a program so far as it may be practical for us to do so. The program should be a joint one, agreed to by a number, if not all, of the European nations.

Mr. President, the responsive effect in Europe was electric. History wrote with rushing pen. It was a new call to the colors—this time a peace call to mobilize for self-help and cooperation in quest of mutual survival. The British Bevin and the French Bidault promptly summoned a European conference. They consulted the Russian Molotov. He met with them in Paris on June 27. As usual, his demands were impossible; and, as usual, treacherous Moscow propaganda charged us with iniquitous American "imperialism," a charge shockingly echoed by some of our own citizens. The Soviets vetoed concerted action, but Bevin and Bidault went ahead. They invited 22 European nations—all of them—to meet in Paris. All Soviet-dominated countries sent their refusals, including Czechoslovakia, which, after a hasty summons to the Kremlin, withdrew its previous approval and now finds itself forcefully communized against any further expressions of self-will. Sixteen nations accepted the invitation. Here they are: Austria, Greece, Norway, Switzerland, Belgium, Iceland, Portugal, Turkey, Denmark, Ireland, Sweden, United Kingdom, France, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands.

They met on July 12 and organized the Committee of European Economic Cooperation, known as CEEC. They met to coordinate the independent nations of Europe in a self-help effort to seek stability and preserve freedom in response to the dynamic impulse of what was then called the Marshall plan. They met to plan hopeful cooperation that might justify American assistance. And they met bravely, Mr. President—"bravely" because it was in virtual defiance of the Russian Bear, which promptly showed its teeth.

Within 4 weeks Moscow dictated new reprisal agreements and tighter affiliations with all her satellites, and quickly organized the Cominform, through which the Communists of nine nations speak for the Communist world. The "iron curtain" took on more "iron." The Cominform is a modern version of the supposedly defunct Comintern, which was communism's prior agent of world violence and revolution. It frankly calls upon Communists everywhere to wreck the Marshall plan and condemns it and us with a new intemperance of invective and distortion. It is indeed "cold war." It is pressure war against the independent recovery of western Europe. Obviously, it is also aimed at us. It is a conspiracy to prevent the emergence of order out of chaos, stability out of confusion, and western freedom out of hopelessness. Communists everywhere have responded. The great sabotage is under way. Let me make it completely plain that I do not suggest, even by the remotest inference, that all opponents to the plan are Communists. I have already expressed my complete respect for the honest opinions of citizens who disagree. I simply point out, as part of the record, that while every critic is not a Communist, every Communist is a critic, and the orders from the Kremlin are to wreck this enterprise. Thus, the postwar pattern continues in familiar and consistent form.

I said that the 16 cooperating nations in CEEC acted bravely, as I hope we, too, may do. I have in mind not only the implications of the Cominform, but also such threatening statements as that by Mr. Molotov saying:

> The Soviet Government considers it necessary to caution the Governments of Great Britain and France against the consequences of such action.

Yet, Mr. President, there is nothing in this plan which threatens the Soviet police empire with any sort of consequence which she does not herself choose voluntarily to invite. It is not a plan against eastern Europe, unless the independent survival of free peoples is on the blacklist. It is a plan for western Europe. It is not external conquest. It is not dictation. It is internal recuperation by self-chosen methods. Eastern Europe was invited in. It was her own decision that keeps her out. It seems obvious that at least three of these countries behind the curtain would have joined if left to their own free wills. But, Mr. President, there are no free wills in police states.

East-west flow of trade in Europe is necessary to both. Its resumption will be profitable to both. There is nothing in this plan which retards this resumption, unless Moscow itself so elects. The healthy recuperation of western Europe should facilitate this resumption for the good of all concerned, if we can have a peaceful world. All poisoned propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, both at home and abroad, this is America's incentive and her dearest wish.

The honorable release of east-west tension would be the greatest boon of modern times. It can be released whenever there is mutual east-west fidelity to the objectives of World War II asserted by the united Allies on January 1, 1942, and whenever there is mutual east-west fidelity to the principles and purposes of the United Nations. It can be released whenever there is mutual east-west respect for the rights of free peoples to order their own lives. There is no consistent effort which the Government of the United States should withhold in pursuit of this objective. We must always be ready for any discussion to this end. Peace with justice is our utterly paramount concern. Any thought of another war is abhorrent to our souls. But peace and appeasement are not on speaking terms, and they have not been since Munich, after World War I, and Yalta, in World War II.

But let me resume the narrative. The CEEC met for 10 weeks in Paris, concluding on September 22. It has been cynically said that they met just to total up a bill to present to Uncle Sam. Nothing could be more cruel or further from the truth. They met to see what they could do to meet the Marshall self-help specifications, and they concluded mutual pledges of amazing portent and vitality. We did not dictate their ticket. They wrote it for themselves. They volunteered their pledges—to use all efforts to develop production up to agreed targets—to apply all necessary measures leading to the rapid achievement of internal financial monetary and economic stability—to cooperate in all possible steps to reduce barriers to the expansion of trade—to set up a joint organization to follow these objectives through and to insure them to the fullest possible extent. All these, and many other obligations, they offered to assume. It was a historic moment. Someday the United States of Europe may look back upon it as we do to the Annapolis Conference which preceded the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia. It was a courageous and constructive answer to the United States. It offered the best chance for stable peace and for peaceful stability that there is on earth today—outside of a reinvigorated United Nations which it would immensely further. For myself, Mr. President, I assert the deep conviction that it is worth the wholehearted cooperation of the United States as the cheapest and most promising peace investment in our own self-interest that we face. What we can "afford to do" is one thing—and never to be minimized. But what we cannot afford not to do is just as vital in the estimates of prudent statesmanship.

I comment, in passing, that these were not idle words at Paris. Our friends meant exactly what they said. They have already begun to prove it. "Benelux" already joints three of these countries in a customs union. Others are ready to come in. France has already performed major surgery on her currency. Italy and France have faced powerful Communist subversion and survived the test—a feat that might well have been impossible without our present and prospective economic aid. They, too, are negotiating a customs union. Bizonia in Germany is now well likely to become Trizonia in the spirit of new unity at the heart and core of European recovery. Britain's Bevin, backed by the united spokesmanship of his country, is calling for western union. These are new signs of the new times, Mr. President. If these trends are thwarted, if these hopes are dashed, I confess that I tremble for the consequences in this foreshortened world. This is not hysteria. It is simple candor. In my view, the approaching Senate roll calls are that important—to them and to us.

Now, Mr. President, make note of this: All these CEEC promises and pledges—

importantly, including, by the way, the acquisition of essential strategic materials for stock piling in the United States—are to be written into agreements as a condition precedent to our cooperation. There will be specific bilateral contracts between the United States and each beneficiary country. There will be specific targets. There will be multilateral contracts in which all countries underwrite the common aim and the common cause. The obligations will be set down in black and white. This is no mere wishing well. For one example, in respect to the most vital commodity of all, coal production is pledged to go from 398,000,000 tons in 1946 to 495,000,000 tons in 1949 and 586,000,000 tons in 1952.

Your Committee on Foreign Relations has made every possible effort to protect all these expectations. Indeed, this legislation which the Senate is asked to approve categorically asserts that—

> The continuity of assistance provided by the United States should at all times be dependent upon the continuity of cooperation among the countries involved.

The act categorically asserts that—

> the Administrator shall terminate assistance under this act to any participating country whenever he determines that such country is not adhering to its agreement or is diverting from the purposes of this act assistance provided thereunder.

No law can guarantee its own success. No man has a right dogmatically to say that any plan will succeed in these dangerous days of flux. But here is a warrant for maximum confidence that we do not indefinitely undertake a failure. All the more it makes the chance worth taking.

Now let me return to the narrative again. The CEEC summoned its best minds abroad to the council table. They had been warned by the Harvard speech that America expected a self-contained plan which could reasonably progress toward the restoration of economic independence and the end of American assistance. They had been warned that a successful recovery program must take the place of everlasting relief programs. They set to work to meet the challenge. At the end of 10 weeks they produced the answer. It would take 4¼ years of intensive self-help and cooperation, with progressively decreasing American assistance during this term of years. Their original estimate was that it might require an over-all total of twenty-two and four-tenths billions of American aid for western Europe, including western Germany. Chiefly by the deduction of capital-equipment items, this figure came down to seventeen billions for 4¼ years. In other words, this peace investment might cost one-third as much in 4¼ years as we appropriated for war in just one bill that passed the Senate in 5 minutes and without a roll call one June afternoon in 1944. War has no bargains. I think peace has. I believe I am talking about one now.

I digress, however, to say that there is no seventeen billions or any other comparable figure in this pending legislation. It was in the first executive draft that came to us 2 months ago. I immediately asked for its deletion, and the State Department promptly acquiesced, because it could be no more than an educated guess of doubtful validity if we thus were to attempt to assess events and values so far in advance. Furthermore, it might be misconstrued abroad as a specific dollar commitment without their understanding that one American Congress cannot commit another. Yet the genius of the program, if we are to escape year-to-year relief, is sufficient continuity to encourage dependable long-range planning. We rightly demand continuity of performance from our friends as the price of continuity of aid. It is elementary and indispensable fair play, on the other hand, that continuity of aid similarly should follow continuity of satisfactory performance. It must be inherent and implicit in our purpose. Otherwise, I repeat, this is merely one more stopgap, "rat-hole" operation.

Your Committee on Foreign Relations has met this situation, Mr. President, by familiar statutory device. As is our standard practice when dealing with public projects overlapping into subsequent fiscal years, we have authorized to be appropriated from time to time for 4½ years such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions and accomplish the purposes of this act. But the only specific dollar authorization in the act is for 1 year, commencing next April. I shall discuss that later. Suffice it for the moment to point out that this has the effect of eliminating the necessity for subsequent annual authorizations. It thus simplifies the subsequent procedure. But it leaves each annual appropriation, as indeed it must, to the annual decision of the Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate and to the annual discretion of the Congress. The net of it is that the recovery program will pass in annual review. It will be tested annually for its promised accomplishments and for the continuity of its performance. It will be tested annually for its impact on our own economy. Each Congress is free to decide these subsequent issues for itself. But they will do so in the presence of the declared attitude and opinion of the Eightieth Congress, as expressed in this act, that the program, if successful, should carry through to whatever conclusion it proves to deserve. To withhold an expression of this purpose would be to repudiate our own thesis and to pitifully reduce this act to the status of just one more sterile dole. It would be to rob the act of all the cumulative values upon which we depend for net results and which can infinitely bless us all.

Now, Mr. President, let the narrative deal with equally significant events on this side of the ocean here at home. As soon as it became evident that CEEC intended to act upon Secretary Marshall's suggestion, the President began complementary studies at this end of the line. In my responsibility as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, I asked for his immediate appointment of an independent civilian group of seasoned and widely experienced citizens to survey the field and to report what America might wisely and safely do—I repeat those controlling words, "wisely" and "safely"—in connection with the contemplated program. As a result, such a group was named by the President on June 22, 1947, under the chairmanship of Secretary of Commerce Harriman, who was the only Government official on the panel. Its bipartisan membership was completely independent of the Government and its judgments were likewise. It had as fine and as representative a personnel as was ever gathered together to do an unselfish, patriotic job; and it labored with spectacular and unremitting zeal upon its complex task. Its ultimate report is one of the most comprehensive ever made in respect to a public problem. These credentials are important because, as a result, I think it is of paramount importance to us that this Harriman committee, despite occasional disagreement respecting details, came to the over-all conclusion that this recovery program not only is well within our American capacity but also that it is essential to the best welfare of the United States. This, remember, was the verdict of representative American citizenship. I do not know how any great problem in public policy could have been submitted to more competent audit. I commend this thought to prejudicial critics who do not and could not have comparable access to all the facts.

I quote one sentence from the Harriman committee's findings:

> The committee is convinced that a sound program for western European recovery should be formulated and adopted by the United States with the same boldness and determination, and the same confidence in the worthiness of the democratic cause, which characterized our action in World War II.

That is the target of private citizenship mobilized through the high spokesmanship of the Harriman committee.

I quote one other sentence:

> The domestic consequences (of the fall of western Europe to Communist dominion) are such as no American could easily tolerate.

Does that require any application? I think not. But it is a timely reminder that the Senate cannot contemplate its decision on this pending act with complete and comfortable detachment, as if there may be no price for us to pay if we reject or emasculate this plan. We have no such complacent option. There is an alternative price. I simply suggest, in passing, for example, that Secretary of Defense Forrestal and Army Secretary Royall testified to our committee that in the absence of some reasonable prospect for the stabilization of western Europe they would find it necessary to urgently demand billions more for national military defense. That, however, is only a small part of what could be the alternative price in a Communist-dominated world. The Harriman committee says the total consequences could include, and I again quote the committee, the spokesmanship for the civilian population of this Nation, "the immediate and sweeping limitation of our economic and political life, perhaps extending even to our form of government."

Which might be the alternative.

But let me again take up the narrative. In addition to the Harriman report, we have the survey by Secretary of the Interior Krug on Natural Resources and Foreign Aid. I quote one sentence:

> The aggregate productive capacity of the United States appears ample.

In the same vein we had the so-called Nourse report, from the President's economic advisers. We also had the exhaustive studies of the executive departments through a large committee headed by able Under Secretary Lovett.

Now, Mr. President, I want to make it plain that all of this exploration dealt preponderantly with the most critical of all considerations, namely, the impact of this plan upon our own domestic economy. Nothing could be of more importance because we all agree that the maintenance of a sound and solvent United States is as indispensable to the hopes of the world as it is to us. It would be final blunder to jeopardize our stabilities at home. We shall not do so. I am glad to echo the warning of the Harriman report that "it is not wise to underestimate the steepness of the climb," and that "the aid which the United States gives will impose definite sacrifice on the United States." That is obvious. This is no happy picnic. Heavy post-war peace expenditures involve a burden, just as did the infinitely heavier expenditures of the war-that-was, or the expenditures of another war which we propose, with every resource at our command, to prevent. Any drain upon our commodities not in surplus also is a burden, although it is significant to note that the contemplated exports under this plan at its very peak are substantially less than our average exports for 1947. But all authorities agree that the plan can be managed to avoid serious interference with our domestic economy. They agree that it would not precipitate domestic controls which would not be required by the domestic situation alone. For example, there will be no competitive exports of meat under this plan for at least 2 years. There will be no exports of metal scrap. Petroleum products, by the explicit terms of the bill itself, must be purchased offshore to the maximum practicable extent.

Sound administration of the act, Mr. President, will hold all these impacts to a minimum. The bill itself is explicit in these directives. In general terms it lays down the fundamental rule that "no assistance to the participating countries shall seriously impair the economic stability of the United States." In specific terms it lays down the injunction that—

> The Administrator must provide for procurement in such a way as to (1) minimize the drain upon the resources of the United States and the impact of such procurement upon the domestic economy, and (2) avoid impairing the vital need of the people of the United States.

The proponents of this measure, in a word, are not riding rainbows. They recognize the calculated risk. They think it is worth taking in our own enlightened self-interest. They prefer it to the alternative risk. But they proceed with prudence. They recognize the priority which self-interest assigns to the protection of our own domestic situation. We are not to be committed beyond this legitimate boundary. But they believe that we can do both jobs—at home and abroad—and that we cannot afford not to take the preferable chance. In a word, they believe in America.

Now, Mr. President, we come to the act itself, which is unanimously endorsed by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee after 5 weeks of public hearings and 10 days of continuous executive sessions. I cannot speak too gratefully of the friendly patience and bipartisan unity with which my committee colleagues cooperated. If something of their spirit imbues those for whom this legislation is intended, the Economic Cooperation Administration, as it will be called, has hopeful augury.

We confronted many serious perplexities involving wide divergence of opinion in and out of Congress. Perhaps the greatest of these was the question how this gigantic trust should be administered. It is the universal opinion that the success of the enterprise is largely dependent upon the character of its management. It is the universal opinion that its overriding economic purpose requires the highest available type of seasoned business experience and the widest possible autonomous authority for those who patriotically assume these vast economic responsibilities. It is equally the universal opinion that the highest considerations of foreign policy are constantly involved and that, as I said upon a previous historic occasion, we cannot have two Secretaries of State at the same time.

To fit these conflicting specifications into common pattern was, indeed, a jigsaw puzzle. We invited the Brookings Institution of Washington, one of the most respected research laboratories in the country, to make an objective study of this enigma. I express our great obligation to the Brookings Institution for the masterly job it did. The provisions in the pending bill largely follow its recommendations. I am happy to say the result already enjoys well-nigh universal approval in and out of Congress.

We are creating the Economic Cooperation Administration. At its head will be an Administrator with Cabinet status. In him, under final Presidential control, is vested the responsibility for operating this enterprise. The Administrator and the Secretary of State will keep each other fully and currently informed. Whenever the Secretary of State believes that any action of the Administrator is inconsistent with the foreign policy objectives of the United States, he will consult with the Administrator and, if differences of view are not adjusted, the matter will be referred to the President for final decision. This is a paraphrase of the formula which has worked so well in the Atomic Energy Act involving somewhat similarly mixed functions.

Behind the Administrator, and his Deputy, will be the Public Advisory Board, headed by the Administrator, organized on a bipartisan basis, and consisting of not more than 12 members, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, "selected from among citizens of broad and varied experience in matters affecting the public interest." Its functions are advisory. But its utility is profound.

Overseas a special economic mission will be established by the Administrator and under his direction in each participating country; and the chief of each such mission will cooperate with our Ambassador or Minister under a general rule of conduct reflecting the contacts set up for the Administrator and the Secretary of State to avoid inconsistent decisions by either. Meanwhile what might be called a roving ambassador will represent us in dealing with any European organization of participating countries as insistently envisioned by the act. The creation of this post underscores our firm conviction that the salvation of western Europe lies in consolidated self-help and cooperation. Dollars alone will not save them. American assistance alone will not save them. All through the bill we bluntly assert these axioms. What they do for themselves will save them. What they do for themselves is the only possible vindication of our aid. But without a roving ambassador there would be no way for us to hold these governments to strict accountability for these relationships upon which they and we must depend for the final basic success of the undertaking.

To keep the House and Senate, here at home, in intimate touch with the evolution of all these plans, the bill creates the Joint Congressional Committee on Foreign Economic Cooperation—again borrowing this device of proved utility from the Atomic Energy Act. It will consist of seven Senators and seven Representatives. It will be bipartisan. It is already familiarly known as the watchdog committee. Little added definition is required. It will make continuous studies of what goes on. It will provide continuous and intimate congressional liaison with all these undertakings. In general sense it will represent the taxpayers of the United States. It will greatly simplify the subsequent annual responsibilities of Congress when, once each year during the life of this arrangement, it must determine in what degree yesterday's performance warrants tomorrow's continuing cooperation.

I omit further needless details. This is the picture and the pattern of administration. It gives every promise that previous errors in foreign aid will be avoided. It fixes and implements clear and specific responsibilities. It umpires in advance functional conflicts between business management on the one hand and foreign policy upon the other. It is our best possible promise of efficient and effective results in restabilizing a broken world.

Now, Mr. President, we come to the specific figure asked by the President for the first authorization under this bill. It was $6,800,000,000 for 15 months from next April first. This was the result of rigorous screening by the executive authorities of the CEEC proposals for $8,400,000,000 and a realistic appraisal of domestic availabilities. It took full account of the Harriman, Krug, and Nourse reports. It was the composite judgment

of diversified minds. Secretary Marshall said it was as near a precision figure as human judgments can foresee. Certainly it was sustained by the most complete studies and surveys I have ever seen in a congressional committee. It was further sustained by the independent investigation of the Harriman committee—composed, remember, of the best business brains available in our civilian life. The comparable Harriman figure was approximately the same. It was still further sustained by the head of the International Bank, who also examined the problem independently and concluded that the figure is a tight-fitting minimum. It was in no sense a stab in the dark. At the very least it is entitled to a presumption of relative dependability until more competent authority competently proves otherwise.

But I can fully understand, Mr. President, why this figure immediately became the subject of wide controversy. In the first place, there was a big gap between this figure and the President's budgetary estimate of actual cash disbursements for this purpose in the next fiscal year—a gap representing obligations and commitments which must be made in advance if our plans are to possess efficient continuity. In the second place, we have been overwhelmed with such a wealth and welter of supporting statistics that even our own experts—to say nothing of our committee members—have rivaled each other in their headaches. At such a moment it is dangerously easy to "lose sight of the forest for the trees." Busy pencils, playing with their decimals, can make objectivity impossible. The committee's unanimous recommendation escapes the horns of this dilemma by rooting itself in a few solid fundamentals which I commend to the common sense of my colleagues.

First. If this plan can succeed on the basis recommended by its authors, no well-wisher would allow it to fail at its inception through lack of original resources sufficient to its success. That would be "penny wisdom and pound foolishness." It could even be unwitting sabotage.

Second. Any estimate of these essential resources, in advance of experience with the plan, is problematical at best. In such circumstance we should start with figures which enjoy the preponderance of supporting evidence rather than to arbitrarily slice off what might be the difference between success and still-born failure.

Third. Therefore prudence recommends that we launch the plan with figures which offer no alibi for failure; but on a timetable which permits us to review the figures at the earliest moment when experience will permit us to deal with the realities.

On the basis of these sanities, the Committee on Foreign Relations unanimously cut the duration of this first authorization from 15 months to 12 and it reduced the figure from $6,800,000,000 to $5,300,000,000. This latter figure accurately reflects the estimated expenditures and commitments for the first 12 months of the original work sheet for 15 months. In other words, we have not undermined the resources for 1 year from April 1, 1948, which we are warned by the authors of this plan are essential to its success. We have not transferred from them to us the responsibility for a failure which might be charged to initial lack of funds. We have not impaired either the resources or the psychology upon which the plan depends. But we have made it imperative that the first task of the next Congress and the next administration next January shall be to resurvey this whole problem in the light of experience and reality; and thus we have reduced the first authorization by $1,500,000,000.

Mr. President, I attach the greatest importance to this change in the timetable. By next New Years we shall have had 9 months' experience with this enterprise. We shall then know the efficiency of its all-important administrative management; and we shall have the benefit of the Administrator's advice. We shall also have the first-hand judgments of our own joint congressional watch-dog committee. We shall know whether a good crop overseas has lightened the CEEC deficit. We shall know much more about the nature and extent—or perhaps even the suspension—of the sabotage campaigns of the wrecking crews. Most important of all, we shall know to what extent self-help and mutual cooperation in western Europe are giving promise of the vitality upon which this plan inseverably rests. We shall know many things upon which today we can only speculate.

It seems to me that we have everything to gain and nothing to lose—assuming that we are entering upon this high adventure in good faith—by launching this hopeful enterprise full-steam-ahead; and reserving our seasoned and informed judgments for next January, as contemplated by the committee's recommendation, when we shall know whereof we speak instead of gambling now with unknown destiny. I beg of Senators to take this concept to their hearts. This is more than a problem of mathematics; it is a problem in peace, stability, and human freedoms. It may not work. I think it will. But if it fails, let the responsibility rest elsewhere. I say again—as I have said so many times before—these recommended figures are not sacred. But in the light of the powerful credentials they possess, unless the Appropriations Committee can strongly prove them wrong, let us give them the benefit of any doubts for the time being. Next January is not long to wait for the accounting with so much at stake.

One thing more about this figure of $5,300,000,000. It goes for loans and grants. The division rests with the Administrator, counseled by his own board and by the National Advisory Council consisting of the highest officers of Government. The division will depend upon the beneficiary's ability to pay and upon the nature of the assistance. The loans will be serviced by the Export-Import Bank. It is roughly estimated that loans will represent from 20 percent to 40 percent of the grand total. Using the lower percentage in averaged application to the first year's authorization, its net cost to us is much nearer $4,000,000,000 than $5,300,000,000. It could be—we may hope it will be—even lower in its net effect.

At this point I interject another vital fact. While it is impossible to establish accurate categories at the moment, it is expected that 2 or 3 of these 16 countries in CEEC will be cooperators without any drain upon our dollar aid. They will pay their own way. It also is expected that three other countries will be exclusively on a temporary loan basis—without any grants. It is contemplated that only two countries will be exclusively on a basis of grants. The other eight countries will be on a variable scale of loans and grants. This is no loose give-away. In every instance the plan is geared to hardpan economics.

I now speak of the method used to arrive at this figure. It involves so-called balance of payments. For each country this is the difference between national income from exports, foreign services, and foreign investments, on the one hand, and essential imports of goods and services, on the other hand. This is the balance of payments, and when the former are insufficient to pay for the latter, and there is no gold or convertible currency to make up the difference, any such deficit country is in jeopardy. Under normal exchange conditions, surplus exchange with one country can be balanced against an exchange deficit with others. But this situation does not exist today, and will not until foreign currencies and international exchange are restabilized. This is one of the long-range objectives of this plan—important to every trading nation on earth, our own emphatically included. Meanwhile, the immediate and indispensable objective is to overcome these deficits in western Europe, including western Germany.

Current calculations accordingly were made by the following process: First, estimating each country's import requirements; second, deducting therefrom each country's exports and earnings from foreign services and foreign investments and from any other sources; third, deducting available imports from other Western Hemisphere areas. This final figure, translated into dollars, represents the amount of support from us to permit these 16 European countries, plus western Germany, to import from the Western Hemisphere the commodities essential to recovery. Import requirements of recipient countries were figured on a basis so close that they do not even restore full prewar living standards. In other words, the figures are down to bedrock.

Obviously, this brief description oversimplifies the process. There are many other factors influencing the net result. There are many imponderables, I say again and again. Only experience can demonstrate whether the realities will thrust upwards or push downwards the true evaluation. But this is generally accepted as the best measure of need. It was accepted by the Paris Conference, the executive departments, the Harri-

man committee, and the International Bank.

I do not undertake to demonstrate that the resultant 12-month figure of $5,300,000,000 in the bill is precisely accurate. I am content to point out that it is little short of amazing how close together all these estimates, independently made, proved to be. I am content to point out that the timetable in this act, as we have reported it, permits the earliest possible congressional review in the presence of reality. I am content to urge that the burden of proof falls heavily upon those who would argue that, pending this early review, the preliminary figure is too large. I have no sympathy with any "take this or nothing" attitude. But I do prayerfully believe that adequacy is the essence of what we do; and surely we can all agree that success with $5,300,000,000 in the first instance is preferable to failure with something less. I remind the Senate further that, under the bill's new timetable, we can balance out even the next fiscal year by the appropriations for the fourth quarter. If facts, as we will know them next January, require readjustments, we can make them in the final quarter. Then we can put them up or down with some degree of justified assurance. When we try to adjust them today, we play with danger to the lifeline of the plan.

Many other features of the pending bill will develop with the debate. At the moment I refer, finally, to only two.

First. Local currencies must be deposited by each beneficiary country to offset the value of any aid not furnished on terms of payment. The beneficiary country and the United States will agree on the local expenditure of these local currency accumulations in behalf of the purposes of this act. Thus our grants will not become a budgetary windfall in the beneficiary country but will virtually become a revolving fund to do double duty in behalf of the act's objectives.

Second. The investment of private American capital, in approved reconstruction projects in the 16 countries and western Germany, is encouraged by our guaranty of the subsequent convertibility of profits or original investment into dollars. This obviates the hazard most likely to prevent private investment. At the same time it is a highly practical invitation to American private initiative to join in this great adventure on a free-enterprise basis.

Now, Mr. President, with apologies to my colleagues for the length of this intrusion upon their good nature, I conclude. With a few desultory comments, I am done.

First. This act does not include some of our other unavoidable international obligations. We shall have to deal at this session with China, Greece, Turkey, and Trieste, and with the occupied areas for which we are responsible as a legacy from the war. These things must be remembered as we proceed. We must deal with over-all considerations. Particularly we must faithfully remember the superlative importance of effective solidarity in the Western Hemisphere in unhappy, uncertain days like these. Mutually happy and healthy Pan American relationships are indispensable. They must be conserved. It ought to be entirely possible to substantially improve these economical relationships through the triangular trade that should be possible of development in connection with this European recovery plan.

Second. This act largely depends for its success upon the quality of its administration. The choice of the administrator and his associates is one of the most solemn responsibilities that has ever confronted a President of the United States. I beg of the President to search for the best and to be satisfied with nothing less. This act is a challenge to the best brains and to the best experience in the Nation. They responded in the crises of war. I am sure they will respond in this crisis of peace. The cause is no less vital to our destiny.

Third. This act depends, again, for its success upon the prompt restoration of western Germany to an effective place in the economy of Europe and the world. It must be decentralized. It must be demilitarized for keeps. But it must be restored to decent hope and productivity. The western occupying powers must quit their indecision and put Germany wholesomely at work again without delay. The Ruhr alone could spell the difference between success and failure.

Fourth. This act depends also and equally upon the energy and devotion with which these western European nations pursue the integration which they have volunteered to seek. Our dollars cannot substitute, I say again, for their own will to make common cause for the mutual defense of their own welfare. We do not presume to dictate the formula. But we relentlessly recommend the objective. Standing together these nations can face every vicissitude with hope. Standing apart they may face collapse and even conquest. By its own warning, the wrecking crew awaits.

Fifth. This act seeks and depends upon peace. Peace requires the economic stabilities which are here addressed. Peace also depends upon security against aggression. Security depends upon preparedness. Preparedness depends upon rival arms until, dependably there is a better way. The better way is an undivided United Nations which is made to work in its present or some other form. Regional arrangements under its charter can promote security. Unselfish mutual defense pacts, such as we have repeatedly offered, can promote security. Global disarmament—on a basis of rigid, instant, and conclusive discipline against bad faith—is the best security guarantee of all. We and the peace-loving sectors of the world must struggle on toward these ideals.

Sixth. The act has the amazingly unified support, according to their official voices before our committee of practically all spokesmen in our own land for organized labor and capital and agriculture and industry, for veterans, for women's organizations, for American journalism and, by no means last, for the church. The friendly preponderance is overwhelming. I believe, Mr. President, that dynamic America is prepared to carry on.

Seventh. Whatever we are to do, Mr. President, let it be done without undue delay. Whatever our answer is to be, let it be made as swiftly as prudence will permit. The exposed frontiers of hazard move almost hourly to the west. Time is of the essence in this battle for peace, even as it is in the battles of a war. Nine months ago Czechoslovakia wanted to join western Europe in this great enterprise for stability and peace. Remember that. Today Czechoslovakia joins only such enterprise as Moscow may direct.

There is only one voice left in the world, Mr. President, which is competent to hearten the determination of the other nations and other peoples in western Europe to survive in their own choice of their own way of life. It is our voice. It is in part the Senate's voice. Surely we can all agree, whatever our shades of opinion, that the hour has struck for this voice to speak as soon as possible. I pray it speaks for weal and not for woe.

The committee has rewritten the bill to consolidate the wisdom shed upon the problem from many sources. It is the final product of 8 months of more intensive study by more devoted minds than I have ever known to concentrate upon any one objective in all my 20 years in Congress. It has its foes—some of whom compliment it by their transparent hatreds. But it has its friends—countless, prayerful friends not only at the hearthstones of America, but under many other flags. It is a plan for peace, stability, and freedom. As such, it involves the clear self-interest of the United States. It can be the turning point in history for 100 years to come. If it fails, we have done our final best. If it succeeds, our children and our children's children will call us blessed. May God grant His benediction upon the ultimate event. [Applause on the floor, Senators rising.]

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11- Foreign Pol

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS

MAY 14, 1948
No. 381

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE C. MARSHALL
ON WORLD TRADE WEEK

The observance of World Trade Week is to remind Americans that they are partners with other peoples in carrying on the world's business. Each of us is part of the network of world commerce through which we exchange the products of our labor with others. The more fully this universal system is developed, the greater will be the benefits to all.

No nation, no matter how generously endowed, is self-sufficient. Americans sometimes assume that because this country has great natural resources and a vast internal market for its products, we could proceed independent of the remainder of the world. That illusion was shattered by our recent experience when we were suddenly cut off from sources of vital materials.

We realize now, as never before, that this country is inevitably a part of a world-wide trading system. Other people need our products and we need theirs. This is more true today than ever before.

This country has a tremendous responsibility in utilizing its great influence in determining the course of world trade, with the fateful consequences for war or peace. Wise and constructive leadership on our part will influence others to act likewise. A retreat to the practices of economic nationalism could drive the world into another resort to economic warfare that would prove fatal to the peace.

These are some of the principal considerations that have caused the United States Government to take a leading part in an international program of economic cooperation, with emphasis on mutual help, increased productivity and the progressive reduction of trade barriers. The major effort along these lines, the European Recovery Program, was made necessary by the postwar distress the program is designed to remedy. Another chief element of our policy, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, antedates the war. It has been successfully employed for a number of years, and it remains the most important single factor in our long-range economic policy.

The future of mankind will depend to an important degree on how well society is able to satisfy the basic requirements of the people of the earth for food, shelter and the other necessities of life. The fullest possible development of world trade, with a minimum of restrictions and a maximum of opportunity for all is necessary. Our security as well as our prosperity is bound up in the ebb and flow of world trade.

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11.- Foreign Policy

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS

MAY 19, 1948
No. 392

The Department of State today made the following information available to the press in connection with the Stalin statement:

1. Reduction of Armaments

The problem of the regulation of conventional armaments was discussed in the 1946 General Assembly of the United Nations, and has since been under consideration in the Commission for Conventional Armaments of the Security Council.

2. Atomic Energy

In the field of atomic energy, agreement on an effective plan for international control has so far been blocked by the Soviet Union.

The presentation of the Third Report of the Commission marks the recognition of an impasse which has existed practically since the negotiations began almost two years and 220 meetings ago. Fourteen out of seventeen of the nations which are now or have been represented on the Commission are agreed on the basic and indispensable requirements of an international control plan; the Soviet Union, Poland and the Ukraine have been the only members of the Commission to disagree.

Despite its unceasing efforts, the Commission has now been forced to declare that: "It has been unable to secure the agreement of the Soviet Union to even those elements of effective control considered essential from the technical point of view, let alone their acceptance of the nature and extent of participation in the world community required of all nations in this field by the First and Second Reports of the Atomic Energy Commission." In this situation, the Commission has concluded that for the present no useful purpose could be served by carrying on negotiations at the Commission level and has referred the whole problem to the Security Council with a recommendation that it be forwarded to the General Assembly.

The conclusion that further work at the Commission level would be futile does not mean that the efforts to achieve international control of atomic energy are to be terminated, but it does mean that the Commission has recognized that factors necessary to bring about agreement on an effective

system for the international control of atomic energy are outside the competence of the Commission. The United Nations is still confronted with the problem of international control of atomic energy and the United States Government is still ready to participate in genuinely effective control.

3. German Peace Settlement

By common agreement the question of a German peace settlement is one for the Council of Foreign Ministers. The Council has held two long meetings devoted to this subject. Soviet opposition to virtually every proposition put forward by the United States, Great Britain and France has thus far blocked all progress on this question.

4. Japanese Peace Settlement

In July 1947 the United States proposed to the ten other members of the Far Eastern Commission that a preliminary conference be held to discuss a peace treaty for Japan, the voting procedure of such a conference to be by two-thirds majority. Eight States indicated general agreement with this proposal. The Soviet Union held that the peace treaty problems should be considered by the Council of Foreign Ministers, composed in this instance of the United Kingdom, China, the U.S.S.R., and the United States. China proposed that the peace treaty be considered by a conference of the eleven Far Eastern Commission countries and that decisions be taken by a majority which must include the four powers named above. It has so far been impossible to resolve the conflict between these widely different concepts as to the basis on which the Japanese peace treaty conference should be convened.

5. Evacuation of Troops from China

As of March 31, 1948 there were stationed in China, of the armed forces of the United States, 1,496 army personnel and 4,125 navy and marine personnel. These forces remain in China at the request of the National Government.

6. Evacuation of Troops from Korea

With respect to the suggestion that United States and Soviet occupation forces be withdrawn from Korea, the United Nations General Assembly, by Resolution of November 14, 1947, recommended a plan for the early achievement of Korean independence, to be followed promptly by the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces.

The General Assembly constituted a United Nations Commission to assist in this program. The Ukraine was elected

to membership on the Commission but refused to serve. The U.S.S.R. denied the United Nations Commission entry into the northern zone of Korea. It has not only refused to collaborate in any way in the implementation of the United Nations plan but has attempted to proceed unilaterally with a plan of its own which threatens to lead to civil war among the Koreans themselves.

7. Respect for National Sovereignty and Non-Interference in Domestic Affairs

The facts bearing on this subject are too voluminous for recapitulation here. The actions and policies of the two Governments in this respect are a matter of public record, and speak for themselves.

8. Military Bases

The policy of the United States in this respect has been governed by the unanimous resolution of the United Nations General Assembly of December 14, 1946, which makes the retention of armed forces on the territories of members conditional upon the freely and publicly expressed consent of such members. In accordance with Article 103 of the Charter, the United States has made it a practice to register with the United Nations the instruments of agreements. It is of interest to note that the United States has proposed in the Security Council that armed forces acting under the Security Council have unlimited rights of passage and rights to use bases wherever located. The U.S.S.R. has rejected this proposal.

9. International Trade

The representatives of twenty-three countries attended the session of the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations conference on trade and employment which was held in Geneva in the summer of 1947. The representatives of fifty-six nations participated in the final conference on trade and employment held in Havana, Cuba from November 1947 to March 1948. This Conference agreed upon the charter for an international trade organization, one of the main purposes of which is the elimination of all forms of discrimination in international trade. The Soviet Government declined to participate in either of these meetings.

10. Assistance to War-Devastated Countries

The aid being extended by the United States to other countries on a worldwide scale, through both United Nations channels and others, should be an adequate answer to this point. In the case of the European recovery program, in which

the U.S.S.R. declined to participate, the proposal to create a new organization came from the participating European countries.

11. Human Rights

The United Nations turned to the question of human rights as one of its first tasks and its work in this field is well advanced. The Human Rights Commission, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, may shortly recommend a draft declaration and covenant on human rights to the Economic and Social Council and to the General Assembly. Since both the U.S.S.R. and the United States are active members of the Human Rights Commission, it is difficult to see how this matter could be advanced in any other forum. It lies in the nature of this subject that it is imminently a multilateral and international problem and both the Soviet Union and the United States have, in the United Nations Commission, a wholly adequate forum in which to put forward their views.

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May 19, 1948

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Southern Regional Council

11- Foreign Policy

IMMEDIATE RELEASE JUNE 25, 1948

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

It is with very great reluctance that I have signed S. 2242, the Displaced Persons Act of 1948.

If the Congress were still in session, I would return this bill without my approval and urge that a fairer, more humane bill be passed. In its present form this bill is flagrantly discriminatory. It mocks the American tradition of fair play. Unfortunately, it was not passed until the last day of the session. If I refused to sign this bill now, there would be no legislation on behalf of displaced persons until the next session of the Congress.

It is a close question whether this bill is better or worse than no bill at all. After careful consideration I have decided, however, that it would not be right to penalize the beneficiaries of this bill on account of the injustices perpetrated against others who should have been included within its provisions. I have therefore signed the bill in the hope that its injustices will be rectified by the Congress at the first opportunity.

Americans of all religious faiths and political beliefs will find it hard to understand, as I do, why the 80th Congress delayed action on this subject until the end of this session, with the result that most attempts to improve the bill were frustrated.....

The 80th Congress certainly had ample time to produce a satisfactory bill. Eighteen months ago, in my State of the Union message, I stated that I did not feel that the United States had done its part in the admission of displaced persons. I pointed out that Congressional assistance in the form of new legislation was needed.

Six months later, on July 7, 1947, because the Congress had not yet acted, I sent a special message on the subject. I reminded the Congress: "We are dealing with a human problem, a world tragedy. . . . I urge the Congress to press forward with its consideration of this subject and to pass suitable legislation as speedily as possible." To my regret, the Congress adjourned last summer without passing any displaced persons legislation.

Again, on January 7, 1948, I urged the Congress "to pass suitable legislation at once so that this Nation may do its share in caring for homeless and suffering refugees of all faiths. I believe that the admission of these persons will add to the strength and energy of the Nation."

The Congress did not act "at once". The Senate Committee charged with the responsibility of rendering a report on January 10, 1948, asked for, and received, an extension to report on February 10. Instead of reporting on February 10 it reported on March 2. The bill which it finally reported, without a single public hearing, was roundly and deservedly criticized by all who were interested in achieving a fair solution of this problem. Through one device or another, debate on the bill by the Senate was postponed from the beginning of March until the end of May. The Senate bill was not passed until June 2. The House of Representatives in the meantime had delayed action and did not pass its bill until June 11. It was not until the last days of the session that the Senate and the House conferees met to put together a compromise.

The compromise

The compromise resulting from this hasty, last-minute action consisted largely of combining the worst features of both the Senate and House Bills.

I have analyzed closely the bill which was sent to me for signature. Its good points can be stated all too briefly: At long last, the principle is recognized that displaced persons should be admitted to the United States. Two hundred thousand displaced persons may be admitted in the next two years, as well as 2,000 recent Czech refugees and 3,000 orphans.

The bad points of the bill are numerous. Together they form a pattern of discrimination and intolerance wholly inconsistent with the American sense of justice.

The bill discriminates in callous fashion against displaced persons of the Jewish faith. This brutal fact cannot be obscured by the maze of technicalities in the bill or by the protestations of some of its sponsors.

The primary device used to discriminate against Jewish displaced persons is the provision restricting eligibility to those displaced persons who entered Germany, Austria, or Italy on or before December 22, 1945. Most of the Jewish displaced persons who had entered Germany, Austria, or Italy by that time have already left; and most of the Jewish displaced persons now in those areas arrived there after December 22, 1945, and hence are denied a chance to come to the United States under this bill. By this device more than 90 per cent of the remaining Jewish displaced persons are definitely excluded. Even the eligible 10 per cent are beset by numerous additional restrictions written into the bill.

For all practical purposes, it must be frankly recognized, therefore, that this bill excludes Jewish displaced persons, rather than accepting a fair proportion of them along with other faiths.

The bill also excludes many displaced persons of the Catholic faith who deserve admission. Many anti-communist refugees of Catholic faith fled into the American zones after December 22, 1945, in order to escape persecution in countries dominated by a communist form of government. These too are barred by the December 22, 1945, dateline.

It is inexplicable, except upon the abhorrent ground of intolerence, that this date should have been chosen instead of April 21, 1947, the date on which General Clay closed the displaced persons camps to further admissions.

The Jewish and Catholic displaced persons who found asylum in our zones between December 22, 1945, and April 21, 1947, who are wrongly excluded by this bill, fled their native countries for the same basic reasons as Balts who came before December 22, 1945, and Czechs who came after January, 1948, who are rightly included. I sincerely hope that the Congress will remedy this gross discrimination at its earliest opportunity.

There are many other seriously objectionable features in the bill. Some of these are as follows:

Except for orphans, the bill charges the displaced persons admitted under its provisions to future immigration quotas of their countries of birth, up to 50 per cent of the quota per year. Under this system, 50 per cent of some quotas will be "mortgaged" for generations. This is a most begrudging method of accepting useful and worthy people and will necessarily deprive many other

worthy

worthy people of an opportunity to come to the United States in future years. Considering how few permanent immigrants were able to enter this country during the war, it would have been more equitable to admit the displaced persons as non-quota immigrants.

The bill requires that at least 40 per cent of the displaced persons allowed to enter this country must come from areas which have been "de facto annexed by a foreign power." This guarantees a disproportionately high percentage of persons from particular areas. It would have been fairer to provide instead for the admission of persons in proportion to the numbers of each group in the displaced persons camps.

The bill reflects a singular lack of confidence by the Congress in the capacity and willingness of the people of the United States to extend a welcoming hand to the prospective immigrants. It contains many restrictive requirements, such as prior assurances of suitable employment and "safe and sanitary housing," unnecessarily complicated investigation of each applicant, and burdensome reports from individual immigrants. I regret that the Congress saw fit to impose such niggardly conditions.

The bill submitted to me also emasculates the salutary provision of the House Bill which provided for the granting of permanent residence status to a maximum of 15,000 displaced persons who are already lawfully in this country. The bill now requires a concurrent resolution of the Congress in favor of each individual after his application has been approved by the Attorney General. This requirement has the effect of perpetuating the cumbersome practice of special action by the Congress to adjust the status of individual aliens.

I know what a bitter disappointment this bill is -- to the many displaced victims of persecution who looked to the United States for hope; to the millions of our citizens who wanted to help them in the finest American spirit; to the many members of the Congress who fought hard but unsuccessfully for a decent displaced persons bill. I hope that this bitter disappointment will not turn to despair.

I have signed this bill, in spite of its many defects, in order not to delay further the beginning of a resettlement program and in the expectation that the necessary remedial action will follow when the Congress reconvenes.

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IRO NEWS DIGEST No. 13 30 June, 1948.

SUMMARY OF PROVISIONS OF THE DISPLACED PERSONS ACT OF 1948. (Public Law 774, 80th Congress.) AND DEFINITIONS OF ELIGIBILITY UNDER THE IRO CONSTITUTION

I. Number of Displaced Persons to be admitted

200,000 Displaced Persons and Refugees designated as eligible for IRO care under terms of the IRO Constitution.
2,000 Recent refugees from Czechoslovakia.
3,000 Displaced orphan children under the age of sixteen years.
15,000 Aliens now resident in the United States.

II. Eligibility Requirements

(a) Displaced Persons

To be eligible for admission to the United States a displaced person must:

1. Be included among those eligible for IRO assistance under terms of the IRO Constitution. (See IRO Definitions on Pages 4,5,6.)

2. Have entered Germany, Austria or Italy on or after September 1, 1939 and on or before December 22, 1945;

3. Have been in the Western Zones of Germany and Austria or in Italy on January 1, 1948; and

4. Be qualified for admission under immigration laws and regulations of the United States.

The spouse and unmarried dependent children of displaced persons eligible for admission will also be considered eligible for admission if they are otherwise qualified under immigration laws.

(b) Czech Refugees

To gain admission, the 2,000 Czech refugees included in the Act must:

Be natives who fled Czechoslovakia as a direct result of persecution or fear of persecution since January 1, 1948; and also have been in Italy or in the Western Zones of Germany or Austria on the effective date of the Act. In addition they must be qualified for admission into the United States under immigration laws and regulations of the United States. The spouse and unmarried dependent children of eligible Czech refugees may also be considered eligible if they qualify under the immigration laws.

(c) Orphan Children

Displaced orphan children to be admitted must:
1. Be under sixteen years of age;
2. Be qualified for admission under U.S. Immigration Laws;
3. Be orphaned due to the death or disappearance of both parents;
4. And, must have been in Italy or the Western Zones of Germany or Austria on the effective date of the Act.

(d) Resident

(d) Resident Aliens

Aliens now resident in the United States may be admitted to permanent residence if they:

1. Entered the United States prior to April 1, 1948;
2. Are otherwise admissible under the Immigration Laws;
3. Can establish the fact of lawful entry into the United States as non-immigrants or as non-quota immigrant students pursuant to applicable immigration laws;
4. Can establish the fact that they are displaced from country of birth or nationality or last residence as a result of events subsequent to the outbreak of World War II and are unable to return to such countries because of persecution or fear of persecution on account of race, religion or political opinion.

Admission of aliens for permanent residence is dependent upon certification by the Attorney General to Congress that each individual is qualified for permanent residence under terms of the Act and is further dependent on passage of a Joint Resolution by Congress in each case, stating that Congress favors granting the status of permanent residence.

III. Conditions Governing Admission

In addition to eligibility requirements summarized above, the Act provides the following conditions which must be met before admission of a displaced person for permanent residence may be accomplished:

(a) Jobs and Housing

In the case of displaced persons and Czech refugees to be admitted under the Act, assurances must be given, in accordance with regulations of the Commission established to administer the Act, that each person admitted will be suitably employed without displacing some other person from employment, that each displaced person and his dependents will not become public charges and that they will have safe and sanitary housing without displacing some other person.

(b) National Origins

Forty per cent of all visas issued under the Act are available exclusively to eligible displaced persons whose place of origin or country of nationality has been annexed by a foreign power.

(c) Use of National Immigration Quotas

Although provision is made for issuance of two hundred and two thousand visas to displaced persons and Czech refugees within the two following fiscal years, the Act further provides that the quotas of the chargeable countries shall be mortgaged up to 50 per cent of the annual total for as many years as necessary to compensate for the numbers actually admitted.

(d) Provision

(d) Provision for Children

Displaced orphan children to be admitted under the Act specifically are exempted from the quota provisions applicable to other displaced persons and refugees. However, the Act provides that, before the children may be admitted, satisfactory assurances must be given that they will be cared for properly, in accordance with regulations of the Commission.

(e) Character Investigation

The Act provides that, before a displaced person or refugee may be accepted for admission, a thorough investigation and a written report shall be made regarding each individual's character, history and eligibility under the Act.

IV. Preferences and Priorities

In lieu of existing immigration preferences stated by law, the Act provides the following preferences:

1. First preference in immigration is given to persons previously engaged in agricultural pursuits and who will be engaged in agricultural pursuits upon admission to the United States. Not less than 30 per cent of all visas issued under the Act will be made available to this occupational group. Wives and unmarried dependent children of persons admitted under this preference will be counted as agriculturists.

2. Second preference is given to household, construction, clothing and garment workers or other workers needed in the locality in the United States in which they propose to reside. Also included in this preference group are persons possessing special educational, scientific, technological or professional qualifications.

3. Third preference is given to displaced persons who are blood relatives of citizens or lawfully admitted aliens in the United States.

Within the preferences stated in the Act, priorities are to be given to persons who, during World War II, bore arms against the enemies of the United States and to persons who were, on January 1, 1948, living in displaced persons camps and assembly centers. Provision is made that in exceptional cases visas may be issued to persons otherwise eligible who are located outside the camps.

V. Administration

The Act provides for the establishment of a Displaced Persons Commission consisting of three members to be appointed by the President with approval of the Senate, one member to be designated as Chairman. The Commission will be responsible for formulating and issuing regulations necessary for promulgation of the Act and for developing and implementing plans and regulations designed to achieve general settlement and distribution throughout the United States and its territories and possessions of persons admitted. The Commission is also responsible for reporting to Congress and the President on the manner in which the law is being carried out and on the status of displaced persons admitted under its terms.

Other Governmental functions necessary to the implementation of the Act will be performed by regularly established agencies of the Government. These functions will include selection, screening and processing of persons to be admitted, issuance of visas and implementation of regular immigration procedures.

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VI. Reporting of Status

Each displaced person admitted, with the expeption of dependent children, will be required to report on his employment and residence to the Displaced Persons Commission every six months for the first two years of residence in the United States.

VII. Revocation of the "Truman Directive."

Beginning July 1, 1948, displaced persons are no longer granted preference or priority under the regular immigration laws because of their status as displaced persons. This provision nullifies an Executive Order issued in December, 1945 which granted immigration preference to bona fide displaced persons.

VIII. Admission of Volkedeutche

Included in the Displaced Persons Act is a provision which will make immigration visas available to the so-called "Volksdeutche" --persons of German ethnic origin who were born in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania or Yugoslavia and who are residing in Germany and Austria on the effective date of the Act. To accomodate these persons, the German and Austria quotas are reactivated with the proviso that 50% of the visas issued in the two year fiscal period beginning July 1, 1948 shall be reversed for the Vooksdeutche from the above-named countries.

IRO DEFINITIONS OF DISPLACED PERSONS

A displaced person eligible for admission in the United States is defined by the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 as "any displaced person or refugee as defined in Annex I of the Constitution of the International Refugee Organization and who is the concern of the International Refugee Organization." The pertinent section of Annex I of the IRO Constitution is quoted below to indicate the specific classes of displaced persons who will be eligible under this definition. Also quoted is Part II of Annex I in which are listed certain categories of individuals who are not eligible for IRO assistance. (It should be noted that the Czech refugees admissible under Section 12 of the Act are not included among persons eligible for IRO assistance).

PART I.
Refugees and Displaced Persons Within the Meaning of the Resolution Adopted by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations on 15 February 1946.
SECTION A - DEFINITION OF REFUGEES

1. Subject to the provisions of section C and D and of Part II of this Annex, the term "refugee" applies to a person who has left, or who is outside of, his country of nationality or of former habitual residence, and who, whether or not he had retained his nationality, belongs to one of the following categories:
(a) victims of the nazi or fascist regimes or of regimes which took part on their side in the second world war, or of the quisling or similar regimes which assisted them against the United Nations, whether enjoying international status as refugees or not;
(b) Spanish Repbulicans and other victims of the Falangist regime in Spain, whether enjoying international status as refugees or not;
(c) persons who were considered refugees before the outbreak of the second world war, for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinion.

2. Subject to the provision of Sections C and D and of Part II of this Annex regarding the exclusion of certain categories of persons, including war criminals, quislings and traitors, from the benefits of the Organization, the term "refugee" also applies to a person, other than a displaced person as defined in section B of this Annex, who is outside of his country of nationality or

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former habitual residence, and who, as a result of events subsequent to the outbreak of the second world war, is unable or unwilling to avail himself of the protedtion of the Government of his country of nationality or former nationality.

3. Subject to the provisions of section D and of Part II of this Annex, the term "refugee" also applies to persons who, having resided in Germany or Austria and being of Jewish origin or foreigners or stateless persons, were victims of Nazi persecution and were detained in, or were obliged to flee from, and were subsequently returned to, one of those countries as a result of enemy action, or of war circumstances, and have not yet been firmly re-settled therein.

4. The term "refugee" also applies to unaccompanied children who are war orphans or whose parents have disappeared, and who are outside their countries of origin. Such children, 16 years of age or under, shall be given all possible priority assistance, including, normally, assistance in repatriation in the case of those whose nationality can be determined.

SECTION B - DEFINITION OF DISPLACED PERSONS

The term "displaced person" applies to a person who, as a result of the actions of the authorities of the regimes mentioned in Part I, section A, paragraph 1 (a) of this Annex has been deported from, or has been obliged to leave his country of nationality or of former habitual residence, such as persons who were compelled to undertake forced labour or who were deported for racial, religious or political reasons. Displaced persons will only fall within the mandate of the Organization subject to the provisions of sections C and D of Part I and to the provisions of Part II of this Annex. If the reasons for their displacement have ceased to exist, they should be repatriated as soon as possible in accordance with article 2, paragraph 1 (a) of this Constitution, and subject to the provision of paragraph (c), sub-paragraphs (ii) and (iii) of the General Assembly resolution of 12 February 1946 regarding the problem of refugees (Annex III).

SECTION C - CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS WILL BECOME THE CONCERN OF THE ORGANIZATION. (SUMMARIZED).

All displaced persons and refugees included in the IRO definitions will be the concern of the Organization if they:

1. Can be repatriated and the help of the Organization is required to provide for their repatriation.
2. Have definitely expressed valid objections to repatriation after having received adequate information concerning conditions existing in their countries of origin.

Spanish Republican refugees will be the doncern of the Organization so long as the Falangist regime in Spain continues.

SECTION D, ANNEX I - CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS WILL CEASE TO BE THE CONCERN OF THE ORGANIZATION

Refugees or displaced persons will cease to be the concern of the Organization:

(a) when they have returned to the countries of their nationality in United Nations territory, unless their former habitual residence to which they wish to return is outside their country of nationality; or
(b) when they have acquired a new nationality; or
(c) when they have, in the determination of the Organization become otherwise firmly established; or

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(d) when they have unreasonably refused to accept the proposals of the Organiz tion for their re-settlement or repatriation; or
(e) when they are making no substantial effort towards earning their living when it is possible for them to do so, or when they are exploiting the assistance of the Organization.

PART II

Persons Who Will Not Be the Concern of the Organization.

1. War criminals, quislings and traitors.
2. Any other persons who can be shown:
(a) to have assisted the enemy in persecuting civil populations of countries, Members of the United Nations; or
(b) to have voluntarily assisted the enemy forces since the outbreak of the second world war in their operations against the United Nations.*
3. Ordinary criminals who are extraditable by treaty.
4. Persons of German ethnic origin, whether German nationals or members of German minorities in other countries, who:
(a) have been or may be transferred to Germany from other countries;
(b) have been, during the second world war, evacuated from Germany to other countries;
(c) have fled from, or into, Germany, or from their places of residence into countries other than Germany in order to avoid falling into the hands of Allied armies.
5. Persons who are in receipt of financial support and protection from their country of nationality, unless their country of nationality requests international assistance for them.
6. Persons, who, since the end of hostilities in the second world war:
(a) have participated in any organization having as one of its purposes the overthrow by armed force of the Government of their Country of origin, being a Member of the United Nations; or the overthrow by armed force of the Government of any other Member of the United Nations, or have participated in any terrorist organization;
(b) have become leaders of movements hostile to the Government of their country of origin being a Member of the United Nations or sponsors of movements encouraging refugees not to return to their country of origin;
(c) at the time of application for assistance, are in the military or civil service of a foreign State.

*Mere continuance of normal and peaceful duties, not performed with the specific purpose of aiding the enemy against the Allies or against the civil population of territory in enemy occupation, shall not be considered to constitute "voluntary assistance." Nor shall acts of general humanity, such as care of wounded or dying, be so considered except in cases where help of this nature given to enemy nationals could equally well have been given to Allied nationals and was purposely withheld from them.

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Foreign Affairs Outlines

BUILDING THE *Peace*

RECEIVED SEP 29 1948 Southern Regional Council

PREPARED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE • SUMMER 1948 • No. 18

A Charter for World Prosperity— The *How* and *Why* of the ITO

The drafting of a Charter for an International Trade Organization as a new specialized agency of the United Nations was completed by the representatives of 57 nations at Habana in March 1948. Acceptance of the Charter and membership in the proposed organization are now being studied by at least 54 governments, including that of the United States. Whether this country ratifies the Charter and enters the ITO will be for the decision of the American people acting through their Congress.

Approval of the Charter and acceptance of membership in ITO would be a logical continuation of United States economic policy. The Charter was developed on the basis of proposals made by the United States to other governments in November 1945. Moreover, the aims of the Charter are closely related to the traditional objectives of American economic policy—the reduction of trade barriers and the encouragement of the "open door" in world trade.

In the view of the United States a healthy world trade, like the trade of a city or a state, should be soundly based on the advantages of geography, labor, materials, and skills and conducted under a code of principles which offers equal competitive opportunity to all nations. The ITO Charter is proof that most nations share this view. But today many countries, by reason of war damage and vast economic dislocations, are unable to engage in an open system of trade. They have surrounded their economies by restrictive barriers and rigid controls that put trade virtually on the antiquated basis of barter. In many instances there has been no alternative. But if these measures are not progressively relaxed as emergency situations are overcome they are certain to retard world prosperity and may eventually endanger good international relations.

Existing conditions in the world economy raise some serious questions for the United States. The American people are spending billions of dollars annually to help other countries back on their feet. But what happens when this job is done? Does the world return to the disorganized, nationalistic measures of the years preceding the war? Will it, instead, freeze into the narrow, restrictive pattern of emergency controls? Or will it make a fresh start toward an open, cooperative system? The United States can exert a powerful and perhaps decisive influence on the choice that is made. There should be no question about the alternative this Nation prefers.

THE UNITED STATES LOOKS AHEAD

The choice of vigorously encouraging an open system of world trade is consistent with our traditional policy and present efforts to meet the dangers of the world situation. We are taking concrete steps to bring about international commercial relations that will help to make possible greater production, increased employment, a wider exchange and use of goods, and higher living standards in all countries. Through individual trade and tariff agreements with 42 countries, through support of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and other United Nations agencies, through privately sponsored relief and private investments, through loans to individual countries, the European Recovery Program, and other measures of assistance we have moved to bring the world back to economic health. Ahead of us is the problem of insuring that the gains resulting from these efforts will be sustained over many years in order that we may fully share in the general benefits. Failure to meet this problem would place a heavy discount on prospective returns from our efforts to date.

In 1948 the United States is in a fortunate yet difficult position. It is the only great power whose productive capacity has emerged from the war undamaged and expanded. Production and employment have reached unprecedented levels. The creditor status of the United States has no parallel in history. In contrast, most of the other nations which held ranking positions in the world economy before the war are now in economic distress. They are short of food for their workers, raw materials

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for their industries, dollars for their foreign purchases. Some lack even the means of rebuilding their devastated areas, and large segments of their populations have scarcely the minimum essentials of shelter, food, and clothing.

In this situation there are potential dangers for the United States which will continue if the programs for neutralizing them are not carried through. First, there is the implied threat to world peace. Hunger and economic chaos are the favorite hunting grounds of violent political minorities. If continued unrest permitted them to seize power, their violence would become national violence directed abroad at the most obvious targets. In these circumstances it is doubtful that the United States could long continue to exist peacefully as a single island of prosperity in a poverty-stricken world. Second, the loss or permanent reduction of markets abroad would affect American prosperity. It would be economically unsound to suppose that the United States could long maintain its present economic pace without huge imports and without the stimulation and outlets of a healthy world trade. Third, there is the danger that the restrictive, governmental controls now in operation as emergency devices will become entrenched and thereby jeopardize the future of our economic system, based as it is on private, competitive enterprise.

The outlines of a successful response to this challenge are clear: The continued security and prosperity of the United States can be achieved only through a major program of economic assistance, geared into a still larger plan for the expansion of world trade on the basis of fair dealing and equal competitive opportunity. An emphasis on higher productivity and expanded trade rather than on relief alone is a keynote in American policy.

AID TO EUROPE

The United States acted promptly and generously to relieve the human distress left in the wake of World War II. Some 20 billion dollars were made available for foreign relief and reconstruction. The United States, for example, shouldered the major share of the costs of the UNRRA program. By 1947, however, it became clear to the nations of western Europe that something more than individual relief and reconstruction aid was needed. An unusually bitter winter followed by a severe drought and failing crops emphasized the thin margin of economic safety on which Europe was operating. Political unrest and increased activity by Communist groups accompanied this threat of continued hunger. With so little reserve strength, accident or continued agitation could readily push the nations over the danger line into political and economic chaos.

It was also clear that the needs of Europe would remain acute for some time. Secretary Marshall said of them in June 1947: "The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products—principally from America—are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial . . . help or face economic, social, and political deterioration of a very grave character." But it was also clear that piecemeal aid to tide the European nations over their crisis would not bring sustained recovery or political stability.

What was needed was a broader, long-range plan of self-help. Somehow the initiative, leadership, and energies of Europe's own peoples had to be linked with American aid of a fundamental character to restore Europe to a self-sustaining economy on which the individual freedoms would be solidly based. The solution was the unique European Recovery Program which has now swung into action. The program was developed from a suggestion made by Secretary Marshall that the countries of Europe, with the friendly aid and support of the United States, act as an economic unit to get back on their feet. Sixteen nations are now cooperating to increase and coordinate production, to stabilize their currencies, to reduce the barriers to trading among themselves, and to share on the basis of productive use their output of raw materials and industrial goods.

One result of a successful program will be a genuine improvement of trading relations in western Europe. The U.S. Congress in passing the Economic Assistance Act and setting up the Economic Cooperation Administration required, at the request of the President, that individual agreements be reached with the countries receiving United States aid. A stipulation in each of these agreements is that the country concerned make provisions for "cooperating with other participating countries in facilitating and stimulating an increasing interchange of goods and services among the participating countries and with other countries and cooperating to reduce barriers to trade among themselves and with other countries."

The relations between the European Recovery Program and the broad aims of American economic policy mark out a definite course of action. The program itself is an indispensable step toward world recovery, but the economic gains and trading improvements which it promises can be made permanent only by gearing the program into a framework of world trade that will permit a broad and sustained expansion of commerce among nations.

The U.S. Government has acted vigorously along these lines and has achieved much. Through a coordinated program based on full support of and active cooperation in the European Recovery Program, the conclusion of individual trade agreements under the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and the adoption of the objectives and principles of the ITO Charter,

Purpose and Objectives of the ITO Charter

Article 1

RECOGNIZING the determination of the United Nations to create conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, THE PARTIES to this Charter undertake in the fields of trade and employment to co-operate with one another and with the United Nations

For the Purpose of

Realizing the aims set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, particularly the attainment of the higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development, envisaged in Article 55 of that Charter.

TO THIS END they pledge themselves, individually and collectively, to promote national and international action designed to attain the following objectives:

1. To assure a large and steadily growing volume of real income and effective demand, to increase the production, consumption and exchange of goods, and thus to contribute to a balanced and expanding world economy.

2. To foster and assist industrial and general economic development, particularly of those countries which are still in the early stages of industrial development, and to encourage the international flow of capital for productive investment.

3. To further the enjoyment by all countries, on equal terms, of access to the markets, products and productive facilities which are needed for their economic prosperity and development.

4. To promote on a reciprocal and mutually advantageous basis the reduction of tariffs and other barriers to trade and the elimination of discriminatory treatment in international commerce.

5. To enable countries, by increasing the opportunities for their trade and economic development, to abstain from measures which would disrupt world commerce, reduce productive employment or retard economic progress.

6. To facilitate through the promotion of mutual understanding, consultation and co-operation the solution of problems relating to international trade in the fields of employment, economic development, commercial policy, business practices and commodity policy.

ACCORDINGLY they hereby establish the INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANIZATION through which they shall co-operate as Members to achieve the purpose and the objectives set forth in this Article.

the United States can look ahead with confidence to the realization of its policy aims. The General Agreement represents an immediate attack on trade barriers; the Charter of ITO provides the broad framework for a continuing program to liberate and expand international trade.

PERMANENT POLICY—A CHARTER FOR WORLD TRADE

The ITO Charter is designed to provide a constitution for world trade and thereby strengthen the foundations of the United Nations. Within the framework of ITO the economic foreign policy of the United States can be exercised with certainty and effectiveness to promote the economic welfare of this Nation and others.

The Charter was not hastily drafted; it is the result of years of work by economic and legal experts and discussions among the representatives of many countries. Its main principles are firmly rooted in the traditions of American foreign policy; moreover the United States took a leading part in shaping its basic ideas and proposing them to other governments.

The lend-lease agreements with our Allies contained, in article VII, a mutual pledge to bring about a new and better world economic order after the war. It provided that, together with other like-minded countries, we would work for "the expansion, by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples; . . . the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and . . . the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers".

In 1945 the United States spelled out this pledge in more detail in its *Proposals for Expansion of World Trade and Employment*. Our Proposals were supported in principle by Great Britain, France, Canada, and other countries. Soon afterward the United Nations Economic and Social Council sponsored the development of an International Trade Organization as part of the United Nations. After several preliminary meetings, a Conference on Trade and Employment was convened at Habana and drafted the Charter which is now before the governments of 54 countries for approval in accordance with their constitutional

procedures. In the United States, the Charter will be presented to the Congress.

One purpose of this outline is to acquaint the American people with the ITO project in order that they may give full consideration to it. Since ITO cannot succeed without participation by the United States, our decision on this matter will be fully as important in the economic field as our decision on the Charter of the United Nations following the San Francisco conference in 1945. The Charter of ITO in respect to international economic relations is similar in scope and purpose to the Charter of the United Nations in the broader field of international political and social relations.

"OPEN" vs. "CLOSED"

The over-all purpose of the Charter is to establish and maintain by mutual agreement an "open" or multilateral system of trade relations between members of ITO and to expand on businesslike principles the trade of each member with all other members. The opposite objective calls for numerous "closed" economies, each of which conducts foreign trade under strict governmental control in accordance with short-term agreements based on planned "barter" with politically selected countries.

The United States has traditionally favored the open or multilateral system as opposed to the bilateral, and most other countries share our objective, as indicated, for example, by their pledges in article VII of the lend-lease agreements. This is fortunate, because the future of our economic system of free enterprise is intimately related to the choice that we and the rest of the world make between these two alternative systems of trade. In the absence of a framework for world trade that will prevent mounting trade barriers, nationalistic discriminations, and overhanging threats of economic warfare, it will be difficult to maintain the kind of domestic economic order which we in the United States prefer. A brief review of some of the features of the Charter will help to show how ITO can do this job.

BASIC PRINCIPLES

The basic principles of the Charter are expressed in three key provisions which call for: (1) equal treatment by each member of the commerce of other members; (2) reduction of tariffs and elimination of trade preferences through bargaining procedures similar to those under the Trade Agreements Act of the United States; (3) general elimination of quantitative restrictions, i.e. trade barriers that consist of governmental regulations specifying the amounts of any product that can enter or leave the country during a certain period of time.

These key provisions are applied in the Charter to many problems of international trade. For example, state-trading enterprises (i.e. those operated or controlled by governments) must behave in world markets in accordance with principles of the Charter. Members of ITO must also prevent restrictive business practices, such as those carried on by cartels, that interfere with the principles of the Charter. Members agree to simplify their customs procedures, thus eliminating much of the red tape that now makes it difficult to do international business. Members may also form customs unions for the purpose of enlarging the areas of the world within which trade barriers will be eliminated, thereby securing for smaller nations the benefits of a greater free market such as we enjoy on much of this continent.

A REALISTIC DOCUMENT

The Charter is a realistic document designed to cope with the practical facts of the world. It recognizes that many countries are not immediately able to carry out some of its strict principles in every particular. Allowance is therefore made for certain extenuating circumstances, particularly with regard to the use of "quantitative restrictions". A country has the right under the Charter to use import quotas to "ration" its expenditures on imports if it is seriously short of foreign currencies. However, the findings of the International Monetary Fund will be conclusive as to the monetary facts of each case, and import controls must be removed as soon as the situation permits.

Also, in the interest of underdeveloped countries, the Charter provides that restrictions may, for a limited time, be placed on imports of a product if this is necessary to develop a new industry. But such action is subject to detailed control by ITO and cannot be taken with respect to any product covered by a trade agreement unless the other party to the agreement consents.

World prices of certain raw materials may be liable to exaggerated price declines which work serious hardships to producers throughout the world. The Charter permits members to enter into commodity agreements designed to correct such economic maladjustments. Consuming countries must, however, be given an equal voice in these agreements, and they are subject to a number of additional standards to make sure that they conform to the principles of the Charter.

The Charter provides in various ways for stimulating the expansion of production. For example, one of its objectives is the development of the resources of areas now less highly developed than the industrialized nations of western Europe and North America. ITO, in cooperation with other international agencies, may advise members as to their plans for economic development and help them procure technical advice and assistance. The Charter also seeks to encourage the international flow of capital for

productive purposes by providing essential elements of security for foreign investors. Members must not take unreasonable or unjustifiable action injurious to the rights or interests of nationals of other members in the enterprise, skills, capital, or technology which they have supplied.

A VOLUNTARY COMPACT

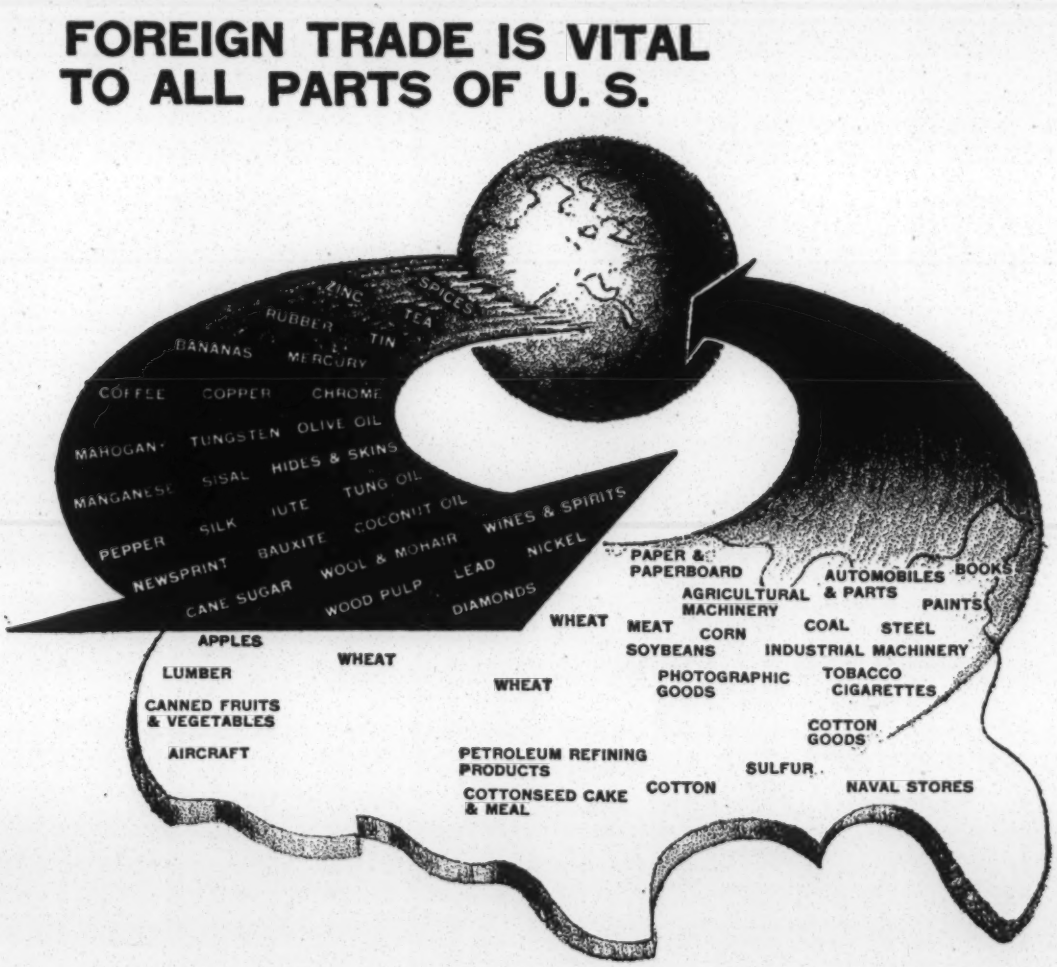
The ITO is in no sense a superstate. It is a voluntary compact between nations, based on the principle of sovereign equality and organized along democratic lines. Its main governing body, the Conference, consists of all members, each of whom has one vote and none the right of veto. Many functions of the Conference are or may be delegated to an Executive Board having 18 seats, 8 of which will be filled by the countries of chief economic importance. The United States is thus assured permanent representation. The remaining 10 seats will be filled periodically by vote of the Conference.

One of the major functions of the Organization is the settlement of differences between members, to avoid resort to the economic welfare which frequently results from retaliatory measures taken by one country against the actions of another. Under ITO, members may not have recourse to such unilateral measures but may settle their differences in accordance with the procedures provided in the Charter.

Another main function of the Organization is to administer the provisions of the Charter which set forth qualifications to the basic rules. There are numerous situations calling for the exercise of discretion by ITO, in accordance with prescribed standards, to determine whether a member is justified in taking certain proposed measures. The Charter also provides that after five years the members will meet to review the entire document and make such modifications as appear desirable in the light of experience. These features introduce a necessary and desirable element of flexibility into the Charter and enable it to be adapted to the numerous and changing conditions of the modern world.

FRONTAL ATTACK: THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

In 1947, while the drafting of the ITO Charter was in progress, the United States initiated a program for the immediate reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers. In accordance with the Trade Agreements Act we entered



into negotiations at Geneva with each of 22 nations to reduce tariffs on a selective product-by-product basis. Most of these 22 nations also conducted similar negotiations with each other. The agreed tariff rates, applying to some 45,000 items, were then incorporated into one inclusive document known as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

This agreement is a landmark in international commercial history. The countries that participated in the negotiations conduct over three fourths of the world's trade. Benefits have already been felt by consumers and producers. As shortages of production and of foreign exchange disappear, these benefits will be more fully realized and the agreement will have the effect of stimulating trade all around the world.

The following facts illustrate the importance of the agreement for American trade. The United States obtained tariff concessions from other countries on products that accounted for 1.4 billion dollars' worth of our exports as of 1939. On farm products, we obtained concessions on fruits, wheat and other grains, lard, rice, tobacco, soy beans, and cotton, all exported by the United States in substantial quantities. Concessions were also obtained on automobiles, industrial machinery, electrical machinery and appliances, agricultural machinery, office machinery, and other important products of American industry. Concessions took the form of tariff reductions and tariff bindings, i.e. an agreement not to increase rates of duty. They also took the form of reductions or eliminations of tariff preferences, i.e. the application of lower duties to certain "preferred" countries. Such preferences have often meant in the past that American goods were charged a higher duty than like products of "preferred" countries and were therefore largely shut out from some large, potential markets.

In exchange for these and other concessions, the United States reduced duties on imports valued at some 500 million dollars in 1939, continued unchanged duties on imports valued at 130 million dollars in that year, and agreed to continue free entry, as fixed by Congress, of products imported to a value of 1.1 billion dollars in 1939.

By stimulating imports as well as exports, the agreements concluded by the United States will help restore healthier and better balanced conditions in its foreign trade. Increased imports will also work to hold down price inflation at home. To the extent that areas receiving assistance from the United States are able to increase their exports to us and to other countries, their need for such assistance will diminish in the future.

A COORDINATED PROGRAM AND AN ACTIVE POLICY

International trade problems are many and complex, and the means to cope with them are far from simple. The United States is one of the few nations, and the only great power, fortunate enough to be in a position to take the initiative in pressing forward on a coherent long-range program. Free of general necessity for using quotas, blocked currencies, and other emergency controls, it can direct its efforts and those of other nations toward correcting the conditions which lead to the adoption of restrictive measures. By continued vigorous action it can lay the groundwork for a new pattern of world trade that will have as its objective an expanding world economy with open markets, equal competitive opportunity, and the expansion of production and consumption of goods in all nations.

The program now under way is geared for action on four levels: (1) action through the European Recovery Program designed to help Europe achieve for itself, in the language of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, "a healthy economy independent of extraordinary outside assistance"; (2) action through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade designed to achieve immediate reduction of some of the barriers that hinder the world circulation of goods; (3) action designed to support the Ito Charter and encourage its adoption as a permanent framework of rules for the conduct of world trade; (4) action through the United Nations and its specialized agencies designed to help bring about the growth of free institutions, the free interchange of information, persons, and services, and the economic, social, and political improvements which are necessary to peaceful commerce.

To maintain its effectiveness, this program must move ahead promptly. General world economic conditions are still flexible, but very soon the nations must choose between two alternatives: Either there will be cooperation to expand trade and production or there will be a growing conflict of national policies that will lead to dangerous international tensions and the retarding of living standards everywhere. The United States has chosen the way of cooperation. The continued force of its example can be the deciding factor in a turn toward peace and world prosperity.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE PUBLICATION 3243
COMMERCIAL POLICY SERIES 115

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS HIGHLIGHTS

Division of Public Liaison, Department of State

MAY 1, 1949 WASHINGTON, D. C.

On April 8, the Foreign Ministers of the U.S., United Kingdom and France announced that they had reached complete agreement with regard to the whole range of issues pending in connection with Germany. It was also announced that the text of an Occupation Statute had been transmitted to the German Parliamentary Council meeting at Bonn to plan the German Republic. Agreement was reached on the basic principles to govern the exercise of Allied powers and responsibilities and also the tripartite Allied control machinery. The Foreign Ministers confirmed and approved agreements on the subject of plant dismantling, prohibited and restricted industries and the establishment of an International Ruhr Authority.

GERMANY

The Occupation Statute defines the powers to be retained by the occupation authorities upon the establishment of the German Federal Republic and sets forth basic procedures for the operation of Allied supervision. Subject only to the limitations of the Statute, the German Federal State and the participating Laender will have full legislative, executive and judicial powers, in accordance with the Basic Law and with their respective constitutions. The Statute aims to permit the German people to exercise democratic self-government. Provision is made for a review of the terms of the Statute after a year in force.

The Trizonal Fusion Agreement, outlining the control responsibilities of each of the 3 occupying powers, will be initiated before the effective date of the Occupation Statute, and complete trizonal fusion will follow with the establishment of the German Federal Government. The Fusion Agreement covers the establishment of the Allied High Commission, composed of a Commissioner from each occupying power, and the integration of the functions of this Commission with the Occupation Statute and international agreements. It also details the voting procedure within the Commission and means whereby any one Commissioner can appeal to his government. It specifies that in order to permit the Federal German Republic to exercise increased responsibilities on domestic affairs and to reduce the burden of occupation costs, staff personnel of the Commission shall be kept to a minimum. Military Government as such will be terminated and the functions of the Allied authorities will become mainly supervisory.

PALESTINE

An armistice agreement was signed on April 3 between Israel and Transjordan after more than a month of negotiation. Thus, all the Arab states bordering Israel, excepting Syria, have signed armistice documents as a major step toward a permanent peace settlement in Palestine. Syria began armistice negotiations early in April.

While the truce enforcement has been charged to the UN Truce Commission and to the Acting Mediator, and the armistice negotiations have been conducted by the Mediator, the larger task of finding a final settlement to the Palestine problem falls to the Conciliation Commission for Palestine, established by the UN General Assembly resolution of December 11, 1948. Composed of France, Turkey and the U.S., the Conciliation Commission has been meeting with representatives of Israel and the Arab states during the past 2 months to find a solution to the serious refugee problem, reach a final territorial settlement and discuss the future status of Jerusalem.

WORLD TRADE

On April 11, representatives of 34 nations began negotiations at Annecy, France to lower or eliminate barriers to international trade. These negotiations are being carried out under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade which was originally signed by 23 nations at Geneva in 1947. At that conference, the contracting nations also concluded 123 bilateral negotiations to reduce tariffs and tariff preferences, quantitative restrictions and other trade barriers. The tariff concessions which these countries negotiated among themselves were embodied in the General Agreement and have since been put into operation by all of them. Eleven of the countries represented at the conference are newcomers to the negotiations, all having stated their intention of acceding to the General Agreement. Each of the 23 contracting parties can negotiate with each of the 13 acceding countries, and the newcomers with each other. The Annecy meeting is expected to last 3 months.

INDONESIA

On April 14 representatives of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia recommenced negotiations in Batavia under the auspices of the UN Commission for Indonesia. This is the first official conference between representatives of the 2 governments since the Netherlands "police action" of December 18, 1948. The U.S. representatives reported that the talks opened in a cordial atmosphere. The Netherlands Delegation is headed by Dr. J. H. van Royen and the Republican one by Mohammed Roem. The current talks are preparatory to the convocation of a round-table conference at The Hague proposed by Netherlands officials to arrange for transfer of Netherlands sovereignty to a representative federal government in Indonesia at an early date. President Soekarno announced the Republic would favor participation in the proposed conference provided its administration be restored to Jogjakarta and that the UN Commission for Indonesia participate in the conference. When the question of UN Commission participation was referred to the Security Council, the Council adopted a Canadian proposal requesting the Council's President to send a message to the Commission for Indonesia instructing it to assist both parties in reaching agreement on the arrangements for the restoration of republican administration to Jogjakarta and for holding the The Hague conference. The Batavia meetings are an outcome of this directive.

INTERNATIONAL COURT

On April 9, the UN International Court of Justice handed down its first decision. The United Kingdom had sued Albania for damages resulting from the mining of 2 British destroyers in the Corfu Channel on October 22, 1946. Britain held that Albania was liable under international law for the damage and loss of life and the issues were considered by a Committee of the UN Security Council, but were never resolved. Last year the disputing nations agreed to abide by whatever decision the International Court would give, although Albania is not a member of the UN. The Court held Albania responsible but did not assess damages, deciding to hold further hearings if the 2 parties accept its competence to assess the amount. It held also that British vessels on one occasion had violated Albanian sovereignty but that the declaration to this effect by the Court had constituted adequate satisfaction to Albania.

The 2nd Advisory Opinion of the Court was handed down on April 12. The opinion was rendered at the request of the General Assembly on the question whether the UN could sue governments for injury caused to the Organization or any of its agents in the discharge of UN functions. The Court held unanimously that the UN could claim compensation from any government, whether it is a member of the UN or not, for any damage incurred by the Organization when the government is legally responsible for injury to an agent of the UN.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The UN General Assembly reconvened at Lake Success on Apirl 5 to take up matters not completed at the session in Paris last fall, as well as some new items. The UN Guard Force proposal has been referred to a special committee for study, while Israel's membership application was referred to the Political Committee. The 3 draft conventions on freedom of information are being discussed in the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, and debate is still continuing on the problem of the Italian colonies, whose return Italy has requested. The General Assembly has been given authority in this respect in view of the agreement of the 4 powers in the Italian peace treaty to abide by a General Assembly decision in the event they were unable to reach agreement among themselves.

A resolution was adopted on April 14 providing for a policy of gradual liberalization of the voting procedures of the Security Council, with the Soviet block objecting. The resolution recommends restriction of the veto's use on 34 types of decisions which are considered procedural. It also recommends that the major powers agree voluntarily among themselves to restrict the veto on certain substantive matters, particularly those involving the admission of new UN members and the pacific settlement of disputes. Other major items on the General Assembly agenda are: the Mindszenty case; the question of Spain; the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa; and Indonesia.

STATUS OF WOMEN

The UN Commission on Status of Women concluded a 2-week session at Beirut on Apirl 4. Major interest centered on a U.S. proposal for a convention on the nationality of married women, on which preliminary studies indicate a variety of hardships arising from conflicts in law. A U.S. resolution calling attention to the worldwide shortage of health-workers, especially nurses, won unanimous support, except from the USSR. Belgium and Chile were congratulated for extending suffrage

to women and the situation was reviewed in the 20 some nations which still deny women a voice in governing. The Secretary General was requested to report on the extent to which women are being appointed to key posts on the UN Secretariat and on delegations of members to the UN agencies. The Commission reviewed the recent action in the UN Economic and Social Council and International Labor Organization on equal pay for women, recommended equal opportunities for training and promotion, and invited UNESCO to cooperate in examining discrimination against women in regard to educational and professional opportunities. The governments of Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Greece and Turkey met in a regional conference during the session to discuss questions relating to women's status in the Middle East.

ROUNDUP Newly organized UN International Law Commission opens 1st session at Lake Success to launch 3-year program for codification of international law....Dr. Martha M. Eliot, Associate Chief, U.S. Children's Bureau, appointed Assistant Director-General World Health Organization....President signs 15-month Marshall Plan extension....UN Commission on Human Rights opens 6-week session at Lake Success May 9 to continue drafting of International Covenant on Human Rights and measures for implementation....30th Soviet veto defeats admission to UN of Republic of Korea.

PUBLICATIONS

For more detailed information on subjects mentioned in this summary and on other matters of foreign policy, reference should be made to the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN and other publications of the Department. The publications listed below cover topics of current interest. A limited number of sample copies of documents listed for sale are available on request without charge from the Division of Public Liaison, Department of State.

The United States Goal in Tomorrow's World. General Foreign Policy Series 6. Reprinted from the Department of State Bulletin of February 27, 1949, Publication 3450. 6pp. 5 cents.

Cultural Relations Between the United States and the Soviet Union. International Information and Cultural Series 4. Released April 1949. Publication 3480. 25pp. 10 cents.

The United Nations and the North Atlantic Pact. International Organization Series III, 30. Reprinted from the Department of State Bulletin of March 6, 1949. Publication 3463. 4pp. 5 cents.

The Meaning of the North Atlantic Pact. General Foreign Policy Series 9. Reprinted from the Department of State Bulletin of March 27, 1949. Publication 3489. 5pp. 5 cents.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS HIGHLIGHTS may be quoted with or without credit to source.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS HIGHLIGHTS

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Division of Public Liaison, Department of State

JULY 1, 1949 WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Council of Foreign Ministers ended its session on June 30 after 4 weeks of negotiation with a limited agreement on Berlin and with formal instructions to the Ministers' deputies to complete a draft of an Austrian treaty by September 1. At the September session of the UN General Assembly, representatives of the 4 powers will consider plans for the next CFM meeting. At the last minute, and after the formal communique had been issued, Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky asked for another meeting, saying that Moscow insisted that the ministers write into their joint statement on an Austrian treaty the declaration that Austria "shall not put any obstacles in the way of the export of profits or other income in the form of production or any freely convertible currency received." This referred to the profits of the Russian-owned companies in Austria. Upon the West's refusal to change the communique unless the addition was subject to clarification by the deputies to whom the Austrian treaty was referred, Mr. Vishinsky said that the question might be settled through diplomatic channels.

COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS

There had been 4 items on the agenda for this session: economic and political unification and allied controls for Germany, unification of Berlin, procedures for the preparation of a German peace treaty, and the drafting of an Austrian treaty. With regard to unification of Berlin, the Russians again proposed close 4-power control and the veto, while the West reiterated its previous position of general self-government for Berlin. No agreement was reached on this problem. Nor was any agreement reached in respect to economic and political unification of Germany. Mr. Vishinsky proposed a government under close 4-power control and the "rule of unanimity"(the veto). The 3 Western nations proposed unification under the Bonn Constitution already adopted for the Western zones, with a wide range of self-government and limited allied controls. The final communique issued by the Ministers was a general declaration designed to enable the Soviet Union and the West to renew contacts informally in Germany and Berlin and reaffirming the New York accord lifting the blockade on May 4. On the question of a German peace treaty, the Soviet proposal was that the 4 powers submit peace proposals in 3 months and withdraw occupation troops a year after the conclusion of a treaty. The West's stand was that talk about a treaty was futile until there was agreement on German economic and political unity. Major points of disagreement on an Austrian treaty were resolved and the Ministers' deputies were instructed to prepare a draft by September 1.

KOREA

The UN Korean Commission has named a sub-committee, headed by Mr. A. B. Jamieson of Australia, to observe and verify withdrawal of remaining U.S. occupation forces in Korea. According to UN reports, other members of the sub-committee include China, India and El Salvador. The group has been assured full cooperation by the U.S. Withdrawals of U.S. troops from Korea were begun last December in compliance with the UN General Assembly resolution calling for withdrawal of all occupation forces from Korea "as early as practicable." U.S. withdrawals are geared to the steady improvement in the capabilities of Korea's own security forces, and, at the request of the Korean Government, a U.S. Korean Military Advisory Group will remain to assure continuation of progress in developing and training such forces. Although the Soviet Union has said it has withdrawn its forces from north Korea, the UN Commission has never been permitted to visit the northern zone to verify this.

ATOMIC ENERGY

The UN Atomic Energy Commission's working committee has decided that further study of international control plans for atomic energy should be delayed until the Big Five and Canada report that a basis for agreement exists. A Cuban-Argentine resolution adopted by the Committee on June 15 called upon the U.S., United Kingdom, France, China and Canada to confer and determine whether agreement on atomic control is possible. This step had been first recommended by the UN General Assembly in November 1948. Eight of the 11 working committee members voted for the resolution; Egypt abstained and the Soviet Union and Ukraine cast opposing votes. The Committee also adopted a Chinese resolution saying no useful purpose could be served by further study of Soviet Union Proposals which the Commission has rejected as inadequate for control over atomic energy. Only the Soviet Union and Ukraine opposed this resolution, while Egypt and Argentina abstained. The resolutions adopted by the working group will be referred to the Atomic Energy Commission as such, which is comprised of the same membership.

LATIN AMERICA

At a meeting of the Inter-American Commission on Methods for the Peaceful Solution of Conflicts June 9, Haiti and the Dominican Republic signed a joint declaration reaffirming their intentions to maintain "Good Neighbor relations" and binding themselves to prevent the existence in their territories of any movement disturbing "the domestic peace" of the other or of any other friendly nation. The joint declaration put an end to months of tension in the relations between the 2 Caribbean republics first brought to the attention of the Organization of American States late in February when Haiti charged the Dominican Republic with "moral aggression" and asked the Council of the Organization to convoke a Meeting of Consultation, under the Rio Treaty. Haiti's charges were based on the use of privately-owned Dominican broadcasting facilities by former Haiti Army officer Astel Roland in a series of speeches attacking the Haitian Government. After the council declined to invoke the Rio Treaty, the matter was referred to the Inter-American Commission on Methods for the Peaceful Solution of Conflicts. The Commission is composed of representatives of Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Cuba and the U.S.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Fifteen sets of bilateral tariff negotiations have been completed at Annecy, France, where tariff bargaining is underway between the 23 nations which originally framed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and 11 new nations wishing to accede to the Agreement. The Chairman of the Working Party of the Tariff Negotiations Committee, Mr. Dana Wilgress of Canada, also announced on June 15 that 74 additional negotiations are underway and 87 are under consideration. Negotiations are expected to continue at Annecy through July.

WHO

An agreement by which the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, located in Washington, D.C., becomes the Regional Office of the Western Hemisphere of the UN World Health Organization was signed May 24 in Washington by Dr. Brock Chisholm, Director General of WHO and Dr. Fred L. Soper, Director of the Pan American Sanitary Office. Under the agreement the Pan American Sanitary Commission may adopt and promote health and sanitary conventions and programs in the Western Hemisphere provided they are "compatible with the policy and programs of the WHO and are separately financed."

NORTH ATLANTIC PACT

Belgium deposited its ratification of the North Atlantic Treaty with the U.S. State Department on June 16, the third signatory to do so; Canada and the United Kingdom had previously deposited their ratifications. As of June 16, 7 of the 12 nations in the Atlantic community which signed the pact in Washington on April 4 had ratified it.

WHEAT AGREEMENT

On June 13, the U.S. Senate ratified the 1949 International Wheat Agreement. The agreement, when it becomes operative, will bind the U.S. and 4 other wheat exporting nations, and 36 importing nations, in a marketing arrangement for the sale and purchase of over 456,000,000 bushels of wheat annually for 4 years. Prices are fixed at a maximum of $1.80 a bushel with a minimum of $1.50 the first year, scaling down 10 cents a year to $1.20 in the fourth year. To become operative, the agreement must be ratified by the parliaments of signatory nations representing 70% of the guaranteed purchases and 80% of the guaranteed sales and the instruments of acceptance deposited with the U.S. by July 1, 1949. Canada deposited its acceptance on May 12 and the U.S. on June 17.

ILO

A 12-point agenda was presented to the 32nd session of the General Conference of the UN International Labor Organization which opened in Geneva June 8. Among the subjects which the General Conference is considering are adoption of 2 conventions designed to aid migrant workers, vocational guidance standards, revision of working standards on shipboard, revision of the 1933 convention which sought to abolish fee-charging employment agencies conducted with a view to profit and to regulate the operation of those not conducted for profit, and application of the principles of the right to organize and to bargain collectively. Some of the subjects on the agenda of the Governing Body are: consideration of the form and extent of ILO's contribution to an international program

of technical assistance for economic development, the question of forced labor, the question of enforcement of trade union rights, arrangement for ILO's Asian regional conference next year and preliminary consideration of the agenda for the General Conference in 1951.

ROUNDUP UN Commission on Human Rights continues debate on draft International Covenant of Human Rights and measures of implementation . . . . President Truman calls for U.S. ratification of Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide . . . . UN Committee for India and Pakistan agrees to extension of time for replies to Commission's truce terms . . . . UN Economic and Social Council scheduled to open 9th session on July 5 in Geneva . . . . UN International Law Commission concludes first session with drafting of Declaration on Rights and Duties of States . . . . 2nd World Health Assembly opens in Rome on June 13.

PUBLICATIONS

For more detailed information on subjects mentioned in this summary and on other matter of foreign policy, reference should be made to the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN and other publications of the Department. The publications listed below cover topics of current interest. A limited number of sample copies of documents listed for sale are available on request without charge from the Division of Public Liaison, Department of State.

The Point Four Program - a Progress Report, No. 2. June, 1949. 13 pp. Free.

The "Point Four" Program - Foreign Affairs Outline No. 21. Publication 3498. Spirng 1949. 6 pp. Free.

Background Information on the Military Assistance Program - May 10, 1949 15 pp. Free.

The Proposed Military Assistance Program - Fact Sheet. May, 1949. 2 pp. Free.

United States Participation in the United Nations - Report by the President to the Congress for the year 1948. Publication 3437. April, 1949. 303 pp. 55 cents.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS HIGHLIGHTS may be quoted with or without credit to source.

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Foreign Affairs Outlines

BUILDING THE *Peace*

PREPARED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE • SPRING 1949 • No. 19

Collective Security in the North Atlantic Area

The Vandenberg Resolution, adopted by the Senate on June 11, 1948, by a vote of 64 to 4, marks a new departure in American foreign policy. The resolution proposes that for the first time in the Nation's history the United States associate itself in peacetime with countries outside the Western Hemisphere in collective security arrangements designed to safeguard peace and to strengthen our own security.

This declaration is a logical extension of the decision—implicit in our membership in the United Nations—to take an active part in world affairs to insure world peace and our own security. The policy stated in the Vandenberg Resolution also is a forthright recognition of the fear and insecurity that weigh upon free people everywhere and hamper the efforts we and others are making to promote international economic recovery. It is another evidence of the realistic approach to basic world problems exemplified by the European Recovery Program.

A Premise for Peace

The conduct of American foreign policy since the defeat of the Axis Powers has been based on the premise that strong nations can live together in peace, if they are willing to do so, no matter how much they may differ in their economic and political outlook and in their national institutions. One proof of our sincere belief in this premise and of our hope for collective security was the drastic reduction of our armed forces immediately after the end of hostilities. A more positive proof has been our wholehearted cooperation with the majority of the Members of the United Nations in the common effort to achieve enduring peace and a world order based on law.

The United Nations was founded on this same premise of Great Power cooperation. The structure of the U. N. is therefore such that if any one Great Power is unwilling to cooperate, it can seriously impede efforts for peace within the organization.

A consideration of the international situation developed during the past three years clearly reveals the major factors that make necessary the kind of policy set forth in the Vandenberg Resolution—dissension in the United Nations, the growth of fear and insecurity, and obstruction of the cooperative efforts to eliminate the causes of that fear.

Instead of the Great Power teamwork so devoutly sought by the people of the world, the obstruction of one country and its willing or unwilling associates has seriously hampered the activities of the United Nations. The end result, if not the aim, of the Soviet program has been to weaken the effectiveness of the U. N. and to shake the confidence of many people in it as an instrument of peace. The resultant widespread fear and uncertainty have created a situation in which forward-looking governments have begun to seek additional means of preserving the peace in keeping with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

During three years of unavailing attempts to secure an adjustment in Soviet policies, it became increasingly evident that peace-loving nations would have to take direct action, consistent with the aims and spirit of the Charter, to prevent the further loss of freedom and to reduce the danger of aggression. Inevitably, countries that found their freedom and security jeopardized turned for help to the United States, the one great democracy relatively unscathed by the war.

The Truman Doctrine

In February 1947 Greece and Turkey appealed to the United States for aid—Greece because it was being threatened with subjugation by an armed minority directed from abroad, Turkey because it was being forced to maintain a costly military machine in order to resist heavy pressure from without.

On March 12, 1947, President Truman declared in a message delivered personally to a joint session of Congress that it was the policy of the United States "to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." He warned

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that failure of the United States to exercise proper leadership might endanger world peace and would certainly endanger "the welfare of our own Nation."

This pronouncement, followed by the enactment of the Greek-Turkish aid program, provided a direct answer by the United States to the threatened undermining of the United Nations and world security. It served notice that the United States would uphold the principles of the Charter and would act to prevent the imposition of totalitarian regimes on free peoples by either direct or indirect aggression.

Meanwhile, the rapid deterioration of the economies of Western Europe and the consequent spread of want, misery, and unrest had begun to present a grave danger to security and peace also. It was clear that if a catastrophe, possibly resulting in the collapse of Western European civilization, was to be avoided, the afflicted countries must combine their energies and resources in a concentrated effort toward economic recovery. It was equally clear that no cooperative effort, however determined, could succeed without help from the United States.

The ERP—Cooperation in Action

The United States offer to help the countries of Europe restore their economies, announced by Secretary Marshall on June 5, 1947, marked the beginning of a cooperative enterprise without precedent in history. The program is now being carried out by the Economic Cooperation Administration for the United States and by the Organization of European Economic Cooperation for the 16 participating countries of Europe. Much progress has been made in the few months the plan has been in operation.

THE RISING STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

The nature of the American proposal made it clear that this country had no desire to dominate the European nations or to dictate their decisions. It was open to all European countries willing to work wholeheartedly toward the common goal of recovery. The initial reaction to the proposal, however, made it clear also that all nations did not feel that their interests would be served by the elimination of the social and economic troubles that plagued Europe.

The Soviet Union flatly rejected the proposal. Its satellites were forced to follow suit, reluctantly. The Cominform, an organization composed of representatives of the Communist parties of Europe—all directed from Moscow, was established with the avowed purpose of defeating the ERP.

As the morale of the Western European countries rallied in response to ERP prospects, Communist pressure increased throughout the Continent. In Western Europe Communist-led minorities, particularly in France and Italy, tried unsuccessfully to dominate or weaken constitutional governments and to disrupt the economic life of their countries. In Eastern Europe Soviet efforts have been concentrated on consolidation of Communist control and the stamping out of freedom.

In February 1948 the free, democratic government of Czechoslovakia was overthrown by a Communist *coup d'état*. In March and April 1948 the Soviet Union, in violation of agreements with Great Britain, France, and the United States, embarked on a series of provocative moves culminating in the total land blockade of Berlin and thereby created a situation gravely endangering the peace.

The fall of Czechoslovakia shocked the countries of Western Europe with the realization that they must be ready to meet a crisis at any time. Their sense of insecurity mounted as they considered the possibility of a sudden outbreak of violence over Berlin.

How Fear Retards Recovery

Fear and insecurity, if left unchecked, might paralyze the recovery effort and destroy the psychological basis upon which recovery depends. People are reluctant to make the strenuous effort and personal sacrifice required for successful economic recovery when they fear that their land will be overrun by alien armies and the fruits of their toil taken from them. The decisions governments must make in connection with their recovery programs are enormously complicated by the addition of defense calculations.

If world recovery is to progress, the sense of security must be restored. Since the threat of armed aggression is at the root of insecurity, collective action which will enable free nations to confront a potential aggressor with preponderant power, together with economic recovery and political stability, provides the only satisfactory antidote to fear.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY UNDER THE UNITED NATIONS

The Charter of the United Nations points the way to effective cooperative action for individual and collective self-defense by nations in the present circumstances. It does so by recognizing that certain groups of countries have common interests of a strategic, political, economic, and social nature and that certain security problems are of a distinctly regional character.

The right of nations having such common interests to take collective action for defense under certain conditions is stated specifically in two provisions of the Charter.

The Vandenberg Resolution

Whereas peace with justice and the defense of human rights and fundamental freedoms require international cooperation through more effective use of the United Nations: Therefore be it

Resolved, **That the Senate reaffirm the policy of the United States to achieve international peace and security through the United Nations so that armed force shall not be used except in the common interest, and that the President be advised of the sense of the Senate that this Government, by constitutional process, should particularly pursue the following objectives within the United Nations Charter:**

(1) Voluntary agreement to remove the veto from all questions involving pacific settlements of international disputes and situations, and from the admission of new members.

(2) Progressive development of regional and other collective arrangements for individual and collective self-defense in accordance with the purposes, principles, and provisions of the Charter.

(3) Association of the United States, by constitutional process, with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, and as affect its national security.

(4) Contributing to the maintenance of peace by making clear its determination to exercise the right of individual or collective self-defense under article 51 should any armed attack occur affecting its national security.

(5) Maximum efforts to obtain agreements to provide the United Nations with armed forces as provided by the Charter, and to obtain agreement among member nations upon universal regulation and reduction of armaments under adequate and dependable guaranty against violation.

(6) If necessary, after adequate effort toward strengthening the United Nations, review of the Charter at an appropriate time by a General Conference called under article 109 or by the General Assembly.

—June 11, 1948

Article 51 says that "Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security."

Article 52 provides that "Nothing . . . precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action . . . consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations."

The Treaty of Rio is a notable example of how these articles and other related provisions of the Charter may be put into practical effect. That treaty, which was adopted at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security held in Brazil in 1947, and which entered into effect on December 3, 1948, provides for collective action by the American republics in the event of an armed attack against a Western Hemisphere nation, whether from within or without the Americas. A similar agreement embodying essentially the same principles has been entered into by several nations in Western Europe. This agreement possibly means as much for security in the Western Hemisphere as does the Treaty of Rio.

The Brussels Pact

Shortly after the fall of Czechoslovakia, the Governments of the United Kingdom, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg met in Brussels to consider what kind of action they might take for their common security. The treaty that evolved from this meeting is known as the Brussels Treaty, signed March 17, 1948.

The contracting parties committed themselves for a period of at least 50 years to a number of important undertakings, including—

sweeping plans for closer economic cooperation; provision for cooperation in social matters and closer cultural understanding; settlement of disputes among the signatories by peaceful means, including referral to the International Court of Justice of all matters within its jurisdiction; guarantees of full military and other mutual aid in the event of an armed attack upon a member nation, in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the United Nations Charter; and provision for permanent consultative machinery to achieve the purposes of the treaty.

The obligations assumed under the pact materially improve the prospects of greater strength and unity in Western Europe. The defense provisions, however, are only partially effective; they do not, by themselves, appreciably lessen fear and insecurity in Europe. The reason is that

the combined resources of the Brussels Pact nations cannot at this time provide enough military strength to assure effective resistance to aggression. Outside assistance must be made available if the potential promise of the pact as an instrument of peace is to be fully realized.

U. S. Action Essential

Because of its preponderant strength, support by the United States is essential. Just as the requirements of world peace have enlisted our support in programs of reconstruction, the mounting struggle for security requires that we give active support, both moral and material, to free nations taking joint action to prevent aggression. Association of the United States with like-minded nations in collective arrangements, in conformity with the principles and purposes of the U. N., is one of the most effective ways we can contribute to the security of the world and our own protection.

In his message delivered to Congress on March 17, 1948, President Truman referred specifically to the Brussels Pact and said:

" . . . This development deserves our full support. I am confident that the United States will, by appropriate means, extend to the free nations the support which the situation requires. I am sure that the determination of the free countries of Europe to protect themselves will be matched by an equal determination on our part to help them to do so."

The implications of that statement were given broader outline and sharper focus some three months later in the more detailed provisions of Senate Resolution 239. A brief study of the substance of the resolution should make clear its scope and meaning.

The Vandenberg Resolution

Three provisions of the resolution (those contained in paragraphs 1, 5, and 6) are relatively long-range. They suggest means for organic strengthening of the United Nations. Though these objectives are highly desirable, it is not likely that they can be immediately attained. They must be achieved through the procedures of the United Nations and consequently their fruition requires a degree of Great Power harmony which does not now exist.

The other three provisions are capable of being put into effect immediately. They recommend that the United States—

encourage the progressive development of collective security arrangements in keeping with the principles of the U. N. Charter; associate itself with such arrangements when they are based on full self-help and mutual aid and when they affect the security of this country; and make clear, in advance, that any armed attack by an aggressor nation upon a peace-loving nation whereby the security of the United States is affected will be combatted by the United States in the exercise of our inherent right of self-defense.

Both the Vandenberg Resolution and the accompanying Report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (issued May 19, 1948) make clear that these provisions are not directed against any country or group of countries; they are directed only against aggression.

Furthermore, any action taken pursuant to these provisions must be subject to constitutional process; that is, the people of the United States, through their representatives in Congress, must approve any treaties, agreements, or appropriation acts designed to implement the resolution.

This important statement of the firm intention of the United States actively to oppose armed aggression and the positive steps being taken to put it into effect have two purposes: To contribute to the maintenance of peace by helping to deter aggression anywhere in the world, and to reassure the free nations in their efforts to achieve security based on the recovery of their economic and political stability.

The resolution therefore works not only against aggression, but also against the *fear of aggression* which can seriously impede the establishment of world conditions of peace and confidence.

Security and Recovery—Parallel Programs

In order to strengthen the United Nations, to promote world peace and security, and to insure the effectiveness of our efforts for economic recovery, the United States must now consider what practical means exist for associating itself with other nations which have joined forces in a common front against aggression. It must determine what can be done to help those nations build a military establishment strong enough to assure their effective self-defense. It must at the same time continue to assist them toward economic recovery. On the other hand, the United States must be careful, in doing so, not to weaken its own basic economic strength.

Economic recovery and security against aggression are closely related, and the requirements for each must be carefully balanced. The weight of an armament program large enough to sustain even a minimum level of security probably would overburden the shaky economies of most European countries, if they were forced to undertake it alone. Certainly, the necessary diversion of scarce mate-

rials and manpower from production for recovery would destroy the stability now being established through ERP.

It seems clear that the United States must supply much of the military equipment which the countries working for recovery cannot produce themselves. In so doing, we must neither endanger our own economic or military strength nor deprive friendly nations of the aid we are providing through the recovery program. Overemphasis on defense alone would be futile, for it would weaken us and mean most probably an economic collapse in much of Europe and the loss of the valuable gains already made toward recovery.

The nations of Western Europe have been individually spending large sums on armaments without coordination. The defense agencies of the Brussels Treaty are endeavoring to provide the greater strength which comes from integrating the efforts of the parties in a unified defense and supply program. That is what the words "continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid" in the Vandenberg Resolution mean. Each country must contribute what it can most effectively, whether in manpower, arms, raw material, or production capacity.

As in the case of ERP, coordinated efforts by the Europeans in an integrated program should both give them greater returns for their effort and reduce the amount of supplemental assistance they will need from the United States. In some cases their domestic expenditures for military purposes may be increased, but a successful program of integrated defense, with United States backing, will bring a degree of security which could not be obtained in any other way and which should facilitate further recovery through increasing confidence.

Economic recovery is fundamental and should continue to have priority over rearmament. What is needed is a carefully drawn balance in Europe between recovery and rearmament and a similar balance here between the needs of our own domestic economy, our own defense, our contribution to ERP, and our contribution to European rearmament.

The supply of military equipment alone to the friendly nations of Europe would only partially relieve their insecurity. It would not fulfil the intent of the Vandenberg Resolution. Formal association of the United States with those countries in an arrangement directed against aggression evidently will be needed to give practical meaning to the provisions of the resolution and to bring the security and sense of security which are essential. A logical point at which to begin such association is with the five nations that form the Brussels arrangement.

The North Atlantic Community

The geographic position of the Brussels Pact nations brings their strategic and security interests into mesh with those of the United States and Canada. Consequently, from the combined requirements for security in this geographic area there has sprung the concept of a regional security arrangement among the nations of what might be called the North Atlantic community.

In July 1948, following the passage of the Vandenberg Resolution, exploratory conversations were begun in Washington at the request of the Brussels Pact nations, between their representatives and representatives of Canada and the United States. These discussions concerned possible methods of increasing the security of the participating nations through a collective security arrangement,

REGIONAL AND OTHER DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS

(Excerpt from the Report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, May 19, 1948, accompanying Senate Resolution 239)

In recommending the progressive development of regional and other collective arrangements, the resolution is based squarely on the [United Nations] Charter.

The Charter envisages, in article 52, the existence of—

> Regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action.

Such arrangements must be consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter. The first purpose of the Charter, as stated in article 1, is—

> To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression.

The Charter also states, in article 51, that—

> Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

within the framework of the United Nations Charter, in which they and other nations in the North Atlantic area might participate.

These considerations led to agreement that such an arrangement was both practicable and eminently desirable. Late in October the Canadian and Brussels Treaty Governments announced their readiness to negotiate a treaty establishing such an arrangement. The exploratory talks were resumed early in December and have brought steady progress toward specific proposals for a treaty.

Planning for Common Defense

In April the Permanent Military Committee established by the Brussels Treaty undertook the task of planning an integrated defense organization and a common defense policy and of coordinating the military forces and resources of the five countries. Since July, United States and Canadian military representatives have been participating in a nonmember status in the work of the committee.

The five Ministers of Defense in September approved an integrated military command organization headed by Viscount Montgomery as chairman of the Commanders in Chief Committee, French General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny as Commander in Chief of the Western European Ground Forces, British Air Marshal Sir James Robb as Commander in Chief of the Air Forces, and French Vice Admiral Robert Jaujard as Naval "Flag Officer" of the committee. In October, the Consultative Council approved the common defense policy, based on the Brussels Treaty and on the United Nations Charter. The committee is currently working on coordinating the military resources of the five countries in an integrated supply program which is expected to reveal what the five can do for themselves and each other in this respect and the extent to which they may find it necessary to seek supplies of military equipment from the United States.

Association of the United States and Canada with nations of Western Europe in a North Atlantic regional security pact, if carried out in the spirit of the Vandenberg Resolution, will have far-reaching implications for the future peace and security of the world. The practical steps leading up to such an arrangement are now receiving the most intensive consideration on both sides of the Atlantic.

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EUROPEAN REACTION TO DISCRIMINATION IN AMERICA

AS EXPRESSED IN PRESS COMMENTS

FOLLOWING THE EXECUTION OF WILLIE McGEE

* * *

The American Jewish Committee --- Paris Office --- May 18, 1951

A. France

1. Reactions in the French Parliament

Communist Deputy Rene Arthaud, on behalf of his group, intervened with the following remark: "On the anniversary of the victory of free peoples over Hitlerism and racism, we learn that the government of the United States found it opportune to commit an abominable racist crime in executing the innocent Willie McGee. The Communist Group raises its indignant protest against this crime and salutes warmly this latest victim of racial hatred and imperialism." M. Edouard Herriot, President of Parliament, replied: "No matter what your personal opinions are, it is my duty to protest bringing charges against a foreign government which is free to conduct its own internal administration and justice." The Communist deputies interrupted his remarks with cries of "Down with racism!". M. Rene Mayer, Minister of Justice, then took the floor, and said, "I think that my views on racism are sufficiently known..." Madame Madeleine Braun, Communist deputy, interrupted by remarking "But Xavier Vallat (Vichy Commissioner for Jewish Affairs) was liberated." The Minister of Justice continued, "I am astonished that a party which claims to defend free peoples challenges the sovereign decisions of the judicial branch of a foreign state."

Reaction in the Assembly of the French Union (French Colonial Parliament)

Communist members raised a strong protest against the McGee execution in the Assembly. The leftist groups proposed to close the session of May 8 as a sign of mourning. This proposal was supported by the Progressive Republicans through Jacques Mitterand who said, "In this Assembly we may be divided on questions of a political nature, but there is a problem on which the Assembly of the French Union has on every occasion demonstrated its unanimity: that is the relentless struggle against racism wherever it appears. Today, under the cover of justice, an abominable act was committed in the United States. It is appropriate that an Assembly such as ours, which more than any other in the world contains an important percentage of colored members, should raise its protest through a symbolic gesture against this act."

Speaking for the Socialist group, Leon Boutbien expressed the emotion of free men as a result of the execution of McGee.

The proposal to close the session was further supported by other groups and was adopted.

Communist Protest Meeting

Communist elements organized a protest meeting in the Salle Wagram, one of the largest halls in Paris. In addition to well-known Communists and leaders of Communist-dominated trade unions, there were also on the platform representative liberals and leading intellectuals who expressed their indignation against the sentence to execute McGee.

PRESS COMMENTS

II. The Conservative Press

LE FIGARO, the most important Parisian morning daily, ultra-conservative and mildly de Gaullist, in a front-page article on May 10, 1951, by one of its leading commentators and noted writer, Thierry Maulnier, said:

> McGee perhaps committed a crime. Perhaps. I don't know whether the death penalty is really necessary in order to preserve society. I do know that in any case this penalty, this vestige of ritual murder, perpetuated by an entire people, assumes additional weight when one adds the word "perhaps". McGee perhaps committed a crime. McGee surely was a Negro. McGee lived in a region of the United States where the policy of racial defense has remained particularly virulent.
>
> It is known -- all men of good will know it -- that lynchings have become more and more rare in the United States. There is, however, in the execution of McGee something more painful to us than a lynching: that is, its strictly legal character. It cannot be charged to the fury of a delirious mob. Sober men took a responsible decision after mature deliberation. It was proposed coldbloodedly. Nothing can make us believe that McGee would have been condemned, let alone executed, if he were not a Negro.
>
> Nothing can make us believe that McGee is dead because he attacked a woman, but because in the city or in the state in which he lived, people believe that to recall by example a principle, according to which Negroes must not approach white women, is more important than the life of a Negro, innocent or guilty -- the life of a Negro having not too much importance.
>
> I am not bringing charges here of racial discrimination in the south of the United States. It is possible that some of our compatriots speak too lightly of a situation of which they do not have sufficient understanding of the real facts. Should there exist ethnic separation, if one wants to avoid a mixture of races? Is it true that a mixture often creates a category of ethnic bastards? But the possible legitimate concern of avoiding such mixtures cannot in any case justify the vexations, humiliations and brutality of the strong against a race of victims. It cannot in any way justify the judicial murder of McGee.
>
> It ought to be said at a time when a great struggle is taking place in the world to safeguard human dignity, even the possibility of human dignity, at the moment that the United States of America is the champion of this struggle, -- because it alone still has the necessary force, because it alone perhaps has the necessary faith, -- that the execution of McGee is a mistake. Which doesn't prevent it also from being a crime. For McGee was perhaps guilty, and the execution of a man who was perhaps guilty is surely a crime.
>
> I know too that there are other crimes in the world. I know that we should not play the game of those who have been seeking to utilize the death of McGee (and what accomplices they found in the Mississippi judges!) in order

to discredit the cause of the free nations and to turn the eyes of the world away from the thousands of McGees, the millions of McGees, the dozens of millions of those whose guilt is uncertain and of those who are innocent, who have died and are dying by verdict of judges as implacable as those of Mississippi.

But neither the self-accusatory trials in the popular democracies, nor the collective deportations, nor the extermination of opposing minorities in the Soviet third of the world, nor the infernal testimonials brought by those who have escaped the prisons in Siberia, nothing in all this justifies the murder of McGee, nor the silence on the murder of McGee.

It must be said nevertheless that if in the free world in which we live the execution of McGee is possible, the protest against the death of McGee is also possible; while the world in which our adversaries choose to live is a world where protest is not possible. We are not delivered from evil. But at least we have the right to fight against it.

The radical difference between our world and that of its Communist accusers is not only the overwhelming difference in the number of victims, it is also that our morals are undoubtedly powerless to prevent the death of McGee but the death of McGee is only part of our morals.

LE MONDE, the most prominent Parisian afternoon daily, conservative and semi-official, in its issue of May 3, 1951, under the headline "The McGee Case Illustrates the Persistence of Color Prejudice in the South of the U.S.", says as follows:

...The McGee case illustrates tragically the discrimination suffered by Negroes in the south of the United States. There was a time when capital punishment was used only in cases of Negroes convicted of rape. Today this distinction no longer exists but the practice continues. To our knowledge no white man has ever been executed in the south for the crime of rape, while in Virginia, for example, 53 Negroes went to the electric chair in the course of 30 years for the same reason. This inequality, a vestige of the era of slavery, is based on the idea which is deeply rooted in the south that the purity of the white woman must be preserved at all costs.

The legal prohibition of mixed marriages does not prevent illicit relations between the two groups. The existence of this legal barrier contradicts the contention of white people that there is an instinctive repulsion which separates the whites and blacks in this realm. In fact, as happens in all colonial territories, the whites often take colored women as mistresses...

By his act, the Negro has sullied the honor of "white womanhood". He has committed the crime of racial deterioration; he has shaken the foundations of southern society, established on the co-existence of two races, one superior and the other which must stay in its place. To reestablish this hierarchy, the whites sometimes go as far as lynching. Before the court the verdict of death is inevitable.

Willie McGee is the victim of this state of affairs. Even if there were no doubt as to his guilt, his execution would confirm the prejudices against the Negro people in the south and would be a bad service to the cause of America among the colored populations at a time when it needs them most.

L'AUBE, organ of the M.R.P., second largest political party in France, the French Catholic party, led by Georges Bidault and Foreign Minister Robert Schuman in its issue of May 9, 1951, says:

How much does a Negro weigh in a world where people of all colors are struggling with the brutal forces of nature and societies? Why is there so much noise about a trial which after all is an internal affair, not only of the United States of America, but of one of its States?

He weighs exactly that of all those whose lot it is to protest an injustice. And the injustice in this instance has as its name, racism.

For us who do not know the dossier of McGee, it is not a question of whether he was or was not guilty of rape, for which he was executed. This aspect of the question is not for us, but the other aspect concerns us, and that is: If rape in the United States is a crime, punished theoretically by death, the death penalty is never pronounced against a white person in the rape of a colored woman. It is only used for Negroes who have raped white women.

Thus the execution of McGee is ostensibly a racial affair. It demonstrates to us that despite the incontestable gains against prejudice and race hatred, these have not yet been conquered in a democracy which on the other hand shows such devotion to the cause of man. More than our sensitiveness, it is our sentiment of justice which is hurt...

We are not indignant because McGee was executed in the United States, and this circumstance does not prevent us from being indignant. Our reaction to injustice does not depend on the region of the world where the wrong was committed. It is the more bitter to note that it took place in a continent which gave for liberty enough of its sons not to deliver up to hatred a poor Negro, -- that is what weighs heavily.

TEMOIGNAGE CHRETIEN, leading Catholic liberal weekly, in a front-page editorial on May 11, 1951, says:

For the third time since the beginning of the year, a Negro affair has been prominently featured in the news. In Martinsville there were 7 who were accused of having raped a white woman. They were executed. Though protesting against it, we could still believe it exceptional. Several weeks later in Trenton, 6 Negroes were accused of the same crime and condemned to death...Now comes the McGee case...

The problem before us with regard to this affair is this: can we be indifferent to a crime, a denial of justice, or an abuse of rights, under the pretext that it is being committed abroad? Or, to put the question in another way, have the Americans the right, for example, to be

disturbed by Soviet deportations? Our reply is "Yes". Before the second trial of the Negroes in Trenton, it is our duty to say that the stories of the "dirty Negroes" create a dangerous misunderstanding between the French and American peoples. But this is not the main thing. It is in the name of Christian demands that we protest. And in order to present this protest, we need not be prevented by frontiers.

LA CROIX, Catholic daily, on May 10, 1951, states:

Even without expressing judgement about American justice in general and about this trial in particular, world public opinion had the clear impression that this man McGee was executed because he was a Negro. The same accusation and the same sentence would never have been pronounced against a white man. Public opinion feels therefore that racial hatred triumphed in this unhappy affair.

Racism cannot be accepted. As Christians we know that every person, whatever his race, color or blood, is created by God and saved by Christ. As Christians it is our duty to have more respect and compassion for people who yesterday were not elevated from their state of inferiority but who were moreover enslaved by white men... We do not have the right to monopolize for our profit the material and spiritual conquests of civilization, nor to despair of people who have not yet reached our degree of evolution.

Let us simply repeat the recent declaration of Monseigneur Feltin (Archbishop of Paris): "If I am questioned on the position of the Church when it is appealed to for an expression of humanity, is it necessary to state that, faithful to the spirit of Christ and the New Testament, the church does not admit either barrier of race, nor privileges of cast, nor matters of personality when it is a question of justice and charity?"

III. Socialist Reaction

LE POPULAIRE, May 9, 1951, says:

...Everything in this affair has been revolting. We have recalled here under what conditions the verdict was pronounced. The proofs of guilt were never solidly established. A witness had stated that he met McGee, at the moment when the rape of which he was accused was supposed to have taken place, some 50 kilometres away. This statement was disregarded. Finally it is known that whites accused of rape are never condemned to death. The whole trial seems like a monstrous "legal lynching".

The incidents which took place at the time of the execution show the persistence of the hatred of Negroes in the southern states. The Negroes who demonstrated before the courthouse in Laurel were repulsed, some were arrested. However, hundreds of whites stationed themselves in front of the building all night. Hurrahs resounded when at ten minutes after midnight the news of the execution was spread... These repugnant manifestations demonstrate that for certain whites it was a sort of a ritual murder and not the punishment of a guilty person.

> The McGee trial and his execution are evidence that race hatred and color prejudice have preserved all their criminal violence which revolts the human conscience and is unworthy of a great civilized nation.

On May 10, LE POPULAIRE, in an article from its correspondent in New York, L. Seigel, asks:

> Will we see again in the United States similar trials to that of McGee, this time in Groveland, Florida, and Trenton, New Jersey?

The rest of the article is devoted to a review of the two trials mentioned. Underneath this article is a news dispatch from Karlsruhe, Germany, concerning "a violent fight which broke out in a cafe in Karlsruhe between two groups of American soldiers, white and colored, following a discussion of the execution of Willie McGee. Several soldiers were gravely wounded and the cafe was wrecked."

IV De Gaullist Press

L'AURORE, on May 9, 1951, declared:

> We have not heard either the accused or the victim and we are unaware of the exact reasons which six times deferred the execution of the condemned. The innocence or guilt of McGee is a question which we cannot argue in good faith. But it appears strange to us that a justice, so sure of itself to the point of denying the intervention of the entire world, should have required six trials before executing the guilty person, as if it had asked itself six times whether it had judged well.
>
> What moves us is that a man should have remained more than five years waiting daily for the pitiless grilling, and that a punishment perhaps unwarranted and in any case disproportionate to the crime, should have been meted out to him at the moment when all the efforts of his friends gave him a bit of confidence.
>
> What frightens us is that the prayers of hundreds of thousands of men literally crashed before a pitiless and deaf "justice". Is the gesture of pardon so heavy that no government in the world seems to be able today to bring it about, neither for a Petkov, nor for others who are nearer to us, nor for a poor Negro electrocuted by judges uncertain of their sentence?
>
> Was it truly impossible for powerful America to let an unfortunate man live, when millions of his colored brothers waited with anguish for the pardon which, in saving a life, would have given them something to hope for?

V Communist Press

L'HUMANITE, organ of the Communist Party, on May 9, 1951, headlined "Defying the Universal Conscience, Truman Assassinated Willie McGee, the Innocent Negro", and states: "Truman and his men have committed this abominable crime, signal for the unleashing of a campaign of terror against the Negroes,

the friends of peace, the men of progress who, in the United States, courageously oppose the war policies of the American millionaires.

Willie...died with great courage, while there resounded around the prison the death cries of the maddened racists."

LIBERATION, pro-Communist daily, on May 9, 1951, carried the following appeal:

> The secretariat of the "Movement against Racism, Anti-Semitism and for Peace" (M.R.A.P.), in order to express the sorrow, indignation and wrath of all French men and women, voices a solemn protest against the legal assassination of McGee. The American authorities responsible for it did not believe it necessary to take into account world opinion. This murderous gesture, defying democracy and justice, strikes at the heart of every one of us. The peoples of the entire world have felt profoundly this defiance and rise against it. The Movement against Racism invites all Frenchmen to protest and to send delegations to the U.S. Embassy.

In its issue of May 10, it goes on further:

> Throughout the entire world, the execution of the colored American Willie McGee aroused anger and indignation. In the embassies of the U.S.A. a flood of letters and telegrams protested this racist crime.
>
> Radio-Moscow commented on the execution of McGee in these terms: "Humanity will not forget or pardon the fanatics of the 20th century for the murder of Willie McGee."

The Committee for the Defense of Democratic Liberties in Black Africa pronounced in a communique, that "the news of this cowardly attempt has climaxed the emotion aroused by the announcement in the papers of the opening of an American consulate in Abidjan on the Ivory Coast."

Evoking the death in a prison in Grand-Bassam of a colored woman, Mamba Bakayoro, the Defense Committee called on all honest men to join it in fighting against racial oppression which also reigns in Black Africa.

VI. Independent Press

FRANC TIREUR, progressive, anti-Communist daily, on May 9, 1951, published an article by Georges Altman, famous journalist and editor of the paper, as follows:

> Disgust, consternation, helpless amazement: these are the emotions aroused by the frightful "legal lynching" which the people of Mississippi have committed by killing the unfortunate Negro Willie McGee in the electric chair. He was held six years in prison, tried six times. It had everything: crowds shouting racist slogans, justice as an accomplice, all the proofs of innocence discarded, the pseudo-victim McGee's mistress for some time, and no white has ever been executed for rape...

Unhappy amazement! What does it matter that the Constitution of the United States prevents the President or any other person from intervening in the affairs of a state! Nothing can make us understand this silence, this silence, this indifference on the part of those responsible for a nation whose customs, institutions, laws and people we refuse to confuse with the white gangsters of Mississippi.

"It is not my affair," said President Truman. "We can do nothing," Judge Vinson excused. But yes, Mr. President, yes, Judges, it does concern you, it concerns most of all the honor of your country, the aid which whatever is worthwhile in American democracy can give Europe. It concerns us all, for injustice is worse in a world where justice exists!

One single Negro, it is said...But this murder is the symbol of a bestial fury which was thought strangled, and the bloody proof that a pest has not yet been cured and repressed, even in that part of the world where must be safeguarded and defended the values of our civilization.

One single Negro...But his death is heartrending, his last words brand his assassins: "It is because I am a Negro that I am being executed," McGee wrote before being tied to the electric chair...

Ah! how fine are they, those people of Mississippi, the bourgeois, the magistrates, the dignitaries who are frightened, vexed, full of "sacred horror" because a white woman had an affair with a Negro. Impossible! It must be that the Negro raped her. The honor of the race, just think of it!

With the ashes of McGee, they have sullied not only their own faces but that of their country. They don't care. They "got even" with their Negro.

FRANC TIREUR, May 10:

Most Parisian newspapers, whatever their tendency, were moved by the execution of McGee. Each one in its own fashion reflected the opinion of the majority of the French people which rejects with horror racism and everything that goes with it. This healthy reaction does honor to the press of our country. It is only regrettable that one does not always find among our newspapers such powerful unanimity when it is a question of other crimes against man.

In this concert of reprobation, there is, however, one false note: the one contributed by the Stalinist press. Certainly it did not make the smallest noise. But it was obvious that for the Communist spokesmen it was only a question of propaganda...

FRANC TIREUR, May 10:

The "Committee for the Support of the McGee Family," created under the auspices of the International League against Racism and Anti-Semitism" (LICA), opened a large subscription in behalf of the widow and four orphans of the young Negro, Willie McGee. The appeal of the committee has already received the adherence of Richard Wright, Justin Godart, Jacques Madaule, Jean-Paul Sartre, Lamine-Gueye, Claude Bourdet, Rene Maran, Pierre Paraf, Leon Boutbien, Jean-Pierre Melville, Remy Roure, the Reverend Vergara, Edmond Fleg, and Georges Altman.

COMBAT, non-Communist, liberal daily, on May 9, 1951, headlines its article as "The Fine Whites":

> There came forward in the world, McGee, to save your life, in their finest clothes -- president, director, officer of the Legion of Honor, worker, priest, professor, mother, to beg the judges: "Save McGee!" We still shout, McGee, even if on May 8 you are dead for something for which white people do not die.
>
> Those who have white skins. The whites. The fine whites... The governor of Virginia, who refused to pardon the seven Negroes, the seven young Negroes of Martinsville, condemned to death, executed on Sunday the 4th and Monday the 5th of February 1951, in their last prison in Richmond...The jury had white skins. The prosecutor had a white skin. The lawyers had white skins. The court of the State of Virginia had white skins and the accused black skins...Paradise is for the white skins. There is no paradise for Negroes except in the movies. A horrible death is reserved for Negroes. Since 1908 the fine whites of America have killed with impunity 50 Negroes in the prison of Richmond. Not to mention those who have died in other prisons, those who die in the streets, and those who are sent to die in every war.
>
> McGee, you are not the first.....
> McGee, you are not the last.....
>
> Central Europe could answer our protests with truth: "Busy yourself with your own justice!" America does not answer, and we should be happy, because it could say to us: "what are you doing for your Negroes? Why do certain restaurants refuse to serve them? Didn't it happen two years ago that only two private schools would accept them as students? Why do you send them to war, in trucks, among the first? Long live the Senegalese! Why have you massacred 89,000 Malgaches in Madagascar? Why do you shout 'Save McGee and long live the Negroes!' fine whites of Europe, when you despise them, when you let them die, not even in the name of justice but in the name of money, labor, the country and the prestige of the white race...."
>
> But no one has told us these things, we pretend ignorance and we do nothing about it. The fine whites of Europe with blue eyes have nothing to say as long as they have, like the fine whites of America, dirty hands. Ah! it is easy and sweet to cry, "Save, McGee," instead of saving McGee by saving the first Negro, loving the Negro, the next Jesus whom we encounter.

CE MATIN, independent daily, of May 10, 1951, has this to say:

> We in France hate racism in all its forms. We cannot understand the hateful contempt of Americans toward Negroes.
>
> Everything dealing with segregation revolts us and provokes us to criticise.
>
> We have never known the problems which Americans had to solve in regard to their Negro population. But we have noted with a great and fraternal relief -- thinking of colored Frenchmen -- the certain amelioration which has been evident in the United States these past few years. The Negroes of New York, for example, do not suffer any more from that old "colonial" attitude of the Yankees. On the contrary! They are the first to recognize this progress and to rejoice in it.

The McGee case seems a throw-back to "southern" rigors. The essence of the trial eludes us. We do not know whether McGee, executed at the age of 38, married and father of four children, really raped a white woman, who never appeared before the court as a plaintiff but who was represented by her husband.

One thing is certain: never before any court was a white man sent to the electric chair for the rape of a colored woman.

Finally, we cannot understand why the condemned was executed after six years of detention. Even were he guilty, he had a hundred times expiated his crime by four trials and his interminable wait for death...We do not understand how American sensitivity, so alive and scrupulous toward everything concerning human suffering, has not encompassed the case of McGee... The sad truth is that the McGee case was falsified by interventions which placed it on the plane of racism or politics.

It concerns a man like any other who paid too much for the crime of which he was accused...The first fault of the judges of Mississippi is that they did not listen to the appeal for pity. Let us hope that they will be the last representatives of a generation and a class, obtuse and cruel, which a rejuvenated America will relegate among the causes for remorse that all peoples carry in their history.

L'OBSERVATEUR, French neutralist and mildly pro-Communist weekly.

AMERICA INTRODUCES RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EUROPE, charges Richard Wright, well known American novelist, in an article published in the issue of May 3, 1951. The text is cited here in full:

Because France has no "Negro sections" which would permit a census of individuals on a racial basis, there is no official figure on the number of American Negroes living in the French community. Approximate estimates indicate that there are more than 500 American Negroes in France, of which half reside either permanently or temporarily in Paris, the rest being dispersed in the provinces. They can be classed socially in several groups: students, former veterans, newspapermen, doctors, government employees, musicians, music-hall artists, independent artists and writers who live by their own means and bring their contribution to the daily life of France.

The situation of the American Negro in France differs considerably from his situation in America, principally in this manner: in America he is forced by law and custom to live in certain areas called "Negro sections," while in France he is lost among the 40 million French who are indifferent to the color of his skin.

The American Negro in France goes about his daily occupations without worrying about facing arbitrary racial attacks directed against him concerning his residence, his work or even his social or cultural activities.

However, and the fact is understandable, the painful memory of racial prejudice suffered, before coming to France, remains in the mind of the American Negro. France is a refuge, the only place on earth that offers him a chance of living in a normal human atmosphere. For him, France represents a normal human civilization, in the midst of which he is neither

coddled, nor particularly remarked, but simply "left alone." The American Negro understands naturally that France is agitated by social, political and economic problems. He knows that France is no Utopia; but the difference between his life in France and that which he led in America is so vast and so profound that he has a feeling of gratitude for being allowed to live like a man among men.

But a new factor is beginning to appear in the life of American Negroes in France; a new kind of uneasiness is being borne in their conscience; and it has nothing to do with the French or their attitude toward him. With the appearance of the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact, the American Negro has been able to ascertain the extension and penetration of American influence in France. The troublesome racial atmosphere which he fled seems to be crossing the Atlantic. For the first time since he landed in France as a "refugee visitor," the American Negro is asking himself: to what limit will some French, anxious to please the Americans, accept the racial doctrines contrary to the traditions and customs of their country?

If the Negro had only to occupy himself with the attitude of the French community, he would have no worries. But each day world events show that France is no more simply France. It is a nation whose actions vary according to the pressures exercised on the one hand by the industrial and growing military might of America, and on the other by the provocations of Russia. Each day American Negroes have seen the conditions of life in France waver and recoil under the shock of one or the other of these nationalist blocs. Around them, Negroes have heard the French express fear and concern for the fate of French liberty, on the national humiliation to which France is now subjected, and because of these facts, American Negroes have expressed their sympathy to the French. They have a double right to do so: both as guests of France and as partisans of liberty. To a degree to which white Americans feel neither the necessity nor the need, American Negroes have searched, as if they were impelled by an instinct of preservation, to espouse the cause of French sentiments.

Each time a new white American soldier arrives on French soil, the American Negro feels that his security, because of American racism, is less and less assured. Besides, the American Negro notes that the American spokesmen in France are almost exclusively officials of the American government, profoundly nationalist, representing government political plans. There is no liberalism in them, no human quality capable of echoing the profoundly humanitarian aspirations of the average American.

Feeling very close to the French ideal of liberty, American Negroes have reacted violently. Certainly, they know that present conditions in France make American aid necessary, but who, better than American Negroes, victims of three hundred years of American "kindness," can tell when the danger line of "kindness" is crossed, when "to give" becomes little by little "to take," when "aid" leads to domination?

Our quarrel, to tell the truth, as American Negroes, is only with our co-citizens, these white Americans who are proud to criticize French life and culture unfavorably 24 hours a day; these white Americans who, while they toss to the four winds the words of liberty and of democracy, continue to practice racial exclusivity.

Let us cite a few examples:

1. Not one American commercial firm in all of France employs a single American Negro; however, among these firms are branches of such American industrial giants as the Guaranty Trust Company of New York; J.P. Morgan and Company; Commercial Cable; The American Express Co.; The Chase National Bank; Kodak; Standard Oil; Shell Oil; U.S. Steel; Western Union; International Harvester, etc.

2. Up to a year ago, government agencies in Europe rarely employed Negroes.

3. The American Hospital in Paris, during its 25 years of existence, has never employed a single American Negro.

4. White American tourists, loaded with dollars and racist psychology, have obliged some French hotels to apply racial practices for the first time in the history of France.

5. A growing number of incidents between white American soldiers and Negro American civilians in Paris have been noted during recent months.

The few examples I have just cited reflect only partially the attitude and conduct of certain Americans in France, an attitude which has caused many French to turn to American Negroes to ask for an explanation of such virulent nationalist manifestations on the part of their white compatriots.

American Negroes, to assure the defense of their liberty and to achieve a gesture of friendship and solidarity toward the French who surround them, have organized a group. To help the French as well as themselves, they have launched the French-American Fellowship, whose aim is to revalue the idea of liberty, generosity, dignity and sacred respect for the individual.

While keeping themselves scrupulously outside of French internal political problems, the French-American Fellowship testifies for liberty, offers a hand to those who also hope to keep alive the creative idea of man. The French-American Fellowship helped enthusiastically the recent campaign of French intellectuals, destined to save William McGee from legal lynching, prepared by the crowds in Mississippi.

To the French of good will, to the French who are for liberty, the French-American Fellowship confirms its solidarity with those who place liberty before all else, who feel the need to restate the proud traditions of French culture and history.

L'OBSERVATEUR, May 10, 1951:

Perhaps in different times, Mr. Truman (or a more courageous president) would have saved the victim of race hatred. But this front of the entire social reaction against a single colored man will profoundly disturb even the warmest friends of the United States in Europe, in Africa and in Asia.

VII. The Foreign Language Press

LA PENSEE RUSSE, Russian-language emigre weekly, strongly anti-Communist, published in Paris, on May 11, 1951, criticized Communist exploitation of the McGee case, but added:

> There is no doubt that as often happens in the southern states the determining factor was that the accused was a Negro. If he were white, the trial would not have been climaxed by the death sentence. Here we have a palpable and undeniable injustice, the expression of a social evil existing in the southern states of North America. And this evil made it possible for an incarnation of evil, the belligerent world Communism, to appear again in the role of the defender of freedom and social justice. In all countries of the free world, Communist agents through press, posters and meetings mobilized public opinion and attracted to their campaign prominent representatives of science, literature and art, and made them unwilling participants in a diversive action.

B. Austrian Reaction to Racial Persecution in the U.S.

After the execution of seven Negroes in Virginia, a number of Austrian newspapers commented on the racial situation in the U.S.

The Communist VOLKSSTIMME launched a violent attack against the U.S. which it compared with the nazi regime. The NEUES OESTERREICH, a coalition paper, was milder in tone but expressed indignation at the racial policies in the U.S.

Communist comments ran in the following vein:

> American democracy again covered itself with the insult of race prejudice and race hysteria. The victors are again the reactionaries who are determined to preserve their white 'predominance' by every possible means...for them their power, their right to exploit is at stake...intimidation, injustice and force are not too excessive to suppress the Negroes and keep their cheap labor supply.
>
> They cannot expect the workers in Austria to defend the 'freedom' of the blood-soiled American regime and to join in a war for their benefit. For what freedom? For the freedom of Krupp, the 'Kanonenkoenig.' For a freedom which is only understood by the American mass murderers.
>
> The brutal legal murder of Negro boys, the current justice of lynch law, the cultivation of race hatred are current in America today, as were pogroms in Hitler's Third Reich.
>
> The accomplishment of the sevenfold legal murder, despite world protest, shows that the government wanted under all circumstances to preserve race hatred and officially to keep racial murder as an essential of the American body politic. Despite enormous waves of

protest from the whole world the last three of the seven innocent Negroes from Martinsville were brought to the electric chair...Truman could have prevented the legal murder through his intervention. He did not do it and, therefore, agrees with this action.

The NEUES OESTERREICH commented as follows:

...The Allies want to advise us how to establish a democratic community. Advice is given in detail. Therefore, we have learned, as pupils, that the principle of race-unity belongs to democratic principles and must be protected by law.

Recently seven Negroes were executed in America and the whole world is aware that they were executed because they belong to the black race. They were accused on charges of rape - but it never happened in the State of Virginia that a white individual was sentenced to death on the same charge ....Even in cases of proven guilt, such a mass execution is not justified in Virginia or anywhere in the world and can only be explained on the grounds of race hatred and race delusion, an absolute anti-democratic motive, which we Austrians know without being instructed.

The sentence and its execution caused great dissatisfaction in all democratic countries - even in America herself. For that reason, it would be unjustifiable to blame the American people as a whole for this act.

No democracy is without mistakes, not even the American one...What is applicable to larger countries applies also to the smaller. Our own democracy is not faultless. But what we must deny is instruction by others who are themselves in need of instruction. We established our democratic institution entirely by our own efforts and in the spirit of our immortalized architect of the State and his followers. It is a good democracy, one of the best all over the world. We do not need any instruction from outside, not from the country of the black race delusions nor from other countries.

# # # #

(Sources: Negro Yearbook, 1947, and Jessie Daniel Ames, The Changing Character of Lynching.)

DEFINITION OF LYNCHING

Legal Definition

The writers of Federal anti-lynching legislation have accepted the following definition of lynching:

> "Any assemblage of three or more persons which shall exercise or attempt to exercise by physical violence and without authority of law any power of correction or punishment over any citizen or citizens or other person or persons in the custody of any peace officer, or suspected of, charged with, or convicted of the commission of any offense, with the purpose or consequence of preventing the apprehension or trial or punishment by law of such citizen or citizens, person or persons, shall shall constitute a 'mob' within the meaning of this Act. Any such violence by a mob which results in the death or maiming of the victim or victims thereof shall constitute 'lynching' within the meaning of this Act: Provided, however, That 'lynching' shall not be deemed to include violence occurring between members of groups of law-breakers such as are commonly designated as gangsters or racketeers, nor violence occurring during the course of picketing or boycotting or any incident in connection with any 'labor dispute' as that term is defined and used in the Act of March 23, 1932 (Sec. 2, 47 Stat. 70, H. R. 1507 - Van Nuys).

Definition Agreed upon at Tuskegee Conference, 1940 (Attended by representatives of the NAACP, Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee, the white press, and the Negro press.)

The following supplementary definition of lynching was unanimously agreed upon:

> "There must be legal evidence that a person has been killed, and that he met his death illegally at the hands of a group acting under the pretext of service to justice, race, or tradition."

This definition broadens the legal definition to include acts of a mob based solely on the race of the victim.

Comments

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames (in The Changing Character of Lynching) comments that the Tuskegee definition is weak in that "it in effect could be made to convert into a lynching the death of every Negro at the hands of white persons". (p. 30)

However, she also states that "indubitably lynchings [are] killings committed by a limited number of persons for personal reasons, but understood by the community as disciplinary measures, regrettable but accepted as necessary under the South's social code. No precise legal terms can be applied to these lynchings to distinguish them from murder, yet the South knows the spirit which inspired them. No protests by officials from the governor down can make such murders less than lynchings so long as the community, by its failure to punish the murderers, supports the act as accessories after the fact." (p. 31)

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GEORGIA

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VOL. 15 NO. 46 THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 1948 (4)

"SOUTHERN SEN
TREASON," NEG

PENN. CONGRESSMAN DEMANDS GA. PROBE

WASHINGTON, March 18—Rep. Herman P. Eberharter, D., Pa., wants the House Un-American Activies committee to investigate the "brutal treatment"' accorded three newspapermen by the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia recently.

Eberharter read to the house a newspaper account of the KKK treatment of two reporters and a photographer. He said the incident occured near Columbus, last week.

"This was done in an effort to suppress freedom of the press," Eberharter said, "I say this is un-American and I call upon the un-American activities committee to investigate."

TRIBUNE JOINS DEMAND

March 22, 1948

Mr. Herman P. Eberharter,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Eberharter:

I note with interest the AP and the UP dispatches that

has received such wide publicity was conceived and executed to keep a pro-labor daily from coming into existence, to crush competition, to gain sympathy in a losing battle with its public in its anti-labor fight, and to pose as the defender of the public interest.

In taking the side of this paper on the floor of the House, and under the standard of this anti-labor paper, many of your constituents are interested in your reaction to the anti-union fight being waged under the guise of this alleged news incident.

Believing in that interest, we are taking the privilege of furnishing each newspaper in your district with a copy of this letter, and placing a copy on file with each of the labor unions there.

But, we are with you in the demand for a full investigation and report to the people of America on the lengths to which newspaper owners can

charge called a "true-bill" or indictment, and the accused natives are made to face trial before 12 of their own kind, called a traverse or trial jury. A native judge travels from place to place, like the old pied-a-terre, or "dusty-foot" courts, hearing the complaints against the natives and meting out punishments varying from burning at the stake to mere loss of a hand or foot for trival offenses. Of coarse, foreigners are

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Week's Developm
In Klan Story

1. Georgia Power Company general counsel e
as attorneys for Ledger reporters.

2. GBI's McLemore leaves case for more int
der case in Florida. May return later.

3. Local Negroes reported to have contribut
"prosecution fund" against Tribune editor.

THE
A TRIBUNE
nt Of Principles, Not Men"

(4) COLUMBUS, GEORGIA PRICE FIVE CENTS

THIS SPACE
FOR RENT TO
ANYBODY EXCEPT
HENRY WALLACE

ENATORS NEAR TO
NEGROES CHARGE

not subject to the native taboos, or laws, but are tri in extra-territorial courts ed "Federal Courts."

So interesting would you find Georgia now, that the Tribune offers to pay the entire expense of a mission by you to the territory. We will try an arrange for you to witness one of the native orgies so that you can report to the people of Pennsylvania on the progress of these amusing people. You will, of course, be guaranteed safe-conduct by the local militia.

The people are beginning to band themselves in groups according to their skills. The

(continued on page 4)

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Story

y general counsel enters the case
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case for more interesting mur-
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to have contributed $10,000 to
bune editor.

Negro Blames U.S. Disarmament On Southern Revolt

its own grave."

White intimated that Suthern Senators and Congressmen had sought to trade their support for the European Recovery Plan against the Civil Rights Plan, and directly charged that they had attempted to block American armament in favor f Southern Segregation. "The Southerners", he said, "Are ruining our international relations, particularly with Russia, and Russia is proving that the U. S. is a hypocritical nation when it claims it is democratic."

SOUTHERNERS STALIN AIDES, SPEAKER SAYS

"If I were Joe Starlin I would just turn over money to the Southern 'revolters' and let them establish a communis-

"This was done in an effort to suppress freedom of the press," Eberharter said, "I say this is un-American and I call upon the un-American activities committee to investigate."

TRIBUNE JOINS DEMAND

March 22, 1948

Mr. Herman P. Eberharter,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Eberharter:

I note with interest the AP and the UP dispatches that you have demanded on the floor of the House that the House Un-American Activities take cognizance of the Columbus Ledger-Enquirer reporter matter, and investigate it completely.

The Georgia Trbune joins with you in this demand and we are writing to each of our respective representatives in both houses asking that the Committee take jurisdiction and render a full report on the matter, with appropriate recommendations for whatever action is indicated.

The editor of this paper would be happy to accept the first subponea for the investigation, because the editor of this paper is foroed into the position of being an unwitting and unwilling witness for the "hooded knights" who are charged with this outrage, and because the widespread publicity has centered attention on Georgia, he believes it his public duty to do all possible to see that the complete and true story reaches the public.

Therefore, we join with you in your demand.

Let us give you a little more background than has heretofore appeared. Inclosed herewith is a copy of the current issue of our little paper which gives its poor presentation of the facts, together with some of the background material which plainly shows the motive for these charges.

By a strange coincidence, the two papers which make the charges have locked out its printers who were members of the International Typographical Union and were at the time of these charges and are still operating with non-union, strike-breaking printers. The two papers had dropped more than 5000 subscribers and this paper, The Georgia Tribune, was opened for the purpose of competing with the two established non-union papers. It was taking away the subscribers almost as fast as the other two papers were dropping them.

This paper, The Georgia Tribune, will operate with union contracts and each employee will be an owner when it transfers to a daily basis.

Therefore, the stunt which your reaction to the anti-union fight being waged under the guise of this alleged news incident.

Believing in that interest, we are taking the privilege of furnishing each newspaper in your district with a copy of this letter, and placing a copy on file with each of the labor unions there.

But, we are with you in the demand for a full investigation and report to the people of America on the lengths to which newspaper owners can go in utilizing the Taft-Hartley Act and manufactured news to beat down the men whose capital is their skill and brains.

Georgia has been nortorious for keeping its nose out of Pennsylvania affairs outside of a trifling incident at Gettysburg in 1863. Since that time Georgia has developed so much that we believe a mission here would do much in the way of educating Pennsylvania in its new ways.

You would hardly recognize the country now. Many of the natives have embraced the Christian faith and have stopped eating each other. They are being taught to eat a kind of bread made of maize, or corn, instead of using it to make the native okolehau or moonshine as they formerly did. Many of them wear a rude sort of clothing made of a heavy blue denim an they labor with their crude tools in the fields or at their homemade looms. Some of them are being taught to read and write by the missionaries, and there is talk of the iron-horse coming into the territory. Some radicals are insisting that soon the native will be ready for the franchise, or vote, which makes their overseers fidgety.

There is a sort of rough art coming into being, and some of the hoganns are amusingly decorated with it. The natives produced on their homemade instruments a kind of single-theme music which they call "hill-billy" in which the motif is not unlike the mournful single-themes of the more morbid Russian composers.

The missionaries have almost succeeded in doing away with the abandonment of baby girls, and are working on the abolition of polygamy and suttee The establishment of a school is expected at any time now. The natives have a kind of vigilante group which they call police which enforce their tribal laws.

Along with these vigilantes which enforce the tribal taboon, or laws, they have a sort of inqusitorial body known as Grand Juries, somewhat akin to the Hundred Courts of William the Conquerer. After its infuest, they return a sort of

Week's Developme
In Klan Story

1. Georgia Power Company general counsel e as attorneys for Ledger reporters.

2. GBI's McLemore leaves case for more int der case in Florida. May return later.

3. Local Negroes reported to have contribut "prosecution fund" against Tribune editor.

4. Huxford & Garges, private detectives from style themselves "Investigative Consultants" enter of Ledger and begin exhaustive and exhausting dence, reporting to Power Company counsel.

5. Power Company's general counsel reque 2-week delay in Manchester City case for commo against Ledger reporters and photographer.

6. Local pathologist at City Hospital release no narcotics found in tests from reporters and but that trace of "chloral hydrate" was found.

7. Pennsylvanian demands Congressional inv reporter incident.

8. TRIBUNE joins him.

9. Ledger in Sunday editorial lays the whol fellow named Talmadge.

10. Private Detective Huxford offers TRIB grapher "interesting job" during interview.

11. Ledger reporters spread rumor of Klan pa Harris County on eve of primary election last We no Negroes vote. Only reporters parade, Klan does

12. Georgia Power Company cancels GEO BUNE'S advertising contract.

13. Drew Pearson blames it on Mrs. Jenkins.

14. WGBA and WGBA-FM after calling all w BUNE editor to reply to charges, does not run charges, does not run the reply on "comparable would have been Saturday March 20th at 6:00 P March 21st and 12:00 noon, and Sunday at 5:05 BUNE'S petition to Federal Communication amended to show the refusal to run statement on time.

15. Ledger-Enquirer owners and editors ser traction demand notice.

16. Manchester, Georgia, site of alleged outrag mysterious strangers hunting some person to pay dues" to.

17. Tribune editor at Southern Conference of Association for the Advancement of Colored People denying that he was connected with the Columbus quirer and being told apologetically by Director didn't know, I just knew they were our friends. I any other paper would be interested enough to co ference.

18. Fellow at local club saying slyly, "If tho at the Ledger just knew it, they could ask for $1000- and get it. They've got that outfit over a barrel!"

19. Local officers at Manchester reading TIM story linking them with Klan, looking a little disgus

20. Life Magazine's John Bryson, who begged ture of the Klan-reporter incident to make the Pi Week, and who stayed to listen for an hour to TRIBU intelligence testing voters, keeping his promise t South a fair break in the story." No mention of was made in Life, in spite of Time's heavily editoria

21. Bystander at bus station shouting to loc holding up heavily soused prisoner, "Let him go, reporter that's been forced to do it!"

22. New expression of disbelief made by one to another, "Excuse me, but has that story been slo

velopments Story

general counsel enters the case
rs.

case for more interesting mur-
ater.

to have contributed $10,000 to
une editor.

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Consultants" enter case on side
and exhausting hunt for evi-
any counsel.

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y Hospital releases report that
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Congressional investigation of

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interview.

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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF NEGRO ORDER "WE WILL WIN!" CRIES WALTER WHITE

Three thousand Negroes and two white men listened in the timbered chapel at Tuskegee Institute last Sunday as Walter White, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, lashed out at Southern Congressmen who, he charged, "came to treasonable action," when they sought to barter their support on the National Armament bill as the price for abandoning the administration's Civil Rights program.

White, whose speech came as a climax to a 2 day Regional Conference of Negro leaders from 375 branches in 7 Southern States, denounced the Southern "revolt" before the 300 delegates to the Conference and approximately 2700 other Negro leaders from the South. Two White men, a GEORGIA TRIBUNE reporter and a photographer were present.

Before a charmed audience, the Negro author and leader of 500,000 NAACP members, blasted the "Regional Plan," of higher education suggested by the Southern Governors' Conference as "prostituting the memory of Booker T. Washington," and avowed the intention of his organization to beat it to the ground. Nothing less, he said, than complete surrender of segregation barriers will satisfy the "thinking people of both races."

White, who is one sixty-fourth Negro, is a small, blond, blue eyed man of quiet demeanor, dressed in excellent taste. The author of "With Rope And Faggot" and other books dealing with lynching and rioting, he is the world's most articulate authority on Negro rights.

"NOT PROUD OF SOUTHERN BIRTH."

White was introduced by Dr. Joseph A. Berry,physician in the local Veterans Administration Hospital and president of the local branch of NAACP, as the man who "personally introduced President Roosevelt to the NAACP." White began his speech with a humorous story which was told to him, he said, "by my good friend, Claude Pepper," and immediately launched into a tirade against "the progressional Southerner who is imperilling America today." "I was born in the South," he saidsaid, "But I'm not proud of it." The day of the professional Southerner is drawing to a close, and the better people of the South are co-operating with the NAACP in its fight to implement the U. S. Constitution and the Ten Commandments."

SENATORS "WOULD BE KLUXERS," NEGRO SECRETARY CHARGES

White spoke scornfully of "the so-called Southern revolt in Congress by would-be Ku Kluxers who are making the welkin ring with their shouts to retain the infamous system of segregation," and "who will be found right on in the Democratic column when November rolls arould because the one party South is digging ed to block American armament in favor f Southern Segregation. "The Southerners", he said, "Are ruining our international relations, particularly with Russia, and Russia is proving that the U. S. is a hypocritical nation when it claims it is democratic."

SOUTHERNERS STALIN AIDES, SPEAKER SAYS

"If I were Joe Starlin I would just turn over money to the Southern 'revolters' and let them establish a communistic nation with it," White said. America can never have satisfactory international relations, the Negro leader said, until the Civil Rights bill is passed and enforced in its entirety.

"NEGROES ELECT PRESIDENT ANYWAY," WHITE ASSERTS

The speaker said that the South played no part in the last two presidential elections and the result would have been the same if every Southern state had voted in the Republican column. "Negroes," he said, "hold the balance of power with its potential vote in 17 states of the U. S. with 297 electoral college votes, and only 266 are necessary to elect a president. John Temple Graves of Birmingham said that if the white people of the South used their 30 per cent of the population as intelligently as Walter White uses his 9.8 per cent of the population, it would be better off."

WILL DEFEAT REGIONAL COLLEGE PROPOSAL

Turning his attention to the Southern Governers' Plan for Negroes to be supported by mutual tax contributions, White said, "The Governors south of the 'Smith and Wesson Line' have proposed to get around the case in Oklahoma by setting up segregation institutes of higher learning. NAACP will defeat this plan in the United States Supreme Court. Already the case of Heman Sweat, who was denied admission to the University of Texas, is in the Federal Courts and we will win!"

WHITE BRANCH OF NAACP ON TEXAS U. CAMPUS

There is no prejudice among the students at the U. of Texas against Heman Sweat or any of us. There is no prejudice anywhere at the graduate or professional level. Already, the white friends of Heman Sweat have established an all white branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on the campus of the U. of Texas. I can promise you that as soon as his case is heard in

(continued on page 3)

RECEIVED
30 1949
Southern Regional Council

The American Legion's Exposure of Hate Groups

Extension of Remarks of

Hon. Sidney R. Yates

of Illinois

in the

House of Representatives

Thursday, October 6, 1949

Not printed at Government expense

United States Government Printing Office, Washington : 1949

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following report entitled "Subversive Activities of Hate Groups" of the Americanism commission, Department of Illinois of the American Legion:

The American public is becoming increasingly aware that there exist organizations which, under the guise of spreading the principles of Americanism, create discord and misunderstandings among all races, creeds, and colors, contrary to our basic democratic concepts. The American Legion membership has fought for a long time the dangerous and totalitarian precepts of the Communists and Communist front groups. During recent years, it has become aware of other types of anti-Democratic organizations. The Legion's exposure of these organizations has been a great factor in curbing the growth and, indeed, in some cases, putting out of business these potentially un-American organizations in the United States. It is our view that communism, fascism, socialism or any other form of totalitarianism cannot be countenanced by our membership which must fight these un-American activities.

At the Miami 1948 National Convention of the American Legion, two resolutions, in particular, were passed that form the basis and motivation of this report. These resolutions are quoted below:

"Resolution 264

"Whereas, for God and country, we have again assembled to renew our pledge of allegiance to the principles upon which the American Legion was founded, to consolidate the victories already won and to organize our resources for the battles still ahead; and

"Whereas, the events of the passing year have emphasized more than ever before those dangers to our liberty which spring to life during the slightest relaxation of that eternal and self-sacrificing vigilance which keeps men free: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the American Legion in national convention, assembled in Miami, Fla., October 18–21, 1948,* That we again declare our undying allegiance to the faith of our fathers, the faith that founded a nation of free individuals creating and employing the powers of government only to make their freedom the more secure and their liberty the more desirable, a nation in legend and in fact the last great hope of a theretofore bewildered and enslaved humanity; be it further

"*Resolved,* That we propose to see to it that this last great hope of man be not lost either to enemies invading from without, or traitors corrupting from within; that this government of free men, by free men, and for the freedom of men shall not be lost either to those who would become tyrants for their own selfish interests or to those whose vulnerability to the songs of Utopia make them the easy prey of fascistic and communistic totalitarianisms; be it further

"*Resolved,* That we go forth from this convention to warn all those who believe in Americanism that in this hour of national peril, the time is later than we think; that their defense of the life they love must be prompt, thorough, united, and militant; that they and we, defending our Nation in its maturity, are not worthy of the trust given us if we do not pledge to the cause, as did those defending it in its infancy, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor; be it further here and now highly

"*Resolved,* That we recognize the time of the battle as now, the place of the battle as here, and that we enter the fray in the firm determination that our zeal for Americanism shall be unmatched in degree by the fanaticism of its worst enemies, and that the ultimate victory shall certainly be ours, for God and country."

"Resolution 621

"Whereas it has been the policy of the American Legion, as part of its Americanism program, to condemn and oppose all forms of subversive activities, whether they be manifested by an appeal to racial hatreds and prejudices or by attempts to divide this Nation into industrial strife by agitating and fomenting trouble between capital and labor, and economic group against economic group; and

"Whereas communism is an ideology, a state of mind, a bundle of emotion, which has skillfully organized and developed, with many secret and conspiratorial aspects, to serve where required as a fifth column for the Government of Soviet Russia; and

"Whereas many Communists, Communist sympathizers, and their fellow travelers are reliably reported to have secured employment in confidential and key positions in public office, political and labor organizations, and particularly in the teaching profession in our schools and colleges; and

"Whereas subversive organizations and individuals are continuing their vicious campaigns of propaganda to disunite and divide the American people, setting class against class, race against race, and creed against creed; and

"Whereas these un-American forces are disrupting national unity in these critical postwar years, when victory on the home front and peace in the world are as important as was victory on the battle front; and

"Whereas some form of legitimate democratic action is necessary as a defense against Communist betrayal of our form of government and to insure the safety and security of our Nation: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the American Legion in national convention assembled, That we call upon the people of our Nation to oppose this threat to American unity and urge our fellow citizens of all races, colors, and creeds to demonstrate that same spirit of cooperation that was evidenced by our armed forces on the battlefronts in our fight against aggression, bigotry, and intolerance, and fight every attempt of these un-American forces to destroy the fundamental principles of life, liberty, justice, and freedom guaranteed by our Constitution."

The American Legion has always stood for an Americanism based on the dignity and equality of all human beings and has been sternly vocal against false Americanism doctrines that attempt to foster religious, racial, or class hatred among the American people. The American Legion firmly believes that it has helped and can help further in the eradication of religious and racial strife in the United States by exposing to its membership and their families those organizations, groups, individuals, sometimes through publications, radio, and on public platforms, who seek to destroy a harmonious and democratic America.

Therefore, in this new 1949 report of the Americanism Commission Department of Illinois of the American Legion, we shall list and discuss many of the existing organizations whose purposes and techniques are contrary to the basic moral and legal values of American citizenship. We do this, strongly believing, that when the entire membership of the American Legion knows fully about these organizations, and individuals, it will not only not fall victim to them, but it will continue to expose the true character of these organizations and individuals to the entire American populations and individuals that foster racial and religious hatreds. The Department of Illinois, American Legion, has in other exposures emphasized and reiterated its opposition to the equally dangerous Communist groups in the United States. The same is true of the national organization.

After a careful study of the activities of many organizations, we have reached the conclusion that those listed below are inimical to the best interests of American democracy. These organizations are anti-American since they pit class against class, race against race, and creed against creed, and make appeals with varying degrees of emphasis—all with the purpose of creating chaos and disunity among our people.

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Anglo-Saxon Federation, Haverhill, Mass., Howard Rand, leader.

The Anglo-Saxon Federation is a group which preaches the theory that they are the true descendants of Israel. They resort to anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism. Operating under various names, the group has its counterpart in all of the English speaking countries. In the United States, it has chapters in Chicago, Dayton, Portland, Los Angeles, and Boston. The official publication of the Anglo-Saxon Federation is a monthly magazine called Destiny.

Christian Nationalist Crusade, Christian Nationalist Party, Patriotic Tract Society, St. Louis, Mo., Gerald L. K. Smith, leader.

Gerald L. K. Smith is probably the most vicious of the rabble-rousing and sensational hatemongers operating today. He has followers throughout the country, and his literature distribution has reached large proportions.

The Patriotic Tract Society is a paper organization that is used as a front for the distribution of this literature. The official publication of Smith's outfits is the Cross and the Flag. Typical of the false and dangerous doctrines that have appeared in this publication are the following excerpts from the May 1949, issue.

"We believe in the complete social and political segregation of the black and white races in America. * * *

"The danger to the white race comes from the aspirations of the Jewish race to dominate the world."

Citizens Protective League, New York, N. Y., Kurt Mertig, leader.

The Citizens Protective League has been a rallying point for Bund elements and native Fascists. On January 10, 1946, Mertig was arrested for unlawful assembly, and drew a sentence of 6 months in the workhouse and served his time. The Citizens Protective League was branded "subversive" by Attorney General Tom Clark in May 1948.

Constitutional Educational League, New York, N. Y., Joseph P. Kamp, leader.

The Constitutional Educational League's main activity is pamphleteering. Pamphlets issued by the group try to create religious hostility. In its accusations of "Communist infiltration," it makes malicious and irresponsible charges against responsible and respected groups and individuals who are working to strengthen and improve our democracy. The league is a personal vehicle of Kamp's which sells its pamphlets at profiteering prices in order to insure a good living for him.

Great Pyramid Club, Los Angeles, Calif., Ray and Sam Capt, leaders.

Among the leadership of this group are a number of former klansmen. Rev. Wesley Swift has been a regular speaker before this organization. Swift is a former klansman and a known rabble rouser. He has a reputation of being the west coast's most vicious hatemonger.

House of Prayer for All People, Denver, Colo., Rev. William L. Blessing, leader.

Blessing preaches the Anglo-Saxon Federation's type of religion, although he is not directly connected with the group. He is not only anti-Semitic, but frequently makes vitriolic attacks upon the Catholic Church. Blessing's official publication is called Showers of Blessing. A typical quote from his publication is the following taken from the May 13, 1949, issue:

"How much better off would we in this country be if Roman Catholicism were completely defeated—not a Roman Catholic left in the country?"

Judge Armstrong Foundation, Fort Worth, Tex., George W. Armstrong, leader.

The Judge Armstrong Foundation was set up to support financially those divisionist "nationalist" groups in which Armstrong was interested. Armstrong is an independently wealthy man, and has written several anti-Democratic pamphlets. In one of his pamphlets Armstrong urged the repeal of sections of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution "thereby limiting the franchise to the Nation's white Americans," another aspect of the "white supremacy" doctrine.

Ku Klux Klan (Association of Georgia Klans), Atlanta, Ga., Dr. Samuel Green, leader.

We have before us again the hooded secret order and its fiery cross. Its methods of intimidation and terrorism have long been the disgust and disdain of law-abiding citizens. Antimask laws have been passed in a number of southern States, in an attempt to curb the order. The Klan is, of course, not only anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, and anti-Catholic, but extends its cruel and inhuman activities against veterans. Recent indictments and resultant convictions of those guilty of these illegal acts are eagerly expected by all law-abiding and law-observing citizens.

Loyal American Group, Union, N. J., Conde McGinley, leader.

This organization was set up by McGinley for the purpose of promoting his hatemongering paper Common Sense. Numerous meetings have been held in New Jersey, at which some of the most poisonous literature published has been offered for sale. The Loyal American Group and Common Sense have been denounced by patriotic organizations and by official Catholic bodies. The official publication of this group is called Common Sense.

Lutheran Research Society, Detroit, Mich., Lawrence Reilly, leader.

The Lutheran Research Society is an independent venture and has no connection with the official Lutheran Synod, a respected organization. This society does not hold regular meetings but it has sponsored the appearance in Detroit of Don Lohbeck and Kenneth Goff, representatives of Gerald L. K. Smith. The official publication of this group is called Eleventh Hour.

National Blue Star Mothers, Philadelphia, Pa., Catherine V. Brown, leader.

A violently hatemongering group. It labels its critics as either "Jews" or "Reds." This group distributed masses of hate literature at the Democratic and Republican conventions held in Philadelphia in 1948. They tried to cause disturbances to focus attention on their activities. This group has recently been cited by the Attorney General's office as being subversive.

National Economic Council, New York, N. Y., Merwin K. Hart, leader.

Merwin K. Hart operates his National Economic Council with an aura of respectability. Recently, Hart abandoned his subtle innuendoes and showed his true character by resorting to anti-Semitic items in his publications and speeches. The official publication of this group is the Economic Council Letter.

National Renaissance Party, Beacon, N. Y., James H. Madole, leader.

The National Renaissance Party is a one-man paper antidemocratic organization. Madole is given to one-man crusades which have fancy titles, such as "The Animist Party," "National Renaissance Party," etc. He has made several attempts to unify the nationalist movement in the United States. The following are two of the published aims of this group:

1. "Nationalization of our people through an educational campaign among college, church, and labor groups."

2. "Termination of political bureaucracy and establishment of rule by the intellectual elite."

Nationalist Action League, Philadelphia, Pa., W. Henry MacFarland, Jr., leader.

The Nationalist Action League was recently set up by MacFarland, a Philadelphia extremist. It is a political action group, aimed at influencing voters and legislation. MacFarland works closely with such known rabble-rousers as Catherine V. Brown, of the National Blue Star Mothers, Gerald L. K. Smith, etc. The official publication of this group, National Progress, has, as of June 1, 1949, been consolidated with Common Sense, the official publication of the Loyal American group.

Organized Americans of German Ancestry, Chicago, Ill., Leonard Enders, leader.

A number of leaders of this group were former Bund members and key figures in the old pro-Nazi Einheitsfront. The ostensible purpose of the group is to weld all Ger-

man-Americans together in order to form a powerful political bloc.

Original Southern Klans, Inc., Columbus, Ga., Alton E. Pate, leader.

A splinter Klan group which is openly anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, and anti-Catholic, and whose aim is the defense of white Protestant America. The official publication of this group is called the Klansman.

Pro-American Information Bureau, Hinckley, Ill., Andrew B. McAllister, leader.

The Pro-American Information Bureau is a clearing house for hate literature. McAllister has made several unsuccessful attempts to coordinate the hate groups and has held several conferences in Hinckley, attended by representatives of a number of these groups.

Protestant War Veterans of the United States, New York, N. Y., Edward James Smythe, leader.

A one-man paper organization, which publishes anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic leaflets and pamphlets. Apparently the funds solicited by Smythe through his organization are his sole source of income. He is a habitual drunkard with no ostensible means of support. In a recent brochure, published by this group, the following slogan was printed in bold type: "We stand opposed to racial and social equality."

Public Affairs Forum, Los Angeles, Calif., Earl Craig, leader.

A hate organization, which holds regular meetings. The gatherings of the forum are the rendezvous of a number of other notorious rabble-rousers and a distributing point for a great deal of hate literature.

Not only are there organizations which by their policies and techniques attempt to further disunity among the American people, but there are a number of publications that have no organizational affiliations which try to contribute to the same pernicious goal. Below are listed some of the more important of these publications (name, address, and editor):

American Digest, Americus, Ga., Dewey Taft.

Beacon Light Herald, Atascadero, Calif., William Kullgren.

Bible News Flashes, Faribault, Minn., William D. Herrstrom.

Boise Valley Herald, Middleton, Idaho, A. Boyd and I. W. Cornell.

Broom, San Diego, Calif., C. Leon DeAryan.

Christian Veterans Political Counsel, Chicago, Ill., Frederick Kister.

Dayton Independent, Dayton, Ohio, A. G. Silvey.

Defender, Wichita, Kans., Gerald B. Winrod.

Free Press, Redmond, Oreg., Syd D. Pierce.

Georgia Tribune, Columbus, Ga., "Parson" Jack Johnston.

Guildsman, Germantown, Ill., Edward A. Koch.

Kingdom Digest, Fort Worth, Tex., J. A. Lovell.

Malist, Meriden, Conn., Henry S. Sattler.

Methodist Challenge, Los Angeles, Calif., Robert P. Shuler.

Ohio Pioneer, Dayton, Ohio, Ohio Pioneer, Inc.

Prayer Circle Letter, Wichita, Kans., publisher, Gerald B. Winrod.

Truth and Liberty, Minneapolis, Minn., C. O. Stadaklev.

Williams' Intelligence Summary, Hollywood, Calif., Robert H. Williams.

The American Legion has on many occasions warned its membership of activities of some of the groups and publications listed above. Ever since the end of World War II the American Legion, Department of Illinois, has energetically gone on record every year in condemning all those organizations and publications which try to foster disunity in our country. Other sections of the Legion have opposed those groups similarly. For example, in January of 1949 the Legionnaire, official publication of the American Legion, Department of New York, warned its membership not to have anything to do with the publication Common Sense, the Union, N. J., paper published by Conde McGinley. The Legion publication referred to Common Sense as "a hate sheet," and said that Common

Sense is "violently anti-Semitic and in direct conflict with the principles of the American Legion." In a recent issue, April-May 1949, of the Summary of Trends and Developments Exposing the Communist Conspiracy, published by the national Americanism commission, subcommittee on subversive activities, of the American Legion, a number of the organizations listed above were classified by this publication as subversive; for example, the National Blue Star Mothers of America and Original Southern Klans, Inc.

The chairman of Americanism commission of the American Legion, Department of Illinois, believes that it is the duty of every Americanism chairman of every post and that o. each liberty-loving American not only to familiarize himself with the contents of this report but to be responsible for the creation of positive Americanism programs on this subject throughout the year. This department invites post Americanism chairmen and other citizens to make use of its services in the creation of affirmative and effective Americanism programs in local communities. It is hoped that these programs will carry into effect American Legion mandates against those fostering religious hatreds, hate mongering, and rabble rousing as well as other mandates against those isms which place in peril our established institutions.

ELLIODOR M. LIBONATI,
Chairman, Americanism Commission, Department of Illinois, American Legion.

860767—31973

O

F.D.Westbrooks,Jr.
11 Pryor St.S.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

FAITH IN CHRIST
BRIDGES THE CHASM
TO OUR ETERNAL HOME

The Georgia Tribune

THE TRUTH
IS THE LIGHT
UNTO THE WORLD

VOLUME 19 | COLUMBUS, GEORGIA | THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1951 | NUMBER 4

'NO NEGRO POLICE YET,' COMMISSION RULES AT MEETING

Grenade-Throwing Knocks Out Well Laid Plans To Force Negro Policemen Into Ranks Of White Officers; Reflection On Daily Newspapers And Others; Negroes Hark Back To Jungle Days Of Forefathers In Africa, With Modern Implements Added.

During the past few months the local newspapers (dailies) and others have been extraordinary in their efforts to "Soften up" the citizens of Columbus, working in league with the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored Race in America, and thus playing into the hands of Communists, by insisting that the time was ripe for the mingling of the races. Their first and most potent step was to add Negro Policemen in the Southern cities to the police forces, and they used, as one of their most "reasonable appeals," the "fact" that, "it is working nicely in other Southern cities." However, inasmuch as "time and tide waits for no man," and also in lieu of the fact that the "pretty little stripped cat" will never do to play with, for fear of what his future plans might be!, the whole thing went on the rocks, for the time being, it is thought that some Negro Soldiers, dressed in civilian clothes made the second attempt to murder some of the white policemen, down in one of the ultra Negro sections of Columbus.

The daily press admitted this week (editorially) that "If there

'Roy Martin Day' June Twelfth

An effort is to be made in Phenix City June 12th to honor the memory of Roy Martin, deceased, when the Lion's Club of Phenix City will sponsor a "Roy Martin Day" at an appropriate occasion, when a bronze plaque will be unvailed, and speeches will be made in honor of Mr. Martin's memory.

Mr. Martin, who did more for the recreational interest of Phenix City than any other man and who built the Idle Hour Park, spending hundreds of thousands of dollars on the project, and at the time of his untimely death was planning to spend many more thousands, will be honored in Phenix City June 12th., the Lion's Club of Phenix City sponsoring the program which will be at the Martin Theatre at 7:30 P. M., June 12th., will also be appropriate. The plaque will be of bronze, and the likeness of Mr. Martin

(Conintued on Page 3)

Barefooted Robber Gets No Money

Last Sunday night one of the business houses of Phenix City was burglarized, and although the safe was opened, the thief got no money. A man by the name of Mayo has been taken into custody, and is under a $2,500 bond. Someone reported to have seen a certain kind of automobile leave the place in the car, driven by a Negro. It seems that the white man abandoned the car, and was captured, but the Negro and the car escaped. The officers, it is reported, saw the car, but was unable to apprehend it.

During the past few months the local newspapers (dailies) and others have been extraordinary in their efforts to "Soften up" the citizens of Columbus, working in league with the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored Race in America, and thus playing into the hands of Communists, by insisting that the time was ripe for the mingling of the races. Their first and most potent step was to add Negro Policemen in the Southern cities to the police forces, and they used, as one of their most "reasonable appeals," the "fact" that, "it is working nicely in other Southern cities." However, inasmuch as "time and tide waits for no man," and also in lieu of the fact that the "pretty little stripped cat" will never do to play with, for fear of what his future plans might be!, the whole thing went on the rocks, for the time being, it is thought that some Negro Soldiers, dressed in civilian clothes made the second attempt to murder some of the white policemen, down in one of the ultra Negro sections of Columbus.

The daily press admitted this week (editorially) that "If there is a conjunction between these incidents (referring to the Grenade-tossing incidents) and the effort on behalf of Negro policemen, someone is being ill-advised." Now, it seems that it is not impossible for our daily newspapers to finally see a point, and this is hopeful, indeed.

Certainly, this is an effort on the part of someone to urge the attention of the people to the need of having "Negroes look after negroes," by placing negro policemen on beats where negroes are prevalent, but their agreement will not work, and their plans shall not stand. It would be a serious thing for, the people of Columbus to sit idly by and permit the NAACP and their well-wishers to crucify the blood bought rights of Southern white people on the cross of negroism. However "good the plan may be working in other cities," Columbus must work out her own salvation, and there is no room for argument, we 'just don't need negro policemen; not yet!", says the Columbus city commission.

Columbus Commissioners Rise Up As One Man

In their meeting this week (Tuesday), the Columbus City Commissioners arose with blood in their eyes, and the lead was taken by Jesse Binns, one of America's World War II veterans, when he spoke his piece relative to the effort of certain elements, in league with a well planned trick of Walter White, and his gang, and the Communistic element of the nation to force negroes into the ranks of white people, and one of their initial steps seem to be the placing of negro policemen on the force of police departments throughout the South. This effort has been going on for many months, not only in Columbus,

(Conintued on Page 3)

June Twelfth

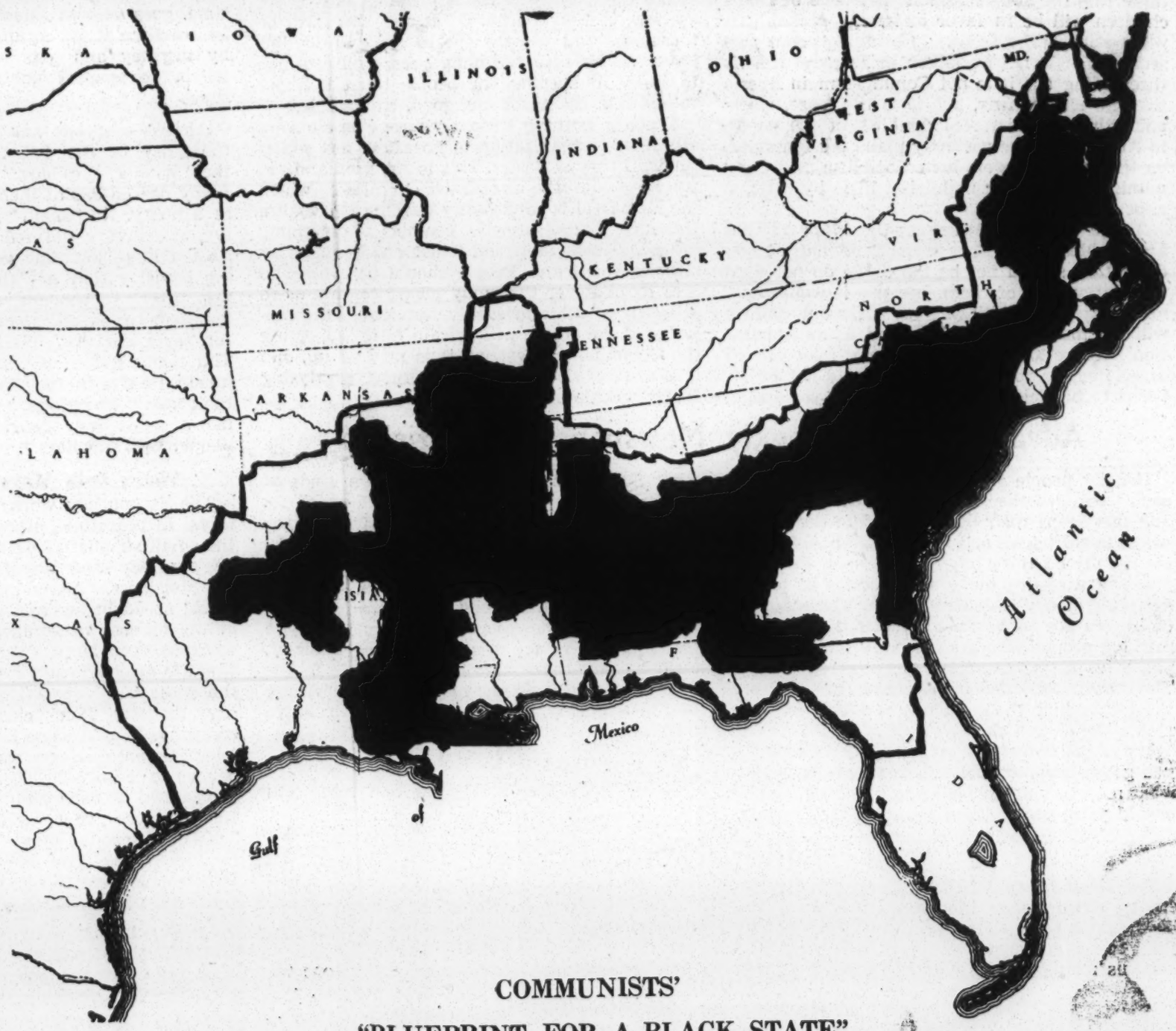
An effort is to be made in Phenix City June 12th to honor the memory of Roy Martin, deceased, when the Lion's Club of Phenix City will sponsor a "Roy Martin Day" at an appropriate occasion, when a bronze plaque will be unvailed, and speeches will be made in honor of Mr. Martin's memory.

Mr. Martin, who did more for the recreational interest of Phenix City than any other man and who built the Idle Hour Park, spending hundreds of thousands of dollars on the project, and at the time of his untimely death was planning to spend many more thousands, will be honored in Phenix City June 12th., the Lion's Club of Phenix City sponsoring the program which will be at the Martin Theatre at 7:30 P. M., June 12th., will also be appropriate. The plaque will be of bronze, and the likeness of Mr. Martin

(Conintued on Page 3)

business houses of Phenix City was burglarized, and although the safe was opened, the thief got no money. A man by the name of Mayo has been taken into custody, and is under a $2,500 bond. Someone reported to have seen a certain kind of automobile leave the place in the car, driven by a Negro. It seems that the white man abandoned the car, and was captured, but the Negro and the car escaped. The officers, it is reported, saw the car, but was unable to apprehend it.

White America Should Wake Up! This Map Shows Moscow's Dixie



COMMUNISTS'
"BLUEPRINT FOR A BLACK STATE"

VOLUME 19, NUMBER 4

E. G. Johnston, Editor
A. E. Pate, Associate Editor

THE GEORGIA TRIBUNE EDITORIAL PAGE

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--under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879--

THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1951

52 ISSUES FOR $2.00
ADVERTISING RATES FURNISHED ON REQUEST

Fort Benning Is A Target For Communism

There is no doubt that Fort Benning, and this area about Columbus is a target for the Communists, and every precaution is being taken by our officials, without any doubt. The water supply, as well as other public places, Institutions and the individuals as a whole. This business of Communism is not a joke, and too much precaution could not be taken. Therefore each one of us should lend every cooperation to the local and state government in their efforts to stay awake, during these trying hours. There is a possibility that the average individual is far too careless and indifferent abiout this matter, but it could be too late to wake up, my friend.

THE 'ME TOO' AND DESALLE EPISODE

The leaving suddenly of his $53-a-day job by M. E. hompson, who served as "Supply Governor" of Georgia for a little while, and God be thanked that things changed about so that he was removed as early as possible, has caused a joke. At first it was played up by the daily newspapers of Columbus, and a very few others, it looked serious, but the only thing serious about it now is the fact that M. T. is missing that fifty three dollars per day that he had no business with to begin with. Just another one of those New Deal-Fair Deal tricks that was supposed to be played, and was being played, but M. E. Thompson in colaborating with the newspapers of Georgia that hate Governor Talmadge, he (M. E.) jumped when they said "Scat," but he hit a rock that time. Of course, they intend to use this in the next campaign for Governor in Georgia, but we will be able to see it fall to pieces long before the time comes for M. E. to take the stump, and attempt to memic Eugene Talmadge in his vocal tirade against Herman Talmadge.

We do not believe Mr. Thompson is sincere, because he knew all about the situation in Washington, before he went up there, and he collaborated with Harry Truman, and others in the effort to place the FEPC, and other diabolical tricks on the South, and did so, too, because he was trying to beat Talmadge. M. E. Thompson knew that Talmadge was right, but he wanted to be Governor. Well, you could not blame a fellow much for desiring to be Governor, but you will do well to blame any man who works politics at the expense of principles, and contributes to efforts to socialize. and finally Communize this nation.

The best thing M. E. Thompson could do now is to forget DeSalle, and his $53-a-day that used to be; find him a job that will be in his class, and go to work. Perhaps teaching school in his field, most anybody could do that now!

What Bogged Down The Community Chest?

A few years ago an effort was launched by the Daily Papers, and they made it very urgent. that all agencies combine and that we have one "Unified drive," which would "take care of all the agencies that made a practice of begging, or soliciting funds for their up keep," and finally this was done.

We were opposed to it then, and the records will bear this out, and we are opposed to it now. Like the "Urgent plea" for Columbus to "try the Negro police plan," the newspapers kept urging, until they made the grade, and now they are trying to find out "what the trouble is." About 27 per cent of the funds asked for have been given by the public, and they find that the most of the people have stopped in their tracks, which or tell about that? If you have one church associated in this drive, would it not be right and proper to include all the churches? Why should there be any difference, or pertiality shown? There was a day when certain organizations did much good, as they were set up, but when they left the paths laid out for them; organized themselves into a church; observe the ordinances of the Church, and try to make people believe they are a church, and then, at the same time try to take their place, or hold their place in the line of serving the general public, it is time to look around and see what has happened. Twenty years ago, we would see, of ten, members of a certain religious organization (not a church they just think they are) in various churches

THE AMERICAN WAY

Control The Controllers

The Secret Of Prosperity

By George S. Benson

Preprations for national defense have again thrown the spotlight on the mutually beneficial interrelationship of big

the continuing stream of new products developed by the big company's research program. Du Pont spent 10 years and $27,000,000 developing and manufacturing its first ounce

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There are agencies among the 17, or 18 that are jumbled up together in the Community Chest drive that should not be there. We do not need to mention any of them, because it would only mean that we are sticking our necks out, and we will not mention them. However, as an illustration may we look at this: If there is an agency associated, or connected, that should not be allowed to participate, just how would you judge, or tell about that? If you have one church associated in this drive, would it not be right and proper to include all the churches? Why should there be any difference, or pertiality shown? There was a day when certain organizations did much good, as they were set up, but when they left the paths laid out for them; organized themselves into a church; observe the ordinances of the Church, and try to make people believe they are a church, and then, at the same time try to take their place, or hold their place in the line of serving the general public, it is time to look around and see what has happened. Twenty years ago, we would see, of ten, members of a certain religious organization (not a church they just think they are) in various churches, and would find them offering their services to any group, or faith, and that was according to the plan of their founder, but now you never see them like that, because they are all for themselves, and are building their "Church," as they actually call it, and the newspapers are so dumb until they never see anything, except those things that please them.

The Community Chest is doomed, as it is set up now, and should be. Of course, there will be those who will not see eye to eye with us, but it will be because the daily press will continue to assist in keeping the people blind to those things that make for our good, as a whole.

There is nothing seriously wrong in allowing all, or any organization to go afield and solicit funds, if they so desire. This is America, and untill we shall have completed our plans, which the Fair Deal is so urgently pushing to socialize Unionize, and otherwise combine everything, dragging them inot, and under one head, let us remain Americans. People should be allowed to give to whatever they may please to give, or to give not at all, and slowly but surely the majority of the people will refrain from supporting the Community Chest, as it is now set up, and this element is doubtless the most paralysing factor associated with it.

Advantages In Weekly Newspaper Advertising

Usually people see advertising mediums once each week, whether in a weekly, daily or radio, and this keeps their business before the people, which is sufficient, and is good advertising. People usually do their buying once each week, for the simple reason the great majority of people get their money once each week. The majority of buyers are to be found among the common, working people, who are the better class of people, after all, if there are any "better" class. They work for their money, and they do not mind spending their money, and this is what makes the clock tick!

When you advertise in a weekly newspaper, you get it cheaper, and if it reaches the people, what more could you want, or how much better should you expect! Then too, the weekly newspaper is read more closely than other kinds of literature that goes to people, because of its personal features, and its local complex. Many cities think they need a daily newspaper, when, really what they need is a good healthy weekly. One of the most leading journalist once said that no man should spend over five minutes reading a daily newspaper, and sometimes you might read what was in it, of interest, much quicker than that! But as most fo the time, people read all the news, and everything else, in a weekly, even the testimonies relative to Hadacol!

The advantages to be had in advertising in a weekly newspaper are legion, and once you try it, you will find out what we mean.

Editorial Sermons:

The Devil never misses an opportunity to stir up strife among friends and neighbors, and his favorite method is to prevent each of us from seeing our own faults, but he is careful to have us magnify the faults of others.

We will never be able to legislate Christianity into people, nor make the world a safe place in which to live.

The longest road in the world is the one we often think we must travel, but never do.

Control The Controllers

The Secret Of Prosperity

By George S. Benson

Preprations for national defense have again thrown the spotlight on the mutually beneficial interrelationship of big and small business. These two segements in our American business system form the productive team which safeguards our nation in wartime and gives our people their unparalleled living standard in peacetime. The manner in which they work together in peacetime goes almost unnoticed. In wartime it is dramatized by urgency and gets written up in newspapers anl magazines.

Almost everyone has read the story of the T41 tank—the "Walker Bulldog." The Army needed lots of them, and in a hurry. No "small" industry, of course, could undertake such a huge job. And yet the big industry that got the job was utterly dependent upon hundreds of "small" industries for parts and raw materials. The manufacture of several hundred parts in the Walker tank was "farmed out" to that many shops and fabricating plants, or "suppliers."

Works Both Ways

The dependency works both ways. In peacetime, especially, the small suppliers look to the big ones for their "meal ticket" business. Many people would no doubt be astonished at the number of families of working people in America who are affected each day by the successful operation of, say the Du Pont chemical company. In peacetime it buys materials anl products from—believe it or not—30,000 other companies! If each had only 100 employees, that would be 3,000,000 people, plus their families, whose economic welfare is dependent to some degree on Du Pont's success.

Again using Du Pont as an illustration, the pay envelopes of a great many other people are affected to some degree by the continuing stream of new products developed by the big company's research program. Du Pont spent 10 years and $27,000,000 developing and manufacturing its first ounce of nylon staple. The new synthetic fiber then created hundreds of new businesses, and literally thousands of business expansions—new hosiery mills anl dress manufacturers, sales force expansions and a hundred-and-one other kinds.

By The Pound

Nylon fibre sells at about $1.50 a pound. My wife and daughters wear some garments made of it. Among them is a nylon dress—cost $32.95. It weighs a pound and three ounces. The Textile mlil which spun the 1.3 pounls of fibre into yarn paid Du Pont $1.95 for it. The difference between this $1.95 and the $32.95 my wife paid for the dress went as wages and profits to the employees and owners of a number of small businesses. These include the spinner who spun the fibre into yarn, the throwster who twisted it, the weaver who made the cloth, the finisher who dyed it, the designer, the cutter, the seamstress—and finally all the people and companies in the channels of wholesaling and retailing.

Of course big industry is dependent upon the small industries for its production progress and its market. But the biggest beneficiary in all this is the consumer. Mrs. Benson says her nylon dress will outwear two silk ones. And the man who pays the bills at our house says it cost less than the silk ones used to, and its upkeep is small. Instead of meeting the cleaning man at the door with his long paper bag and a bill, I find the nylon garments at our house frequently hanging from the shower curtain rod, drying after a quick wash in the basin, and being automatically pressed!

The Danger Of False Rumors On God's Children

Last week, a certain man suddenly died in this vicinity, and the story associated with this man's illness, and sudden death might be of interest, and should be, to all men.

On Saturday morning, May 12th., the gentleman referred to above went into the home of a member of a certain Baptist Church of Columbus, Ga., and deliberately, maliciously, and otherwise unwisely, attacked the character of the pastor of this member. An argument persued, whereupon the "Gentleman," and probably a child of God, continued his attacks, with bitter lies, and accusations against the pastor, until the lady of the house was in the act of ordering him away from her home. He jestingly remarked, "We have had a good time arguing, haven't we?" The lady replied, "No, not me, I am very sorry you came here this morning and disturbed me and by starting this argument caused me to think less of you, because you have deliberately lied on my pastor, and I shall do something about it."

In less than forty-eight hours, God saved the woman from further embarressment by taking the matter into His own hands, and without any doubt, removed the man from this earth. He died, suddenly, and unexpectedly to all, including his family, and thus God vindicated the pastor, as well as protected the woman.

It is strange how people do not think about these things. It is true that God does not kill all of those who lie on people, but it is also true that He does kill some of them, as Ananias, and his wife Sapphira (Acts 5) is evident, as well as Moses,

John W. Johnston To Graduate

Jonh Wade Johnston, son of Mrs. Chloe Johnston, born July 20, 1932 will graduate from Columbus High School this year, and will be the third son of Mrs. Johnston's to finish Columbus High. The former two, Jimmie and William B. William Johnston will finish his first year in Medicine at the University of Georgia this year, havng finished Emory University two years ago.

Mrs. Johnston was left a widow in 1940, when R. H. Johnston, who had been a resident of Columbus for about twelve years, died here. Mrs. Johnston was left with five sons: Robert, Jimmie, William, John Wade, and Roy. Roy is finishing his first year at Columbus High this time. Mrs. Johnston has done a wonderful job of helping these young men through school, and they, in turn have done a wonderful job in helping their mother. All five of the boys are members of the Baptist Tabernacle in Columbus, Ga., and are faithful workers in the church and

NO NEGRO POLICE—

(Continued from Page 1)

but also in other Southern cities and because of the stupid minded leaders in many of the cities they have worked their "rabbit foot," and have been successful in sending out reports that, "it is working beautifully" — of course, for the advancement of the Colored race. But to use some very plain, but necessary language, it's playing h..... in its wake to deteriorate and vitiate the white race. There is an organization which is trying to get started, but it seems to be meeting with poor response, for the purpose of attempting to "Advance the White race in America," and this is badly needed.

Commissioner Binns said, "I am not personally going to consider he negro police question (period)." As we said above, Mr. Binns spoke with "blood in his eyes," and he carries a good size "stick of influence" down in the Commission meeting, as a rule too. Well good for Mr. Binns, and ten thousand white people should write a letter of thanks, and appreciation to Mr. Binns for living up to his oath of office. We elected those Commissioners with the understanding that they would protect our city, and all we ask of them now, is that they live up to the contract.

Haynie Suggests Communistic Interference

Good news comes also from another Commissioner, and we were surprised, for some mighty good reasons, to find this Commissioner was being awakened somewhat. He suggested that this "might be the Communists activity." Well, now! is it not strange that this particular Commissioner and all the rest of the Commissioners should not have recognized long ago that the whole thing is Communistic, and many of our fine white

you have not seen it already? We do not know the face of man, when it comes to principle and we call for our Commissioners to stand up and be counted right now.

Don't Try To Lay It At The Door Of Liquor

Now gentlemen, don't start the "Liquor trick." That trick is as old as the race, and we have no brief for whiskey; we never took a drink, and don't expect to, and we would be happy to see all of it destroyed, and we are not like the dear Colored preacher, who after delivering a very dramatic sermon against the drinking of whiskey or any strong spirits; his message was said to be very effective, and it was very interesting. His eloquence was exquisit, and appealing. As he came to his most marvelous climatic points, and as he swung in on the homestretch, he said, "Brethren and sisters, it would be a great blessing to our race, and to all

(Continued on Page 4)

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God saved the woman from further embarressment by taking the matter into His own hands, and without any doubt, removed the man from this earth. He died, suddenly, and unexpectedly to all, including his family, and thus God vindicated the pastor, as well as protected the woman.

It is strange how people do not think about these things. It is true that God does not kill all of those who lie on people, but it is also true that He does kill some of them, as Ananias, and his wife Sapphira (Acts 5) is evident, as well as Moses, when God "took him on Mt. Ne-Land, and others. People should not engage in telling ugly things on people, even though they be true, but when it comes to deliberate, malicious, and uncalled for lies, and under serious circumstances too, God has often made an example out of people, however much it might have been un-noticed by those of us who were left. One of the most evident reasons for this matter being written about at this time, is the fact that the woman as well as her daughter (17 years of age) were shocked, and peculiarily struck, when they picked up the paper, not much more than forty-eight hours after this episode, and read of the death of this man, whom they had always respected, and to whom they had paid their money, as a collector, and both of them were definitely made to feel that it was God's hand in the matter.

It is very likely that the man was a child of God, which would furnish even a better reason for God's dealing with him, and the lesson that others should get from it, is that it never pays to deliberately lie on one of God's children, preacher or layman, and especially one of God's men.

Let all of those laugh, jeer, or do whatever they may be pleased to do about this matter, but it would be very wise if all of us would heed the warning. Certainly, we could be wrong, but think it over seriously. The preacher did not know the man, personally; had never bothered him, and in fact had only seen him a few times in his life, and did not recognize him as being any certain one then. Then too, the lying was not calcuated to benefit the man, but was a direct aggravating, nagging and otherwise hurtful thing to the

(Continued on Page 4)

sity two years ago.

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It is understood that Jonh W. will take up accoounting, if his Government does not see fit to draft him into the service, He is employed, during the evenings at the Goo Goo Restourant. John Wade has a wondreful voice, and sings in the choir in his church every Sunday, and his graduation is a source of happiness, not only to his mother, but to a host of kins folk here in Columbus, as well as in Montgomery, Alabama, and elsewhere.

ROY MARTIN DAY —
(Continued from Page 1)

will serve as a perpetual reminder to the people of Phenix City for many years to come, of his philinthropic deeds of kindness on behalf of the general public. Mr. Martin was indeed a lover of Phenix City, and was always disposed towards any effort being made for the advancement of public institutions in the city.

The Plaque will be erected at the Roy Martin Stadium, and will honor the life, and memory of this man who loved his neighbors, and was always anxious to help, especially the unfortunates of his community.

WAGNER AUTHORIZED
BRAKE
SERVICE
W. H. CROWDER
& SON
AUTO SPRINGS &
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1639 - 10th Ave. Dial 5515

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Haynie Suggests Communistic Interference

Good news comes also from another Commissioner, and we were surprised, for some mighty good reasons, to find this Commissioner was being awakened somewhat. He suggested that this "might be the Communists activity." Well, now! is it not strange that this particular Commissioner and all the rest of the Commissioners should not have recognized long ago that the whole thing is Communistic, and many of our fine white gentlemen, and especially some of the younger tribe who are doing some good things for our city otherwise, but they are swallowing this Communistic junk without a frown, and yet, some of them are very active in "fighting Communism" in other fields. Some of these young fellows should read (again) the story of how the Ku Klux Klan (actually the citizens who loved the South) rose up and did the job in Atlanta and other places during the days of reconstruction, or immediately after the Civil War. Maybe they do not remember reading how the white gentlemen went after that negro crowd, who were tricked into many desires to gain for themselves social equality then, by the Yankees, but the Southern white gentlemen like Henry W. Grady and others went into the Court House, and the Capital of Atlanta and these "dark-skin brethren," along with their carpet bagging white-skin (not otherwise so) brothers led the way; they jumped out the windows, ran past the robed men, and wounded themselves in their effort to get away, but that broke it up. Now, gentlemen, let's not have this as a repetition in 1951, but the possibilities are bright for it, unless the white people follow men like Commissioner Binns; unless we shall use our heads, and pay less attention to distorted minds who parade through the columns of daily newspapers, for the purpose of being popular, and who are following the lines of Communism, however much they mean well, and might, in their own minds think that they are opposed to Communistic tactics.

Of course, it is Communism, pure and simple, and the whole thing is a Communistic effort, and where have you been that

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The average American, the figures show is eating 11 per cent more food (and better food too!) today than before World War II.

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Dial 3-4407 — If No Answer Dial 2-0259
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$100 LEFT U. S. BY IMMIGRANT

We Americans who grow up in freedom sometimes fail to realize how important it is.

With Stanislaw Zakerzewiski, a Polish immigrant who became a barber on Long Island, New York, it was different. He had lived in a country where freedom was restricted, and he could appreciate liberty when he had a chance.

So when Mr. Zakrzewski died recently, he left a will giving $100 to the United States of America. The will said the money was "a token of gratitude for the privilege of enjoying freedom and the opportunities offered by the United States.

FOR SALE
One Charge Ticket, Fire Proof Filing Cabinet
$75.00
Remington Noisless Typewriter In Perfect Shape
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One Attic Electric Fan with Motor 18" Frame
$35.00
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Phone Day 144, Night 509W

NEW AUTO ENGINES USE LESS FUEL

The average American motorist used 215 fewer gallons of gasoline in 1950 than he would have used if he had driven the same distance in a 1930 car with 1930 gasoline, aciording to C. L. MiCuen, general manager of the Research Laboratories Division of General Motors Corp.

Mr. McCuen credited this saving to industrial research by both the automotive and petroleum industries. The two industries, he said, have progressed together, with the automobile supplying a demand which the petroleum industry has filled through research to improve motor fuels.

Gain Given Customers

The average mileage of American motor vehicles in 1950 was 9,550, he said. The 1930 car, he explained, would have used 935 gallons of 1930 gasoline in covering that distance, whereas the 1950 car burned only 720 gallons.

"These are the economic gains which the petroleum and automobile industries," he added, "have made together over the period from 1930 to 1950, and have passed on to their customers."

THE DANGERS OF

(Continued from Page 3)

ones to whom he was telling the lies about the preacher. It was all deliberate, malicious and wrong, and the results of it, whether God's hand was directly in it or not, the man died, suddenly, for some cause, we do not know!

NO NEGRO POLICE—

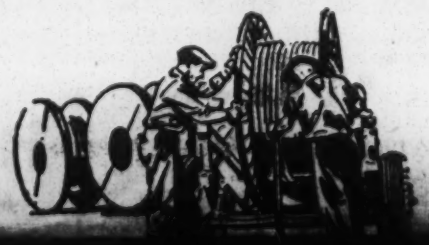
(Continued from Page 3)

races, if we could gather every jug, bottle, container of strong drink, and carry them down to the river, and there break, and empty the contents into the water!" He paused for a moment, and many of the brethren groaned and spoke their most heart-felt, and sympathetic Amens. The good pastor waited for a minute, while great silence prevaded the audience, and he calmly said, "Now let us stand and sing, Shall We Gather At The River!"

Of course, whiskey will aggravate the situation, and we are not critical of what the police, or the Commission has done, or may do, relative to closing liquor stores at an early hour at nights, or altogether, and we are confident that they know what they are doing, but we do insist that whiskey is not the trouble, in connection with this problem.

It's A Trick Of Communists

If everybody could read the Daily Worker; issue of May 15, 1951, in their report of what happened at the first instance of Grenade-tossing, down in the negro section of Columbus, Ga., they would begin to realize more fully how very closely the Communists are keeping up with the situation here. The Daily Worker, New York, is the "Apple of the Communist eye," and when we tell you that you will not be, or should not be surprised to know that the majority of the outstanding negroes of the South, and of America are either directly, or indirectly connected, or associated with the Communist Party, and if this is not true, the burden of proof is on them, because two things equal to each other, are equal to the same thing, and all we ask you to do is to check on what we have



Telephone Wage Costs UP...

freshment — more pick-up — and
RC IS BEST BY TASTE-TEST!

ROYAL CROWN COLA
Best by taste-test

$75.00
Remington Noisless Typewriter In Perfect Shape
$60.00
One Attic Electric Fan with Motor 18" Frame
$35.00
B. H. Samples, Dublin, Ga.
Phone Day 144, Night 509W

THE DANGERS OF

(Continued from Page 3)

ones to whom he was telling the lies about the preacher. It was all deliberate, malicious and wrong, and the results of it, whether God's hand was directly in it or not, the man died, suddenly, for some cause, we do not know!

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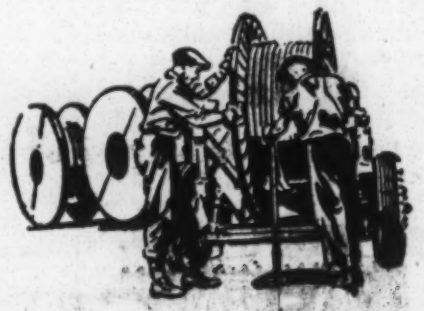
Some gentleman, who withheld his name, called us and asked if it were possible that some members of our City Government were leaning towards the Communist Party, and we assured him that we did not think so, and we are now calling on them to stand up and be counted, something that Edgar Hoover asked all Americans to do many months ago. Granting that negro policemen would be advisable, in normal times, and at a time before the Communist Party started to working with the Negro race in America, we would oppose it at this time as being very much wrong for any Southern city to make the experiment, and we insist that it just should not be done at this time.

Remember, those who are in favor of hiring Negro policemen; The Daily Worker (representing the Communist Party); The Columbus Daily Newspapers, most of the Negroes and a few white citizens, but this newspaper is opposed to the plan, now, 60 days from now on, and that's how we feel about it.

In an editorial May 23, the local daily said: "Commissioner R. J. Haynie made the interesting suggestion that perhaps the police had been "derelict" in their duty in the trouble area—Seventh avenue sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth streets." No. Mr. Haynie, you are all wet and the records will not substantiate your suggestions, and furthermore, you are simply attempting to blame the grenade throwing on the police, probably some of our Commissioners would prefer exchanging the present police force for an "all color" force. At least, that was a jab at the police department that might have been left off, in the midst of this argument.

Telephone Wage Costs

UP...



Telephone Equipment Costs

UP...

Telephone Tax Costs

UP...

3 BIG REASONS WHY INCREASED TELEPHONE RATES ARE NECESSARY

SINCE Southern Bell's rates in Georgia were set two years ago, telephone costs have gone up drastically.

WAGE COSTS have increased and are going up still further as a result of the wage offer made to our employees through their Union on May 8. This offer was made in accordance with our policy of paying wages that are in keeping with those paid in the communities we serve. And it's more than policy—it is essential in order to obtain and keep the type of employees required to render good service.

FEDERAL corporate tax rates have risen sharply, too, adding greatly to our costs of rendering service.

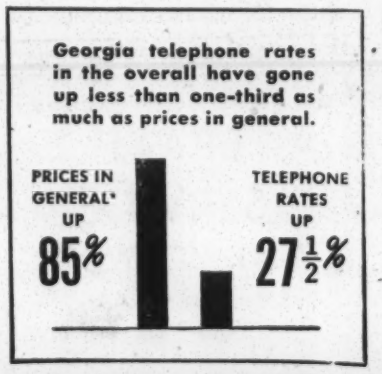
TELEPHONE facilities are way up in cost—including replacement equipment to keep the service good, as well as equipment to expand the service. Two years ago we had $254 invested per average telephone in Georgia. Since then, the cost of facilities per telephone added has averaged $359.

EVEN BEFORE the most recent cost increases, telephone rates were lagging behind telephone costs. For example—annual revenue from rate increases authorized in Georgia since 1939 is failing by more than $4,170,000 to cover the annual costs of *wage increases* made effective during this period. And this does not include the May 8 wage offer which will widen the gap between our *wage* cost increases and our *rate* increases in Georgia.

TELEPHONE SERVICE demands are increasing rapidly in both rural and urban areas of Georgia. Meeting these demands will require large sums of new capital to pay for additional facilities. This money can be obtained only if earnings are adequate to attract funds from people who will invest their savings in the telephone business. Earnings in Georgia at present are not adequate.

THAT IS WHY an increase in Georgia telephone rates is so necessary if we are to continue serving the State's great and growing needs, including those of national defense.

LANE HUBBARD
Georgia Manager



U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index.

SOUTHERN BELL TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

F.D.Westbrooks,Jr
11 Pryor St.S.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

FAITH IN CHRIST
BRIDGES THE CHASM
TO OUR ETERNAL HOME

The Georgia Tribune

THE TRUTH
IS THE LIGHT
UNTO THE WORLD

VOLUME 19 | COLUMBUS, GEORGIA | THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1951 | NUMBER 5

ANARCHY REIGNS AMONG NEGROES; NO NEGRO POLICE NEEDED HERE NOW

Three Dollar Automobile Tags For Ala. Probable

There is a possibility of Alabama cars being "tagged" with the much discussed, but greatly appreciated "$3 Tags" in Ga., if the plans of Governor Persons ripen into frutition. The Alabama folk, and while there is opposition, yet it is thought possible, and many of the citizens of Alabama are delighted.

Certainly there are disadvantages to such a plan, but it is very probable that it is the part of wisdom, because there are other taxes that might be made to take care of the situation, and thus bring the possibility of running a car to the door of all the people.

The "low auto tag" proposal in Alabama came in connection with a proposed bond issue, associated with Highway funds for Alabama in the amount of $25,000,000 road bonds. This subject will get wide publicity, and much discussion in Alabama. The Birmingham News had the following to say on this issue recently:

"Nineteen of the Senate's 35 members signed a bill calling for an election on the bond issue. A large number of representatives also seems to be in favor of the election. The full weight of the administration, of course is thrown behind the effort.

"In one sense, arguments for and against the bond issue

Working People Receiving Benefits

Palmer Lauded For Polio Fund Drive

Atlanta, (GPS) In accepting the directorship of the 1952 Georgia March of Dimes, Atlanta Constitution Editor Ralph McGill has a job cut out for him. In fact, he will have an extremely difficult task. The reason: He succeeds Charles F. Palmer, president of Palmer Inc., Atlanta, under whose guidance the fund raising activities brought in more per capita during 1951 campaign than ever before.

Mr. Palmer, who also is Chair man of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Warm Springs Memorial Commission, has been awarded a citation for his successful direction of the 1951 March of Dimes. Atlanta's Jesse Draper, Georgia polio chairman, said that during last year $330,000 funds were spent on Georgia's polio victims through the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis.

Negro Soldiers Throw Rocks And Bottles At Moving, Crowded Bus; Attempt Made By Negroes To Sit In White Folk's Place On Bus Started Row; Driver Repulsed Negroes, Drove Them Off Bus.

Last Tuesday night on one of the streets of Columbus. Georgia. as one of the City Buses passed under a viaduct, two negroes stepped from behind one of the viaduct's supporting pillars and started throwing rocks and bottles at the Bus. One of the rocks crashed through the window. breaking the glass, and passing near the driver. This same driver had been forced to repremend two negro soldiers early in the night who attempted to sit in the front of the Bus, which is provided for white people. Quite a row followed between the soliers (Negroes) and the Bus driver, but he was able to chase them off of the bus without any serious trouble. It is thought that these were the same two negroes who pulled the vandalism, and revealed the fact that negroes are not yet sufficiently civilized to take their place along with white people, as they so much desire.

People Seem To Be Waking Up

There is some evidence that the whit people, who have been primerially to blame for the mary purpose in the minds of the NAACP leaders has been branded as being Communistic, and they have proven that this is their desire by every move they have made.

The negroes were apprehended last Tuesday night by policeman, after a long chase, because the negro soldiers ran when they saw that the police were looking for the ones who molested the bus a few minutes prior to this time.

FEPC Is Planned For America

It is well understood that the sponsors of the FEPC are now attempting to push forward

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"Nineteen of the Senate's 35 members signed a bill calling for an election on the bond issue. A large number of representatives also seems to be in favor of the election. The full weight of the administration, of course is thrown behind the effort.

"In one sense, arguments for and against the bond issue could wait until the proposed amendment is before the people. But the circumstances are such that those arguments will largely stand or fall by what the Legislature does in the matter of automobile tags, upon which the lawmakers can decide themselves.

"If automobile license tags remain as they are now, the state, so it is argued, will be able to carry on all highway operations and still match federal funds. But if the license tags on passenger cars are cut to $3, which Gov. Persons has persistently urged, then the resultant loss

(Continued on Page 3)

Working People Receiving Benefits

Atlanta, (GPS) Gov. Herman Talmadge long has been considered a good friend of the working man—whether on the farm on in the factory. And the other day the youthful chief executive had an opportunity to talk straight to representatives of organized labor in Georgia; telling them in much detail what his administration has been and is doing for the working people in this state. He spoke before the annual convention of the Georgia Federation of Labor, held in Atlanta for the first time since 1943.

Declaring that "in my entire public life I have always advocated the principles of collective bargaining and have supported those security benefits of which the working people have so long been entitled," Gov. Talmadge said his administration has brought working people many benefits, direct and indirect, including increased benefits in workmen's compensation and unemployment compensation; better schools hospitals and roads; more welfare benefits, and more job opportunities through a promotional program to bring new industries to Georgia.

Calling for the preservation of "friendly relations between labor and management so that we can raise our state to the top rank in the nation," he said never before in history has the importance of labor as a contributive force to the krowth of the nation been so evident.

"It is more essential than ever before," he emprasized, "that we make our democracy a living and breathing thing, make it a faith for which men

(Continued On Page 4)

Phenix Child Struck By Auto, Leg Is Fractured

Guy Childs Jr., small son of Mr. and Mrs. Guy Childs, Sr., 1302 Twenty-sixth street, Phenix City, sustainel a broken leg and possible back and head injuries this week when he was struck by an automobile on Smmerville road.

The child's mother said he stepped in front of an approaching vehicle, and was struck down.

The child is in fair condition after being taken to Phenix Memorial hospital.

Police identified the driver of the car as Robert Tranler. 27, Fort Benning soldier.

No charges were made as a result of the accident.

Investigating the accident were officers Jesse Green and John Waltermon.

J. Palmer, president of Palmer Inc., Atlanta, under whose guidance the fund raising activities brought in more per capita during 1951 campaign than ever before.

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Georgia Seeking Tourist Dollars

ATLANTA—(GSP)—Did you know that vacation travel, estimated at $10-billion annually, is the fifth largest industry in the United States? Well it is and according to Clark Gaines, Secretary of the Georgia Department of Commerce, Georgia wants more than $120-million this state received from tourists last year. (The American Automobile Association estimates Georgia's take at $125,-million.)

"Georgia, one of the finest states for tourists in the nation, is receiving at the most **only one-eightieth of the country** tourist expenditure," Mr. Gaines declared. "That's not enough. It should be at least a fiftieth or $200-million. Incidentally, the Florida figure for 1950 is placed at $825-million."

What is being done to increase Georgia's take? For one thing, the State Commerce Department is launching a new campaign through pamphlet distribution and national advertising to interest our state. But, as Mr. Ganes explained, to really reap the full benefit of this campaign local communities must do their part. For example, they must make their place ever more attractive and interesting if they expect visitors to stop and linger a little longer there.

The American Way.

Remember motorists—Observance of laws for the good of all has been one of the truly American things that has made our country great.

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People Seem To Be Waking Up

There is some evidence that the whit people, who have been primerially to blame for the much discussion, and the brazen effort of negroes to attempt to take their place along with white people. The white people have meant everything to the negro race, and especially in the South, and there is a great desire on the part of some to continue to help the negro, on the part of some, while others are joining in with the Communistic effort beng conducted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in America. Many fine white people seem to be very dumb relative to the whole effort, and are not aware, that the main issue with the NAAPC is to have Social equality. This is the main desire on the part of the Negroes, in their effort to fan the "Need of negro policemen into a flame, and many otherwise splendid white people are falling into line, and cleaning all the bait off the hook. The pri-

Port Expansion

ATLANTA — (GPS) — The Georgia Ports Authority has acquired an additional $500,000 to be used in the construction of ports facilities on its Savannah property, according to Chairman James D. Robinson, Jr., of Atlanta. Similar to the $5-million loan obtained by the authority earlier this year, the additional $500,000 consists of revenue certificate.s Construction of the Savannah facilities began in January, with completion scheduled by late summer of 1952. Included in these facilities wi bel a 2,065-foot pier with 40-foot apron and three large transit sheds with a capacity of 74,000 square feet.

the NAACP leaders has been branded as being Communistic, and they have proven that this is their desire by every move they have made.

The negroes were apprehended last Tuesday night by policeman, after a long chase, because the negro soldiers ran when they saw that the police were looking for the ones who molested the bus a few minutes prior to this time.

FEPC Ic Planned For America

It is well understood that the sponsors of the FEPC are now attempting to push forward their program in every manner possible, and the order given in the Army for the mingling of the races has not, and is not helping to aljust matters, but is making matters worse. The South will continue to refuse the overtures of political-minded people to force segregation in the South to break, and every effort that is being made to foster the FEPC is directly in line with Communism's plans of long standing. All of these things like the negroes rock tossing last Tuesday night are signs pointing in the direction of the establishing of the FEPC plan in the South. This plan if put into effect, would cause white people to be forced to accept, or endure, the abuse that would be subjected upon the white people by the negro race. It is Communism's plan, not only to see that negroes get "equal opportunities," but that their plan actually goes beyond that, and would establish a plan whereby the negro race would become the superior race in America. This, the Communists know, would break down the morale of the American people to the level of the negro, and would thus furnish the Communists their long and much sought for opportunity to take over. The negro race is not yet capable of taking the lead in America, and whether they will ever be, even in a hundred years from now, depends entirely upon what we do about such things as the employment of Negro Policemen, and many other plans, well laid out by the Communists, and are being followed to the letter by the NAACP, and their sympathizers in America.

VOLUME 19, NO. 5

E. G. Johnston, Editor
A. E. Pate, Associate Editor

THE GEORGIA TRIBUNE EDITORIAL PAGE

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ADVERTISING RATES FURNISHED ON REQUEST

Negroes Want Social Equality; Not Equal School Facilities

Nothing is more evident, in the effort of the NAACP to antagonize the South, relative to "Segregation in the schools" than the fact that they do no want, or care very much about "equal opportunities" in the schools, but that they are looking towards the gap that leads into social equality of the races, and the testamony of the one Ke&nneth Clark, a negro specialist in chill psychology at the Colege of New York City. This negro witness, brought from New York to testify, by the NAACP, proved concusively that we are right in the above statement relative to Social equality. He said: "Segregation affects the personality development of both whites and negroes, causing the negroes to be confused, hostile and resentful, and the whiets to have a feeling of guilt." We would suggest that this nigger remain down South for a while and note the difference between that motley gang of foreign elements; a mixture doubtless of practically eevry nation on earth; we suggest that he stay down in S. C. for a while where some real, honest-to goodness white people live, anl see if he doesn't change his mind about that "guilt" business!

Somebody will get mad before this thing is over, and we had better begin to tell the truth, while it is time, for it will be too late before you know it. The situation that waswitnessed just following the Civil War should not be allowed ot be repeated, but if the newspapers, and those who have influence do not stand up and speak the truth, it will be too bad, and we are just warning all honest people of both races who would like to continue to live peacefully together.

We have plenty of respect for the Southern, honest and humble negro, and we have no desire to see him mistreated, but neither do we desire to see the white people mistreated, and we are telling you in plenty of time that it would be better to stop this agitation. It would be a splendid idea to look after a few like Walter White, by teling him where to head in now, than to wait until he, and his gang get too "hostile," or "resentful!" The white people in the South would like to see the negroes prosper, and they have helped them to advance throughout the years, but if they don't mind now, they will permit some of these Northern negro psychologists to kick the bucket over and spill the milk.

The case in Oklahoma is sufficient evidence to prove that the negroes do not want "Equal opportunities, if it means that they are still deprived from courting and marrying white people; they were offered equal school facilities in Oklahoma, and they will be given as much in Georgia and South Carolina, if they will be patient. No, that is not what they want; they want segregation broken completely down, and that's what they are trying to tell you now.

There has always been segregation; it's true in the animal kingdom; horses mate with horses; cows with cows; various kinds of birds with their kind, and God intended that negroes should mate with their kind, and white people with theirs. The negroes pay less than 5 per cent of the taxes in Georgia, and South Carolina, and they get a mighty lot for what they pay, and if they will wait a time with patience, doubtless their taxes will be raised, and they wil be able to demand a lot of things they are not now priviledged to have.

There is not a poor devil (like myself(in the country who would not like to have the same accomodations, and priviedges that the rich have but we just cant have it, and God did not intend it: All of this negro effort iis inspired by Socialism and Communism, and there is no need for any one to accept our word for t; open your eyes and take a look for yourself.

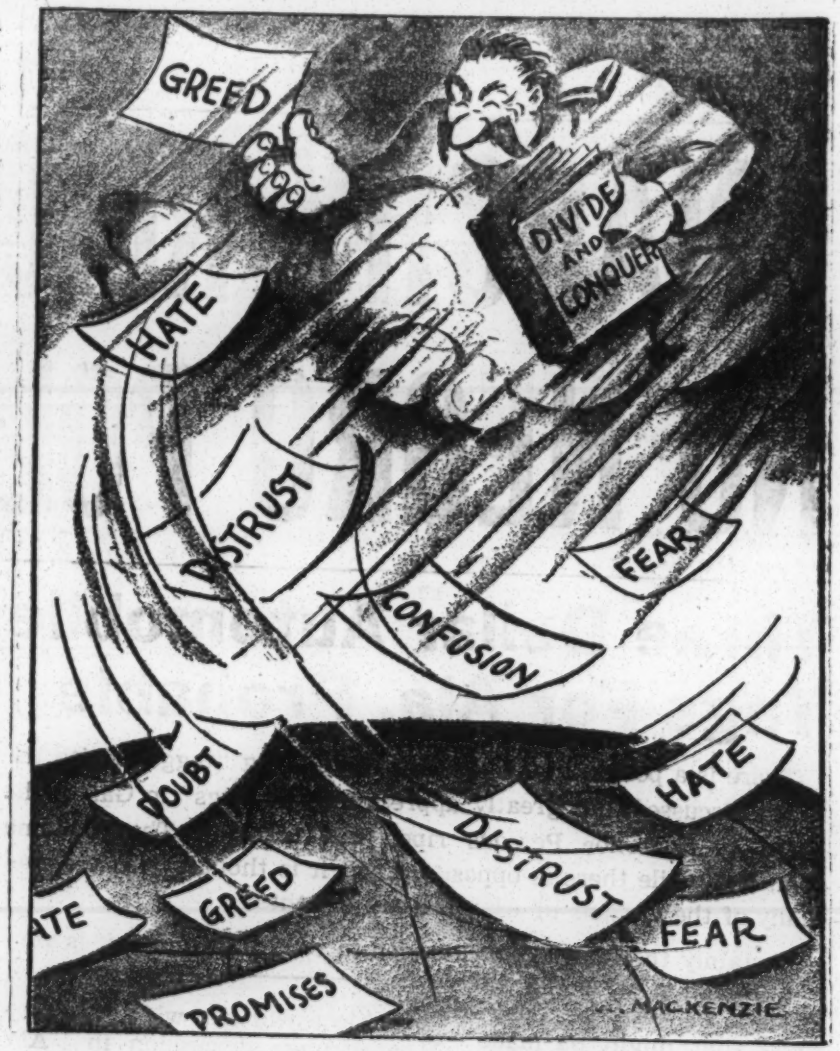
What A Difference!

In hte Soviet Union, that wonderful workers' paradise, only thosewho are tired of living criticise the government and its major policies. However, the rulers in the Kremlin allow and to an extent encourage criticism of individual factories and stores and the goods they sell. This, probably, serves a dual purpose—it gives the ci- [illegible] off a little harmless

to no tobacco and came apart when he tried to smoke them

So it goes, down a long list of complaints In Russia, the factories and the stores are either owned by the state or run by the state, and in either case the result to the consumer is the same. It's strictly a take it or leave it propo-

LEAVES FROM SOVIET BOOK OF THE YEAR



Denmark Gets Socialized

By George S. Benson

The economic warfare of a people is determined by the production of goods and services in the nation in which they live. American production, stimulated by freedom and incentives, leads the world; and so does the American living standard. Industrial and agricultural production in China and India are extremely [illegible]

working mothers, maternity leaves, and many other benefits of a full-fledged social security program. I can find very few of life's hazards and inconveniences that are not protected. And these services are not of stop-gap nature, but are, in themselves, a basic way of living.

Why Work?

"Industry has felt the effects of this program in its

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In any event, these criticisms are often printed in the Russian papers. They always follow the same line. Comrad A bought a sewing machine and found it woudn't run because a part was missing and he couldn't obtain it. Comrad B went into a store to by an overcoat, but the clerk wouldn't sell it him uness he aso bought a pair of pants he didn't want—it seems the pants were of such bad quaity that this was the only way they could be moved off the shelves. Comrad C's latest ration of cigarettes contained next to no tobacco and came apart when he tried to smoke them

So it goes, down a long list of complaints In Russia, the factories and the stores are either owned by the state or run by the state, and in either case the result to the consumer is the same. It's strictly a take it or leave it proposition, which is only possible in an economy which has rid itself of such bothersome factors as competition.

Contrast that with America. where the chain stores and the independent stores, the big stores and the little stores. are looking for more business and are scratching their heads to find new ways to attract the consumer. If a man doesn't like one store's stocks or service or prices or anything else, he just moves on down the street, taking his money with him. He's a free agent—free to pick and choose as much as he likes. It looks as if there is something to be said for competitive free enterprise after all.

Dividing The Dollar

Wha thappens to the money industry takes in thrrough sale of its products?

The last annual financial report of a leading oil company offers an interesting case in point--particularly so, in the light of the fact that many people seem to believe that oil has made incredibly large profits in late years.

This company took in more than $1,300,000,000 last year. And here is how each of those dollars was divided up.

First of all, 62 1-2 cents was spent for raw materials and for producing, transporting, manufacturing and selling products and services.

Next payrolls and employee benefits took 12 1-2 cents out of the dollar.

Third, obsolescence and depreciation of properties and equipment accounted for 7 3-10 cents.

Fourth, 5-6|10 cents was put back into the business in the form of new properties and facilities, to keep the company a progressive concern.

Fifth. government stepped in to the tune of 5-9|10 censt, which paid the company's income and other direct taxes.

Next, 5-8|10 cents out of that fast-shrinking dollar was distributed in the form of dividends to more than 100,000 investors whose savings made this company's existence possible.

Last 4|10 of a cent was used to pay interest on borrowed m oney.

In short, the tax collector got as much as the owners--and the workers got much more than either. That is typical of American industry today.

Judge And Jury

Daniel W. Tracy, president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, is one of the growing number of labor leaders who have come to reaize the great danger that socialization of industry represents to the labor movement.

In a recent speech he said, "The experience of IBEW with the destructive effects of the public power program on its interests has convinced us that we must extend every effort to retard and ultimately stop the present expansion of the public power program." He added that under public ownership, the protection of collective bargaining is removed and job security and wages are lowered. He cited an example in Virginia, where the private utility pays $1.90 an hour to certain classifications of workers, while socialized utilities pay as low as $1.36 and $1.37.

It is an ironical fact that in the early days of the public power movement, labor was fairly solidly behind it. Some abor people, who remain blind to the facts of life, still are. But the awakening is under way, as Mr. Tracy's forthright stand indicates. Socialism, by its very nature, must destroy free labor just as it destroys free enterprise.

What we have here is simply the fact that when government is the boss, no one can effectively oppose it or arbitrate with it. Government sets all the policies, makes all the decisions, and acts as judge and jury. It works on the "like it or lump it" basis. And that goes for all concerned, including abor and the consumer.

Denmark Gets Socialized

By George S. Benson

The economic warfare of a people is determined by the production of goods and services in the nation in which they live. American production, stimulated by freedom and incentives, leads the world; and so does the American living standard. Industrial and agricultural production in China and India are extremely low, and so is the living standard of their people. History documents this economic law over and over again. And yet the people of many nations have been enticed into believing that government, through economic planning, can improve the economic well-being of the citizens.

England's Labor-Socialist government set out to do it, and for three or four years the majority of the English people blissfully believed a magic solution had been found for removing worry care and tiresome work. Now the dream is shattered. England is prostrate. The people are hungry. And the Labor-Socialist government is split between the totalitarian group which apparently wants a Socialist dictatorship and the "moderate Socialists" who want Socialism but without all its brutal realities. The basic trouble in England is a falling off—under Sociaism—of the production of goods and services.

Everything "Free"

Harding College now is sponsoring a study tour of Europe by Dr. W. T. Bean, principal of the Butler (Pa.) High School. "The social security program in Denmark," he wrote last week from Copenhagen, "guarantees the comfort and safety of the people in nearly every aspect of life. There are generous payments for the unemployed; free medical, hospital, and dental services; and comfortable pensions for those over 65—including free housing.

"The children get free education throught the University, including free meals and, when necessary, free clothing and transportation. There are free nurseries for children of working mothers, maternity leaves, and many other benefits of a full-fledged social security program. I can find very few of life's hazards and inconveniences that are not protected. And these services are not of stop-gap nature, but are, in themselves, a basic way of living.

Why Work?

"Industry has felt the effects of this program in its production. Even before the war, production had begun to fall rather sharply, and in recent years this trend has continued, despite the fact that there has been retooling and modernization of the plants. The workers are rapidly losing their incentive to do a full day's work. After all, nothing unpleasant can happen to them if they don't. The government takes care of everything."

Amidst such conditions Dr. Bean found it requires a full year to build a modest-sized dwelling. "The installation of a telephone," he reports, "is a major operation. The most recent strike in Denmark," he further reports, "occurred in the welding department of one of the shipyards when one worker, working on piece work, stepped up his production until he was doing three times as much work as the average worker. For his efforts he was thrown into the harbor and the employees went out on strike demanding he be fired. In the end the company was forced to discharge him. And so it would seem that advancement due to industrial initiative is not a part of the basic structure of labor policy here—as this type of action is not uncommon."

Progress in Reverse

Dr. Bean says almost no new businesses are being established and virtually no new money is going into business expansion. In fact, retrogression has already set in—though the citizenry as a whole is not yet aware of it. "Since business opportunities are almost nil," writes this American educator, "many young Danes are emigrating to other lands. The loss to the nation of this group has not

(Continued on Page 3)

Three Dollar—

(Continued From Page 1)

in revenue will make it impossible for the state to match all the available federal highway funds without additional funds. This is all the more true under the Persons proposal to raise the percentage of the local government's share of the licence receipts.

"Both the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce and the Alabama Motorists Association have issed statements in recent months urging the state to adopt pay as you go highway construction program. Both organizations take the position that the state can, if it eliminates politics from road-contract letting, match all federal aid moneys available.

But both attitudes are predicted on the assumption that license tag rates will remain as they are.

"Thus the immediate point in the highway situation in the Legistature is not so much whether a bond issue is needed to match federal funds as whether license tag costs are to be changed. If licenses are reduced, the chances are that a bond issue will be necessary to provide funds for matching. If licenses are untouched, then the question will be whether the people of Alabama prefer to go on a highway improvement program through borrowed money, which will have to be paid back some time, somehow, with interest, or move more slowly, paying as we go.

"The claimed ability of the state to match all federal funds if Highway Department income is untouched is not left to the desire of motorists and motorist associations to alter the plan under which special taxes they pay on gasoline, for tags

News At A Glance

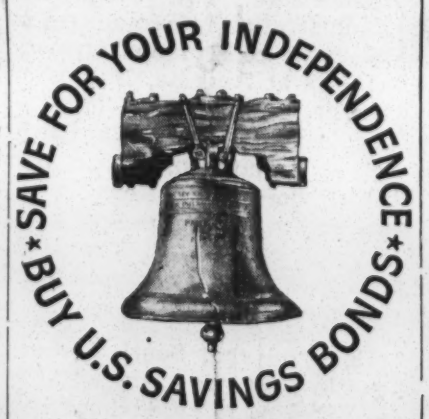
Atlanta, (GPS) Gov. Herman Talmadge has indicated that he will in effect remove the state property tax of five mills "during the calendar year 1952." He said the tax is from Jan. 1 to Jan. 1 and "in my opinion I can take the action any time from January up until about Jly." He plans to redce the rate to about one-fourth or one-eighth of a mill, just enough to keep the state in the property tax field for equalization purposes, he said. The tax now produces some $6-million annually .....The stage is being set for a crackdown on financially responsible children who refuse to support their aged parents. To put the law (passed by the recent Georgia legislature) into effect, State Welfare Director Alan Kemper has released a regulation setting a procedure under which the new law will be applied. Sixty per cent of the state's residents who are 65 years of age or older reportedly are on relief rolls——The state Department of Education estimats that some $2.5-million in "contigent" funds will have to be paid 139 county and independent school systems to place them on an equal footing when the Minimum Foundation Program goes into operation July - .....Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook has notified Gov. Talmadge that in his opinion the Agricultural Commodities Authority Act of 1951 is unconstitutional.

AROUND GEORGIA: The newly created State Board of Registrations for Foresters is ready to begin the registration of practicing foresters, according to R. C. Coleman, joint sect. of the state examining boards. Persons desiring to practice forestry and use the title "Registered Foresters" must file an application with the board.... Georgia Regional VA Mana-

Your Home

NEW UNDER THE SUN

CHICAGO—For those who scoff that there's really nothing new under the sun, here is the "lingerie look" in beachwear. From Marshall Field & Company, this sun favorite features a negligee-type organdy beachcoat and a figure-molding lastex bathing suit.



Memorial Day Is Observed POW's Are Honored

Prisoners of war, living and dead, were honored in wreath-laying memorial services this week at the POW memorial monument at the intersection of Cussetta and Old Benning roads.

The Rev. Colin Campbell, rector of the Trinity Episcopal church made the principal address.

Tracing hte evolution of society from hte family through clans to the modern state, he showed how wars and threats of extinction have made mankind come together in ever larger groups for protection.

"It is not inconceivable that the nations of the modern world will be compelled to become one united nation," he said.

Saying that such changes had always been accompanied by suffering, he especially called attentionto the suffering that had been endured by men in the war who fell prisoners of the enemy. Praising hte men who had served their country so valiantly, he concluded with the statement that he who serves his nation well also serves God.

Present to represent Maj. Gen. John H. Church, Fort Benning commander, and himself a prisoner of the Japanese in World War II, was Lt. Col. Winston Jones. Col. Jones was a prisoner for seven days, escaping shortly after the fall of Bataan. Following his escape, he fought as a guerrilla until the Philippines were reataken in 1945.

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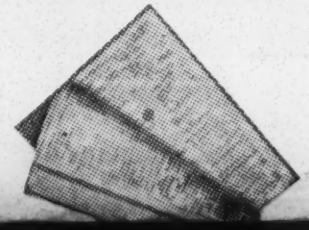


are untouched, then the question will be whether the people of Alabama prefer to go on a highway improvement program through borrowed money, which will have to be paid back some time, somehow, with interest, or move more slowly, paying as we go.

"The claimed ability of the state to match all federal funds if Highway Department income is untouched is not left to the desire of motorists and motorist associations to alter the plan under which special taxes they pay on gasoline, for tags or other purposes are in some instances diverted to non-highway uses and in more instances dispersed to local governments to spend in ways that are of little or no benefit to motorists as a group. If diversion and dispersion are stopped, the Highway Department would have still more money.

"As badly as more and better roads are needed in Alabama, it would seem the part of wisdom for Alabama legislators first to see that all highway taxes be used for highway purposes. Nineteen states aready have written into their constitutions a ban against diversion of motorist taxes."

Denmark Has—

(Continued From Page 3)

had much impact on official thinking, but there is marked concern among some. The courage that it takes to emigrate is the same courage that makes a successful business man. It is a national asset that no nation can afford to lose."

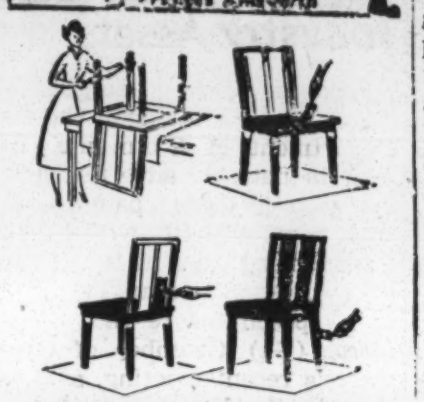
Just as it is doing in England, the gradual decrease of industrial production under the political management of the Socialist planners, and the breakdown of individual initiative and incentive, will one day lead Denmark into economic chaos. Then the extreme totalitarian Socialists will have their chance to seize power and make of every Dane a cog in the soulless machinery of State, as in Russia. Americans must think twice before accepting further glib promises of something for nothing from the government.

.....Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook has notified Gov. Talmadge that in his opinion the Agricultural Commodities Authority Act of 1951 is unconstitutional.

AROUND GEORGIA: The newly created State Board of Registrations for Foresters is ready to begin the registration of practicing foresters, according to R. C. Coleman, joint sect. of the state examining boards. Persons desiring to practice forestry and use the title "Registered Foresters" must file an application with the board.....Georgia Regional VA Manager urges veterans to make plans now if they expect to participate in the GI educational and training program. The deadline: July 25.....Plans for Stone Mountain Memorial Park have been completed and an answer as to whether a New York banking firm will grant a loan ($2.5-million) for the project is expected in July, DeKalb Commissioner Scott Candler disclosed ..... Herty Laboratories, of Savannah, reportedly has agreed to do "anything possible" in a proposed project to develop a process of manufacturing paper from scrub oak. This was in response to a request from the University of Florida where the experimental work has been carried on to date..... Georgia's population, listed as 3,444,578 in the 1950 census, is 14,000 more than that, according to a later provisional estimate by the Bureau of Census.

Your Home

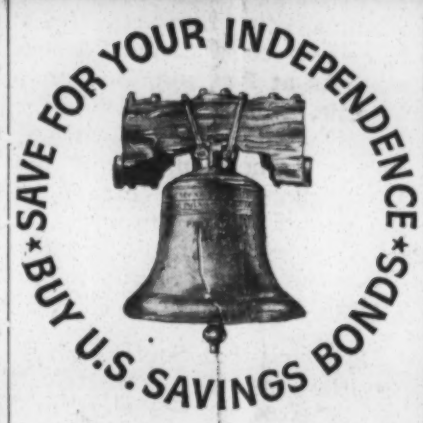
By Frances Ainsworth



I think the beginning of Spring is just about the busiest time of all at our house. We always clean the house, of course, but in addition we re-paint walls and woodwork and re-decorate the rooms with new colors for our walls, slipcovers and draperies. It's really amazing what a fresh new color scheme will do for the home, isn't it?

Another favorite trick of ours is painting furniture to accent our new color schemes. Our den, for instance, has a wall filled with sectional bookcases which we bought unfinished and have painted. Our kitchen table and chairs get a bright new color every Spring. Then, too, we're busily re-painting all of our porch and lawn furniture, getting set for the warmer months ahead. If you haven't yet tried painting furniture, do try it this season — it's very simple if you use a good grade of paint.

I got some painting tips from Hayes Quinn, the color consultant of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, which I thought you might be interested in — particularly for painting your tables and chairs. Place the piece upside down on a protected surface. Then paint from the leg ends downward, brushing the enamel lightly as you work. Next turn the piece upright and finish the sides. Do your chair backs and other broad surfaces. Table tops or chair seats should be painted last. It's really very simple if you paint this way. I always use a waterspar enamel for my painting because it doesn't water-spot and is practically chalk free — especially important for outdoor furniture. You can wash a good enamel, too — keeping it fresh and bright. We think that painting is the easiest, most inexpensive way there is to re-decorate our home. Try it in yours, I'm sure that you'll agree with us!



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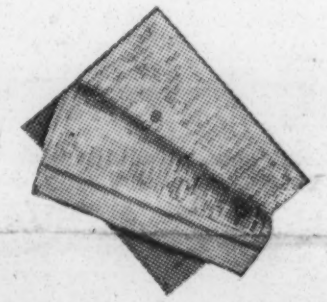

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Georgia Power

Farmers' Markets Help Boom State Truck Crop Sales

Atlanta, (GPS) Truck crop sales in Georgia are increasing by leaps and bounds. How come? The main reason is because of the expansion of Ga.'s State Farmers' Markets. At least, that's how Gov. Herman Talmadge, a successful farmer in his own right, sees it.

Speaking at the annual Tomato Festival at Glennville the other day, Georgia's farmer-governor had this to say: "The remarkable increases in truck crops have resulted, almost directly, from the expansion of the farmers' markets in Georgia. For the first time the total sales of all state markets rose above the $50-million mark in 1950. The exact total was $50,-556,699."

The Governor failed to tell his South Georgia friends of the soil that he personally was responsible for this market expansion. For example, last July 1 he made available an additional $500,000 for further expansion of the State's Farmers' Markets, bringing the total annual allotment to $1,125,000—the largest amount ever supplied by a state administration.

Since Jan. 1, 1949, the present administration has completed or has under construction farmers' markets at Augusta, Buchanan, Camilla, Columbus, Dillard, Donalsonville, Jesup, Leesburg, Sylvania, Thomson, Winder and Waynesboro. This constitutes the largest building program of farmers' market facilities ever accomplished in Georgia within a similar period of time.

Declaring that South Georgia counties can vie successfully with Florida in producing early truck crops for shipment to all parts of the country the chief executive said that section of

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Working People—

(Continued From Page 1)

are willing to live and for which they have shown their willingness to die . . . In face of manifold opportunities for service which lie ahead, let us all work together to build a better future for ourselves and our children. When we labor as one, then we will be sure to get things done. . . Working in unity we can make Georgia hum and prosper."

Turning to the new Georgia labor groups, Gov. Talmadge said he also is generally against such taxation. But, he said it was found that no other single tax or series of taxes could finance the state' multi-million-dollar school expansion program. He predicted the sales tax will produce $75-million to $125-milion annually; said working people of the state have this assurance the tax money wil be well spent.

King For A Day!

LOUISVILLE, KY.—Shorthorns and Polled Shorthorns take over the spotlight on June 11th here when the Blue Grass International Futurity will crown a Grand Champion of the breed. Over 100 entries will compete for $8000 in premiums. The nation's leading Shorthorn and Polled Shorthorn herds will be represented with their strongest entries.

In addition to this sparkling show held at the Kentucky State Fair Grounds, sponsored by the Kentucky Department of Agriculture and the American Shorthorn Breeders' Association, there will be the Annual Members' Meeting of the national Shorthorn Club—and on the following day, June 12th, all animals entered in the Futurity will be sold at auction.

A unique feature of the show is that it will be held in the afternoon and out of doors on Kentucky's famous carpet of blue grass.

Reservations have already been received from all over the United States and Canada.

Shorthorns are the oldest breed of purebred registered livestock in America and were introduced to Kentucky by the early Scotch settlers. They were the first of the purebreds brought to the Blue Grass and limestone region. This was even before Kentucky became the fifteenth state to join the Union and while Kentucky was part of Virginia, which then was a crown colony.

Shorthorn steers have been crowned Grand Champions over all breeds at three recent major Kentucky beef cattle shows, and continue to bring fame to Kentucky.

'Ga. Has Them All,' Describes State's

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markets at Augusta, Buchanan, Camilla, Columbus, Dillard, Donalsonville, Jesup, Leesburg, Sylvania, Thomson, Winder and Waynesboro. This constitutes the largest building program of farmers' market facilities ever accomplished in Georgia within a similar period of time.

Declaring that South Georgia counties can vie successfully with Florida in producing early truck crops for shipment to all parts of the country the chief executive said that section of the state is forging to the front economically as a result of the intelligent diversification plan of farming. In driving home his point he said:

"While we cannot grow citrus fruits on a large scale there are numerous other early crops produced in Florida that can be equally produced at a profit in South Georgia. Tomatoes form one example. We must not forget our watermelons and cantelopes which we ship in large quantities to markets in the East and North. South Georgia is favorably located also for the development of the livestock industry which is having such a remarkable growth all over the state."

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'Ga. Has Them All,' Describes State's Industry Assets

Atlanta, (GPS) "Georgia Has Them ALL" is a slogan the Ga. Department of Commerce used in national advertisements last year in its campaign to attract new industries to our state Commenting on that catchy phrase, Gov. Herman Talmadge in a speech before the Commerce (Ga) Chamber of Commerce's recent meeting, said he thought the line described the state's advantages to prospective industries exactly.

"We most assuredly 'Have Them ALL' as far as the natural advantages are concerned," the Governor said. "We have the climate, we have the water supply, we have the electric power, we have the vast untapped reservoirs of dependable workers, we have the transportation advantages by rail, by highways and by ocean steamers, and we have a spirit of public cooperation that can't be beat. Like this advertisement states, some of our sister states have only a few of the many advantages Ga. possesses, but they do not fail to exploit them.

"Soon after the present administration took office we created the Georgia Department of Commerce to stimulate and coordinate the development of business and manufacturing throghout the whole state. This Department is on the alert at all times to bring to our state the kind of industries which will prosper here. On top of this the steady progress that has been made in Georgia has developed large, new markets which can be best served by industries located on the spot. Big national manufacturers are locating branch plants here to take advantage of the increased buying power of our people."

Calling attention to the progress Georgia is now making in the manufacture of many products, Gov. Talmadge said: "When we get the balance between agriculture and industry which we are seeking, we will see Georgia hum and thrive as never before, not only in the urban centers but in the agricultural areas as well."

Beauty Treatment

Now mowing a lawn can qualify as a beauty treatment for milady instead of a backache for dad with a new kind of electric mower that operates by push button, is as light weight as a baby carriage and costs less than a fortnight's wage to the vanishing handyman. A new flip over handle makes direction changing effortless with the new Huffy electric mower and retractable blades end all hazards from hidden obstacles.

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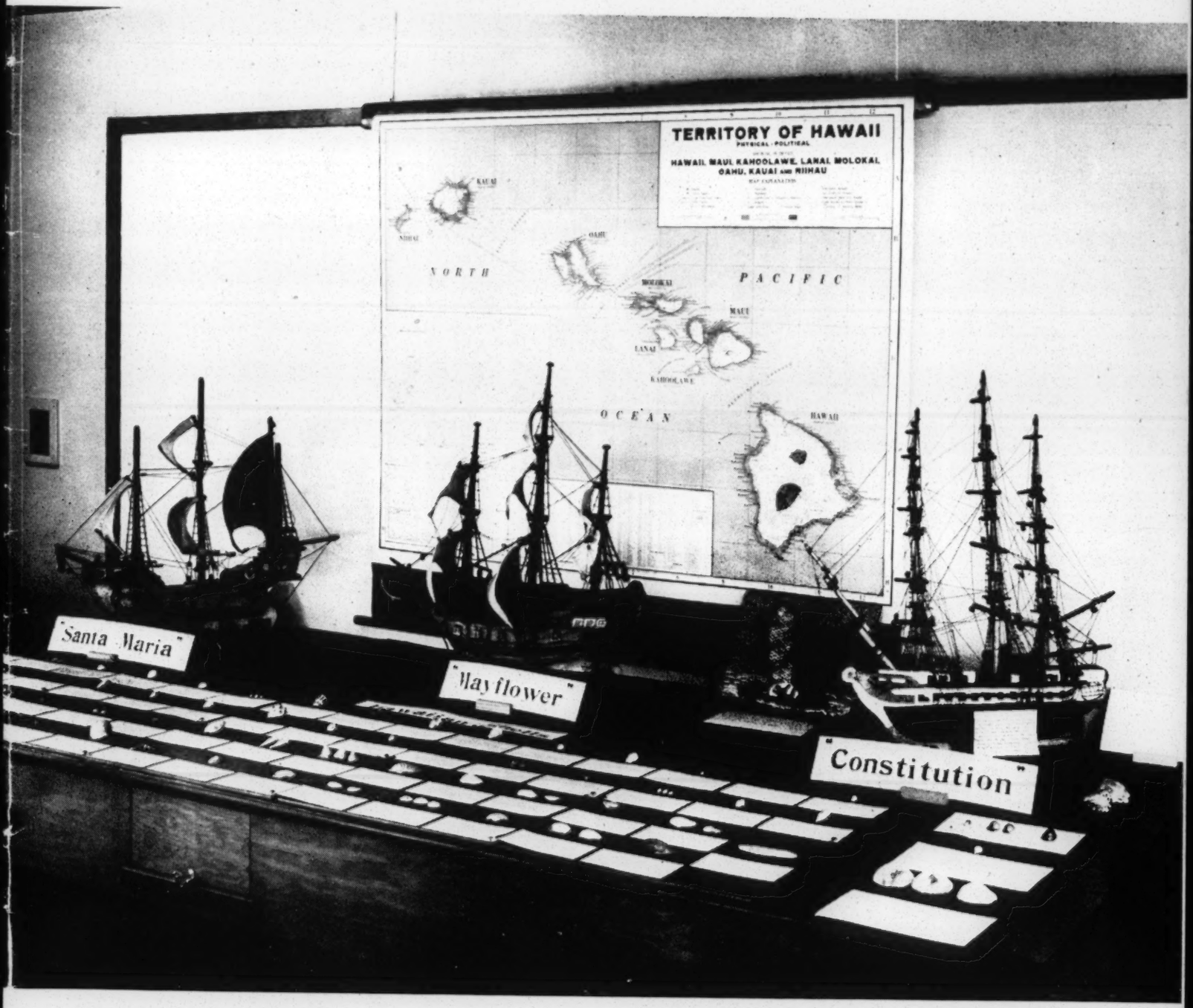

Exhibit on the Study Unit, "The Sea."

MARCH, 1948

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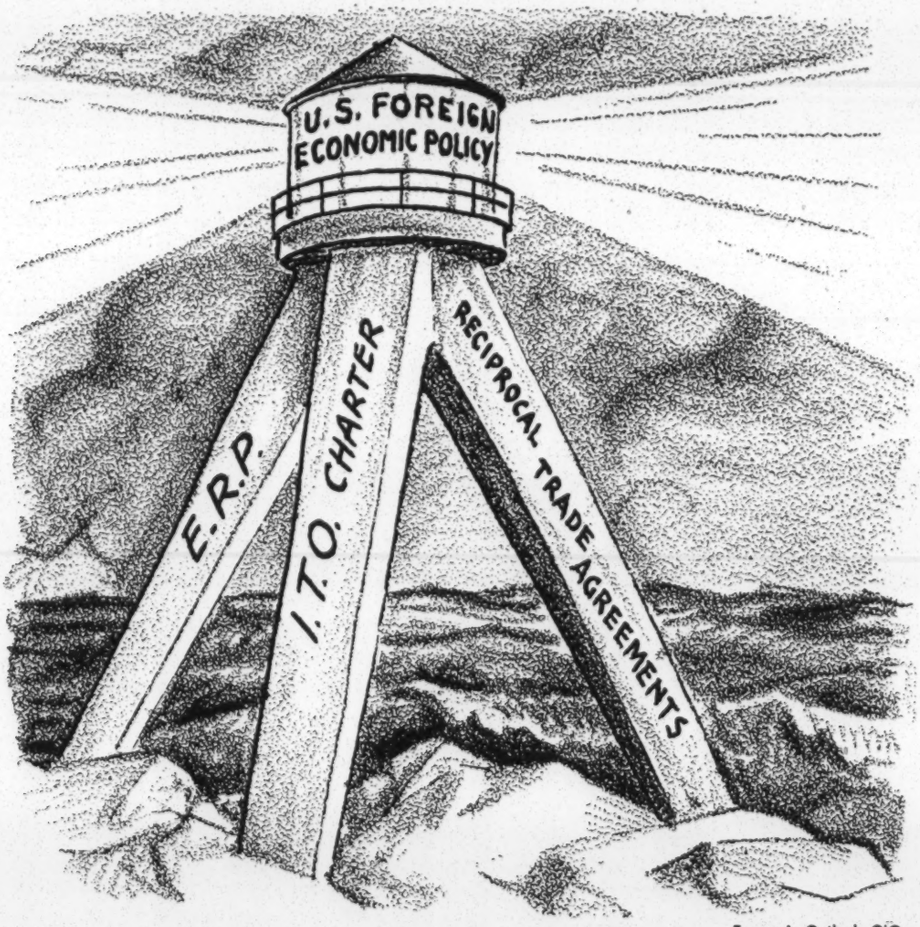
ECONOMIC OUTLOOK
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND RESEARCH
Vol. X No. 2 February, 1949

Labor's Stake in Economic Foreign Policy

The United States' foreign policy faces a difficult problem in 1949. The political phase of the problem is that of maintaining peace under tense conditions that prevail in many parts of the world. The economic phase is that of improving world living standards as a basis for political stability. American labor has a vital stake in both aspects of the problem.

The CIO believes that the only kind of foreign policy able to cope with this situation is one that strengthens the political and economic condition of free men everywhere. The resolution on foreign policy enacted by the Tenth CIO Convention in Portland, Oregon, November 23, 1948, stated this clearly. Peace and prosperity, it said, are indivisible. A sound, progressive America can give encouragement to the peoples of the world to improve their living standards and to widen the horizon of their political liberties. American participation in world affairs should be directed to the spread of democracy and to the establishment of economic conditions that will enable democracy to survive.

In line with these aims the CIO advocates an integrated foreign policy directed toward international cooperation: in the *political* sphere, through support of the United Nations and a strengthening of the democracies; in the *economic* sphere, through the European Recovery Program, the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, the adoption of the Charter for an International Trade Organization, and other measures to expand international trade.



Economic Outlook, CIO.

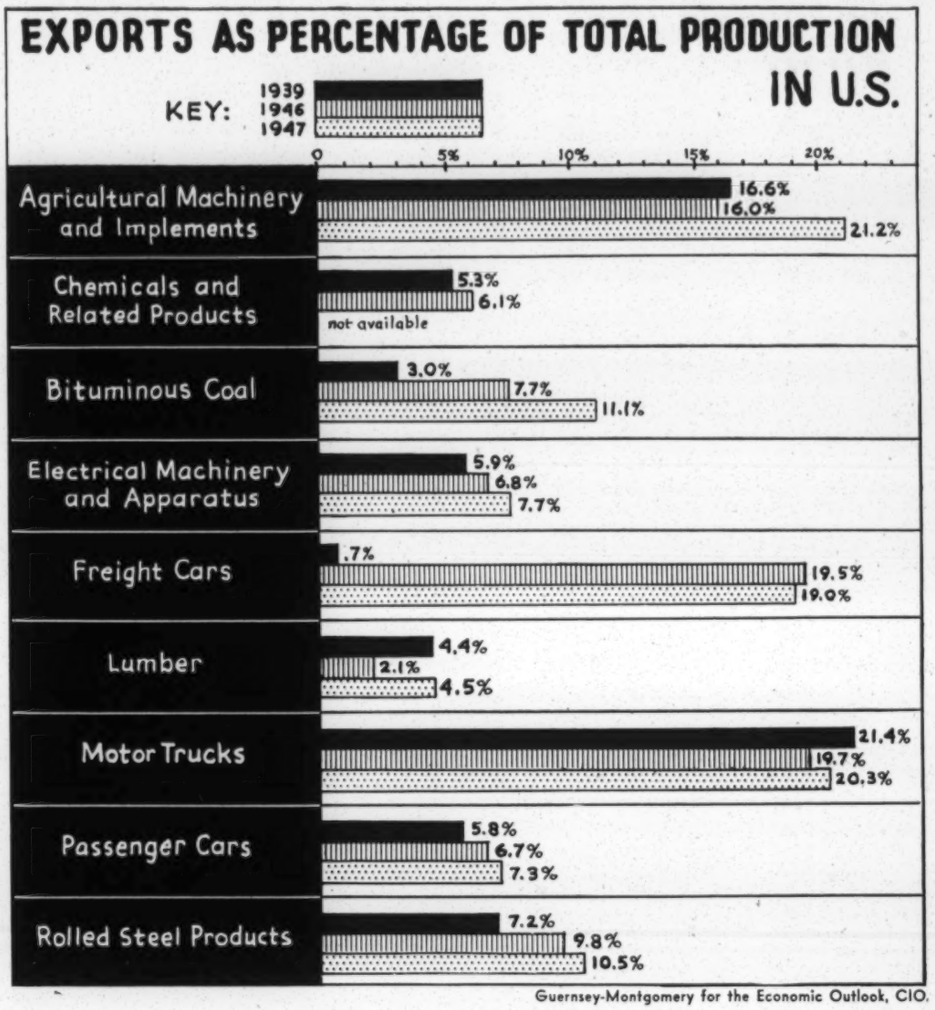
Labor's Stake In International Trade

Labor has a direct stake in international trade, not only because the United States is such a large exporter of the products of American labor, but also because most of the goods we import from other countries are essential to us to keep our industrial machines operating and maintain a high standard of living.

Exports mean the difference between prosperity and depression for many American industries. This is particularly true in industries such as electrical machinery and apparatus, transportation equipment, agricultural machinery, automobiles and trucks, rolled steel products, office machinery, and many others, for which exports absorb a large proportion of our total output. Some of this production is concentrated

in a few localities which are largely dependent upon a single industry. For the United States as a whole, approximately 10 percent of our total industrial output is sold abroad, but the proportion is much higher for certain industries.

The U. S. Department of Labor estimates that, in the first half of 1947 (the latest period for which statistics are available), exports provided jobs for 2.4 million non-agricultural workers, representing 5.6 percent of the total non-agricultural employment in the United States. The percentage of workers dependent upon exports was particularly high in steel works and rolling mills; coal mining and manufactured solid fuel; machinery, including electrical apparatus; and rubber. There were nearly three times as many workers dependent upon exports in 1947 as in 1939. This reflects the growing importance since the war of exports in our domestic economy. Average annual wages in the export industries have always been much higher than in industries protected by high tariffs.



Guernsey-Montgomery for the Economic Outlook, CIO.

American labor also benefits from agricultural exports because they increase the purchasing power of American farmers for the products of American industry. Approximately 10 percent of the total agricultural output of the United States is exported. Thus, nearly one-tenth of the total farm employment (there were 10 million agricultural workers in the U. S. in 1947) depends upon export for its income. Farmers and city workers are interdependent. They prosper together or not at all.

But American labor also benefits from imports. Our huge American industrial machine could not operate at present levels without raw materials supplied by other countries. This became increasingly evident as wartime demands depleted our natural resources, particularly minerals. The U. S. Bureau of Mines reported to Congress, in May, 1947, that our known commercial reserves of twenty-four major minerals were less than sufficient to supply thirty-five years of domestic requirements at current rates of consumption. Among these are such vital minerals as copper, lead, zinc, manganese, chrome, tungsten, mica, tin, bauxite, cadmium, vanadium, tantalum, asbestos, graphite, nickel, and petroleum. Reduced imports of such products would reduce our present industrial production, would create unemployment, and would raise prices to consumers on hundreds of products used in our daily lives.

In addition, a great number of products which are essential to the American standard of living must be provided by other countries. Tea and coffee for our tables, as well as pepper, pineapple, chocolate, sugar, and bananas, come from foreign lands. Wool for our clothing, hemp for rope, and rubber for a thousand uses, come largely from imports.

A sharp reduction in American foreign trade, both export and import, would reverberate throughout the entire domestic economy and would make it impossible to maintain full employment and high living standards in this country.

The European Recovery Program

The best way to maintain American export trade is to encourage economic recovery abroad.

That is one reason why the CIO supports the European Recovery Program. Without European recovery there can be no permanent world recovery, because Europe is the keystone in the world's economic arch. Europe is the principal market for United States exports, absorbing in the prewar years over 40 percent of our total exports. Europe is also the principal market for the exports of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. The capacity of those countries to buy American products depends, in part, upon their ability to sell their own products to Europe.

The over-all goal of the European Recovery Program is to restore the European economy to the prewar level and to make Europe self-sufficient by mid-1952. Congress appropriated $5 billion for this gigantic endeavor in 1948. The nineteen countries who have chosen to participate in ERP have requested $4.3 billion for the second year, a request soon to be considered in Congress. Despite Communist opposition, these European countries have already made enormous strides toward recovery. The industrial production of Western Europe has almost reached the prewar level; and bread-grain production is nearly 90 percent of the prewar rate. European consumption is still below the prewar level, because the European economy suffers from the loss of its foreign investments during the war, from the stoppage of raw materials from east of the Iron Curtain, and from the loss of raw materials from the Far East.

The CIO has participated actively in ERP from the very beginning. We participated in the Harriman Committee that helped formulate the ERP, supported it at Congressional hearings, and are now represented in the administrative organization of ERP. It is the CIO's view that improved living standards and a wider horizon of political liberty go hand in hand; and that European recovery strengthens the democratic peoples and the labor movements of those countries. As President Philip Murray said in his 1948 report to the Tenth CIO Convention, "Only evil, anti-democratic forces in the world want Europe to drift helplessly into a breakdown that will cause even more human misery, disease, poverty, and social confusion which is the breeding ground of dictatorships."

If ERP puts Europe on its feet again by mid-1952, it is equally essential to the final success of the plan that Europe be able to stay on its feet after emergency American financial aid comes to an end. Otherwise, our effort and sacrifice will have been in vain.

To achieve an eventual self-supporting status, the densely populated countries of Western Europe must be able to buy raw materials from many parts of the world, because their own resources are inadequate to meet their needs. To pay for these imported raw materials, Western Europe must export manufactured products to many countries. The establishment of trading conditions that make for good world markets is thus a life-and-death matter to a self-supporting Europe. Unless the nations that are benefiting under the European Recovery Program are able to sell the products which their rehabilitated industries produce, they will be denied the monetary exchange which they must have to buy from others commodities which must be imported by them to survive. Thus, ERP must be supplemented by the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program and the Charter for an International Trade Organization which are intended to establish trading conditions that make for good world markets for all nations.

The ERP, the Trade Agreements program, and the ITO Charter represent the tripod of United States economic foreign policy. If one leg of the tripod weakens, the entire structure is shaken.

What Is the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program?

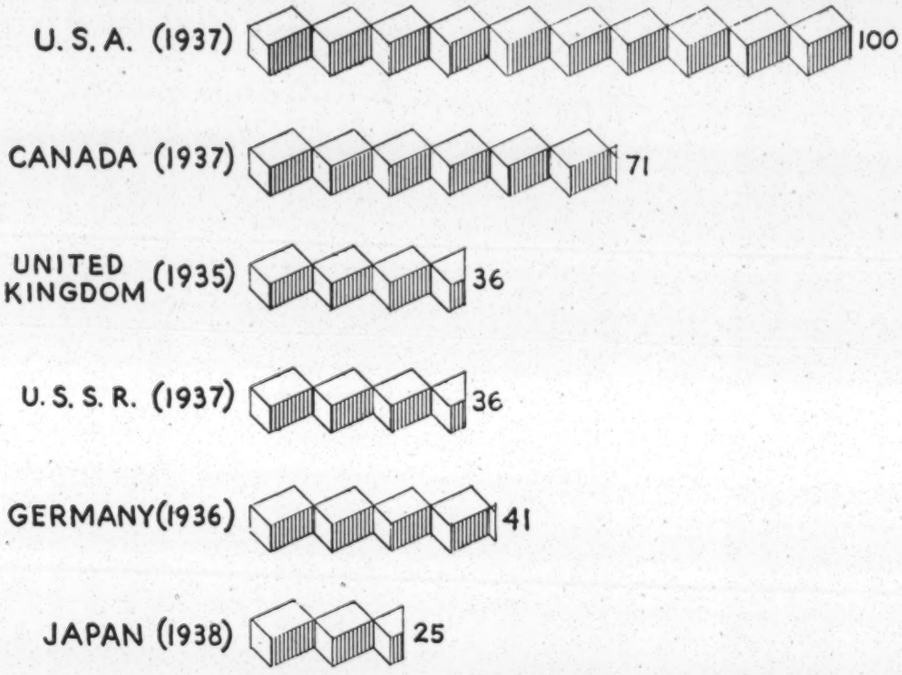
The aim of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program is to reduce artificial trade barriers so as to encourage an expansion of competitive world trade.

Under the Trade Agreements Act, the President may conclude trade agreements with other countries whereby the United States reduces its tariff rates on individual products we buy from them in return for tariff reductions by the other countries on products they buy from us. Such an agreement is a "swap" of trade benefits.

The Trade Agreements Act was passed in 1934 for a three-year period, and has been renewed five times since then. The last renewal by the 80th Congress, in June, 1948, was for one year, instead of the customary three years, and had crippling amendments. President Truman, in his State of the Union message on January 5, 1949, recommended that the Act be restored "to full effectiveness," in its original form without crippling amendments, for another three years (until June, 1951). The CIO, in its 1948 Convention resolution and in testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee on January 25, 1949, endorsed extension of the Trade Agreements authority on a long-range basis to promote national economic stability and to encourage international trade.

An effective Trade Agreements Act is particularly important at this time because of American efforts to encourage other countries to reduce trade barriers at the forthcoming World Trade Confer-

Comparison of Production per man-hour in U.S. and five other countries



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ence scheduled to meet at Annecy, France, April 11, 1949. Thirteen new countries have agreed to participate in that conference, with the twenty-three countries which had already signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade at Geneva in 1947, in order to negotiate with each other and with the twenty-three for a further reduction of trade barriers. The General Agreement of 1947, already in effect for all twenty-three countries but one, contained tariff commitments on individual products accounting for over one-half of the world's foreign trade.

The Annecy Conference, if successful, will help to expand trade among European countries themselves, thereby lessening European dependence upon the United States. When Congress passed the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, it emphasized that European countries should take all appropriate measures of self-help. That Act expressly required each participating country to make agreements with the United States committing itself to cooperate with other participating countries "to reduce barriers to trade among themselves and with other countries" and to stimulate "an increasing interchange of goods" among themselves. Such action would enable European countries to develop their production along more efficient lines, thereby increasing their total output of goods.

Do High Tariffs Guarantee High Wage Levels?

It has been charged that the Trade Agreements program, by reducing American tariffs, will reduce American wages to the levels of foreign countries. This argument assumes that American production cannot compete against foreign products if our tariffs are reduced, and that there will be a flood of imports into the United States which will create unemployment and low wages in this country. Nothing could be further from the truth. The best proof of American competitive power is the simple fact that we *have been and are* competing successfully. United States exports have exceeded imports almost every year since 1875. If we can compete successfully against foreign competition in foreign markets, surely we can meet foreign competition in our own markets.

Our competitive strength is due to the efficiency of American labor and industry in relation to abundant natural resources and a larger domestic market. Our relative efficiency is indicated by a study of labor productivity in the United States and Great Britain, made by the International Labour Office. With British output per worker in 1935-39 counted as 100, it shows United States output per worker in that same period as follows:

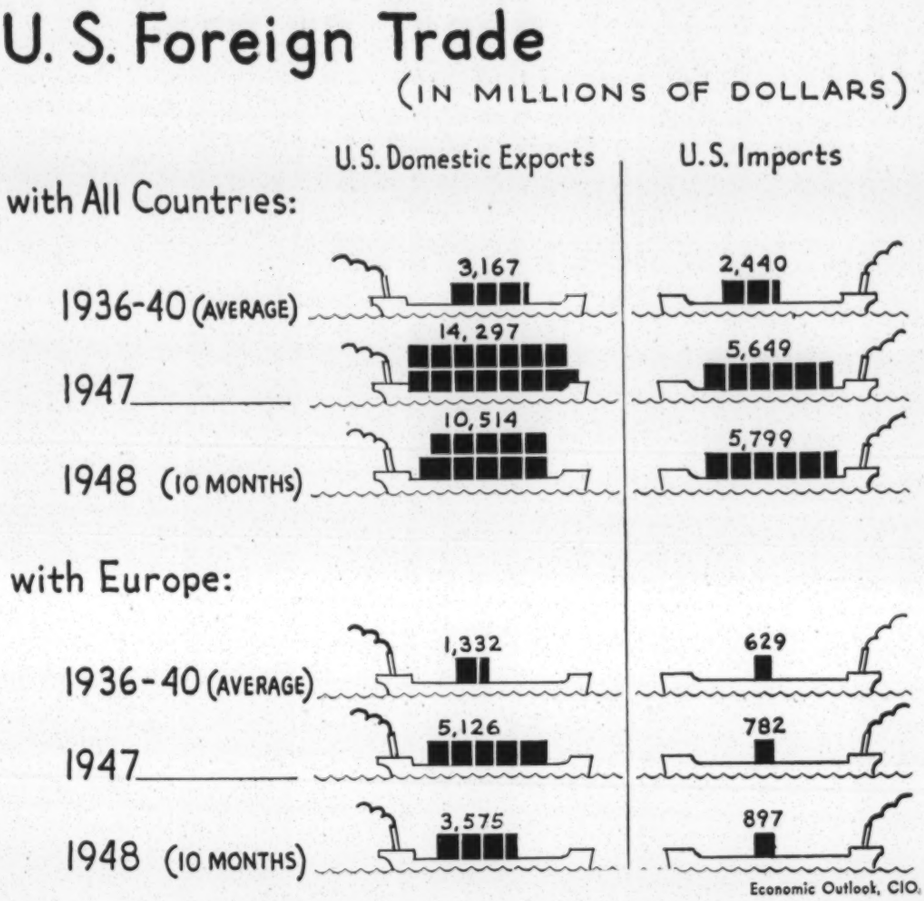
Manufacturing	215
Mining	415
Public utilities and communications	233
Building and construction	115
Agriculture and fisheries	103

Postwar comparisons would be even more striking because United States productivity per worker increased greatly during the war, whereas the wartime destruction of factories and the lag in replacement of obsolescent machinery, tended to retard British productivity. And labor productivity in Great Britain is greater than that of most other countries.

High productivity, rather than the American tariff, accounts for the American wage level. If our labor productivity were low, we would not have high wages even if our tariffs were raised a thou-

sand times. Many foreign countries have much higher tariffs than the United States, yet their wage levels are lower than ours simply because their productivity is lower than ours. The plain truth is that foreign countries worry about their ability to compete with us.

In certain cases, unusual circumstances might cause an abnormal increase in imports of a particular commodity after the tariff was reduced. The Trade Agreement procedure provides a safeguard in such cases. If, as a result of a tariff reduction, imports of a particular commodity enter the United States in abnormal quantities, so as to create or threaten serious injury to the domestic industry, the tariff reduction may be withdrawn without obtaining the consent of the other country. The other country would then be free to withdraw an equivalent concession from the United States. The provision has been incorporated in all of our trade agreements since 1943.



American labor knows that when huge American corporations shed crocodile tears over the tale that imports depress American wages, their real purpose generally is to restrict imports so they can raise prices to consumers in this country and increase their own large profits. Already full production and full employment in the United States is threatened by the unjustified increase in corporation prices and profits relative to consumer income. (*Read* CIO *Economic Outlook,* January, 1949, and October, 1948.)

Import competition helps to control monopolies, helps to keep domestic prices at competitive levels, and helps to keep our economy healthy. Reciprocal Trade Agreements, by lowering our tariffs, encourage import competition.

If we expect to export to other countries we must expand our imports from them. In 1948, United States total exports were nearly double total imports from all countries (see chart above); and exports to Europe were four times as large as our imports from Europe. Europe cannot buy our products unless the United States and other countries buy from them.

The tariff is a special tax upon imports. Not only does it restrain imports, thereby fostering domestic monopolies and higher prices to consumers, but it burdens consumers with a direct tax which falls indiscriminately upon all those who use imported products. For example, the tariff on woolen cloth taxes the poor man almost as much as the rich man. An equitable tax system, such as income taxes, is one based upon ability to pay. Mr. Cordell Hull, who sponsored the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, was a leader in the fight for the Income Tax Law in 1913.

The Charter for an International Trade Organization

The Charter for an International Trade Organization (ITO) represents an additional step toward the United States' objective of expanding world trade and stimulating world economic recovery.

The CIO is actively supporting the Charter. Not only have we testified in its behalf; we also were represented at the Havana Conference a year ago which formulated its detailed provisions.

The Charter does two things: It establishes rules that countries voluntarily agree to follow in their

conduct of trade with each other. It creates an organization, composed of the governments of all countries that adhere to the Charter, to administer these rules and to settle trade disputes.

The countries that worked together in the preparation of this Charter felt that the existence of an agreed-upon code of fair dealing in international trade, and the existence of a permanent forum for the settlement of trade disputes, would make it possible for them to cooperate in an expansion of world trade. They felt that such an organization and procedure would help to avoid the kind of economic warfare between nations which prevailed in the decades between World Wars I and II. This economic warfare dried up international trade in the 1930's, created economic disorder and unemployment in many countries, and contributed much to the economic and political instability that led to World War II.

The Charter was formulated by the fifty-seven-nation United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment, at Havana, Cuba, November 21, 1947, to March 24, 1948. Fifty-four countries have already agreed to the text of the Charter and are now submitting it to their governments for ratification. It will go to the United States Congress for decision as to action by this country early in the forthcoming session. What other countries do about the Charter, which was sponsored by our own government during the war, will be determined largely by action of the United States Congress now.

The Charter rules cover the whole range of international economic relationships: tariffs, quotas, subsidies, foreign exchange, customs formalities, cartels, commodity agreements, non-discrimination, state trading, and the international aspects of foreign investments, employment and economic development. It pledges countries to consult with each other on any international trade action affecting another country. It obligates countries to negotiate for the reduction of trade barriers, thus extending to other countries the aims of our own Reciprocal Trade Agreements program. It obligates member countries not to discriminate against the trade of each other, except in carefully limited cases which have been previously agreed upon. It obligates member countries to settle their international trade differences in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the decisions of the International Trade Organization. Instead of the rules of the jungle, orderly and democratic procedures would now be applied to international trade.

The ITO respects the sovereign equality of all countries. It does not interfere in their domestic affairs. Each country has one vote. Decisions are by majority vote, unless otherwise specified. If a country is dissatisfied with a decision of the ITO, after following the specified procedures, it may leave the Organization on sixty days' notice. Thereafter, however, it will not be entitled to the lower tariff rates and other benefits that member countries grant each other.

The charter, as an instrument to expand world trade, production, and consumption, is of general significance to American labor. Certain provisions are of particular interest to American labor; namely, those relating to employment, economic development, and cartels.

Under the Charter, each member assumes a positive obligation to maintain "full and productive employment" within its territory by "measures appropriate to its political, economic and social institutions." This principle is similar to that of the United States Employment Act of 1946. Countries agree that in solving their own production and employment problems, they will try to avoid measures that injure other countries. They agree that unfair labor conditions, particularly in export industries, create difficulties for other countries. They agree to cooperate with the International Labour Office in regard to fair labor standards. The ITO may not interfere in the internal affairs of member countries to put these principles into operation, because sovereign countries do not permit such interference, but it can lend experience and counsel to encourage members to observe these principles in their dealings with one another. It remains, of course, for actual practice to demonstrate how successfully these principles will be carried out. But it is surely a step in the right direction to obtain international recognition and agreement upon such principles.

The Charter Seeks to Aid Under-developed Countries

The Charter recognizes another basic problem of profound implication for the future of mankind. This is the problem of economically under-developed countries.

There was a time, not so long ago, when economically powerful countries assumed a perpetual right to exploit the under-developed countries as they saw fit. Poverty, disease and misery were assumed to be the unquestioned fate of a large part of mankind. The Food and Agriculture Organization noted that before the war two-thirds of the world's population were under-nourished. The time has come when the people of the under-developed countries are no longer content to suffer their lot in silence. They feel that they should have a hand in their own destiny.

Two roads are open. With the cooperation of the industrialized countries, they may develop their

production, raise their living standards, and broaden the horizon of their political liberties along the lines of democracy. The other road is an attempt by the industrialized countries to preserve the status quo, sullen resentment on the part of the "have nots" against the "haves," continued poverty, rejection of democratic ideas, and a turning toward totalitarianism. How long our kind of democracy, with its emphasis upon individual liberty and freedom could survive in such a world, no one can say.

From the United States' point of view, there is every reason to improve the lot of the under-developed countries.

Developed countries mean better markets for our exports. For example, Canada, with a population of 12 million people, bought nearly twice as many American goods before the war as did South America, with a population of 84 million people. In the prewar period, the United States exported more to Belgium and the Netherlands (with a population of 18 million people) than to China and India (with a population of 850 million people). As the under-developed countries improve their economic condition, wage levels in those countries rise. An improvement in the lot of labor in such countries, accompanied by a strengthening of trade union movements, makes for fairer conditions of international trade competition among all countries.

Another aspect of the problem was stressed in a recent foreign report of the Executive Committee of the National Planning Association, which is composed of representatives of American labor, agriculture, and industry: "It is the good fortune of the free nations," says the report, "that a large proportion of the world's resources, especially of its undeveloped resources, falls within their sphere of control. A major strategic aim of the United States must be to seek a full development and use of these resources. Both technical and financial assistance must be available to this end. Assistance given by the United States for the development of these resources will make an important contribution to economic stability and to orderly and balanced trade relations."

The Charter contains many provisions for stimulating progress of the under-developed countries. The ITO, when requested by a member, may make studies and advise members on projects for their economic development. Members must not place unreasonable obstacles upon the flow of capital, equipment, or technology to under-developed countries (except for purposes of national security). The Charter recognizes that international investment will stimulate economic development.

When an under-developed country wants to increase its tariff rates, to stimulate the development of a particular industry, the Charter permits such action under an orderly procedure: the country must obtain the consent of other interested members if the product is covered in a trade agreement, or the approval of ITO if the product is not in a trade agreement. In certain circumstances, the Charter permits countries to extend tariff preferences to each other, to broaden the market and to stimulate the development of a particular industry. Countries also may form customs unions to broaden the "free trade area" of their market.

Under the Charter, participants also agree to prevent business practices affecting international trade which restrain competition and foster monopolistic control. When a member is injured by such practices of another country, it may ask the ITO to investigate and recommend to the other country the steps necessary to curb such practices.

People are now aware how the prewar international cartels restricted international trade. Domestic monopolies often restrict trade, too.

The President's Council of Economic Advisers noted in their report of December, 1948, that control of the domestic market is passing more and more into the hands of the large corporations, through internal growth and through the swallowing of smaller firms, and that the concentration of economic power is becoming more and more intense. It recalls the findings of the Temporary National Economic Committee that before the war four or fewer firms controlled 75 percent or more of the production of each of the industries which together produced one-third by value of all industrial products in the United States.

It is hardly a coincidence that some of the most vigorous opponents of the ITO Charter, who loudly complain that the Charter is "a vast invasion of free competitive enterprise," come from huge corporations, which operate behind the shelter of exorbitant tariff protection, which were associated with German cartels before the war, and which are now under indictment for violations of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

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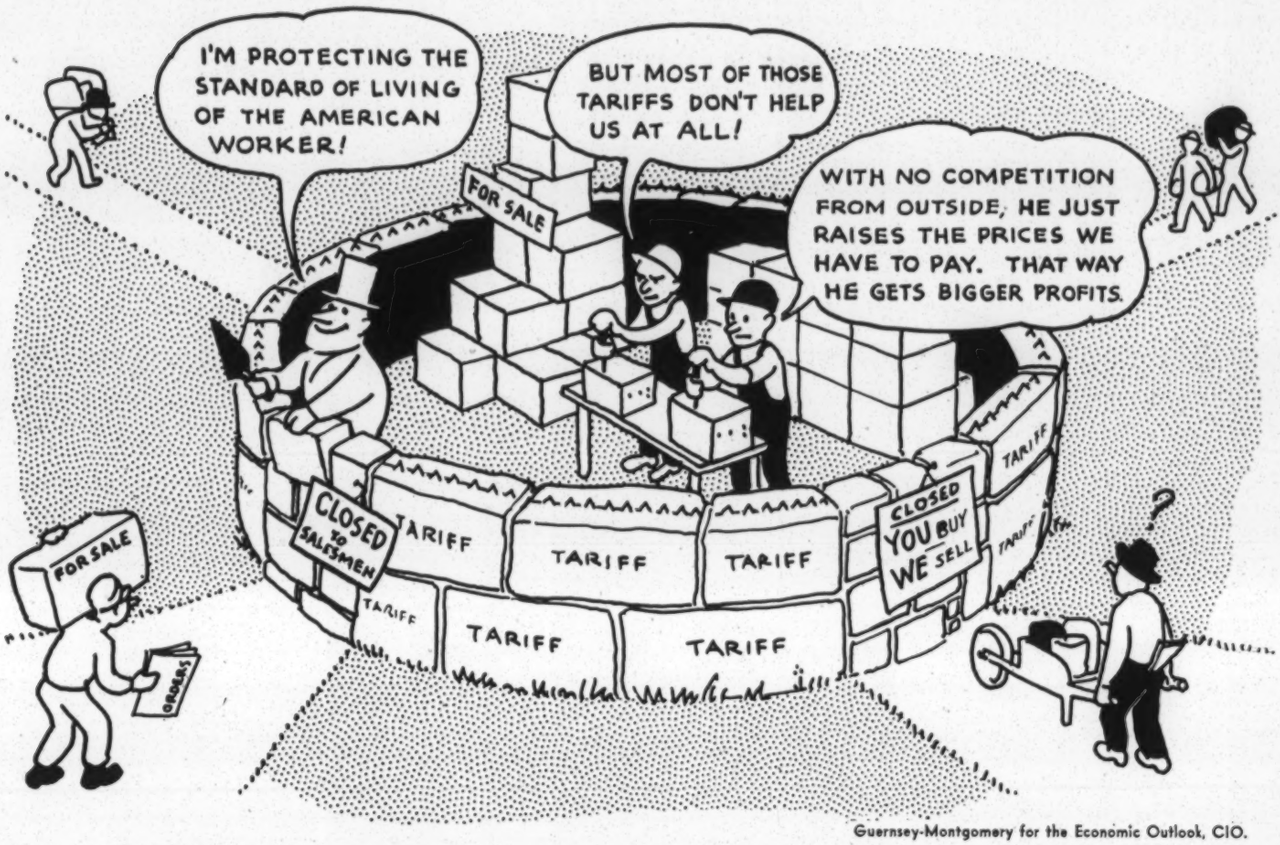

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The curbing of cartel practices, and the maintenance of import competition, are necessary to keep consumer prices at levels which will support maximum markets for our own industrial products. Cartels and monopolies make it almost impossible, in the long run, to maintain full employment, full production, and full consumption.

* * *

The European Recovery Program the Trade Agreements program, and the ITO Charter are three interlocking parts of the campaign to expand world production, to raise living standards, and to promote world economic recovery. The weakening of any one of these three tools of United States economic foreign policy would imperil the success of the others.

The struggle to maintain and extend the frontiers of democracy is more than a political battle. Economic well-being is a prerequisite of political stability and the extension of individual liberty. Only as we build towards world-wide economic recovery and permanent prosperity, to which orderly and expanding international trade makes a major contribution, can the battle against political repression be won.

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ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

Vol. XIV No. 8 August 1953

How the Minority Rules in the States

Some years ago the Supreme Court of Kentucky declared:

"Equality is the basis of patriotism. No citizen will or ought to, love the state which oppresses him; and that citizen is arbitrarily oppressed who is denied equality of representation with every other of the Commonwealth."

These words could apply with considerable force to our federal government as well, since millions of American citizens, as we have seen, are being deprived of equal representation in the Congress of the United States.[1] In the legislatures of the states, however, minority rule is becoming so oppressive and has become so widespread, that it has taken on the nature of a national scandal!

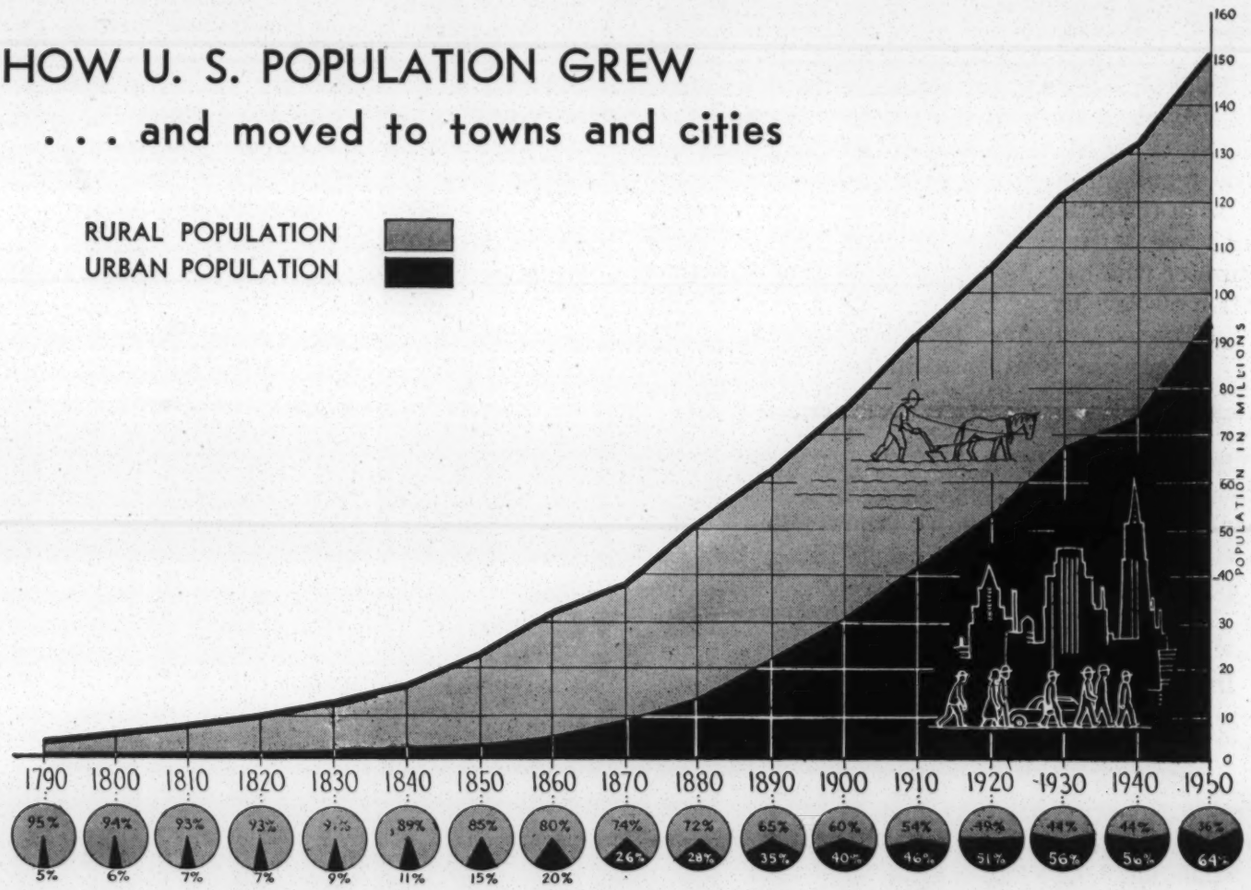
Who are the second class citizens in this underrepresented majority? They are the millions living in our towns and cities, says the United States Conference of Mayors, pointing to the fact that the 59 percent of all Americans who were living in urban centers in 1947 elected only 25 percent of the state legislators.

"59%=25% is bad arithmetic—and bad government. It hurts not just city dwellers, but everybody." [2]

Today, 64 percent of all Americans live in urban centers and each year the proportion continues to rise. Yet the representation of city dwellers in most of the states has hardly increased at all.

[1] See "Our Unrepresentative Congress: A National Problem" CIO *Economic Outlook*, July 1953.

[2] See "Government of the People, By the People, For the People," a pamphlet issued by the United States Conference of Mayors, 730 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.



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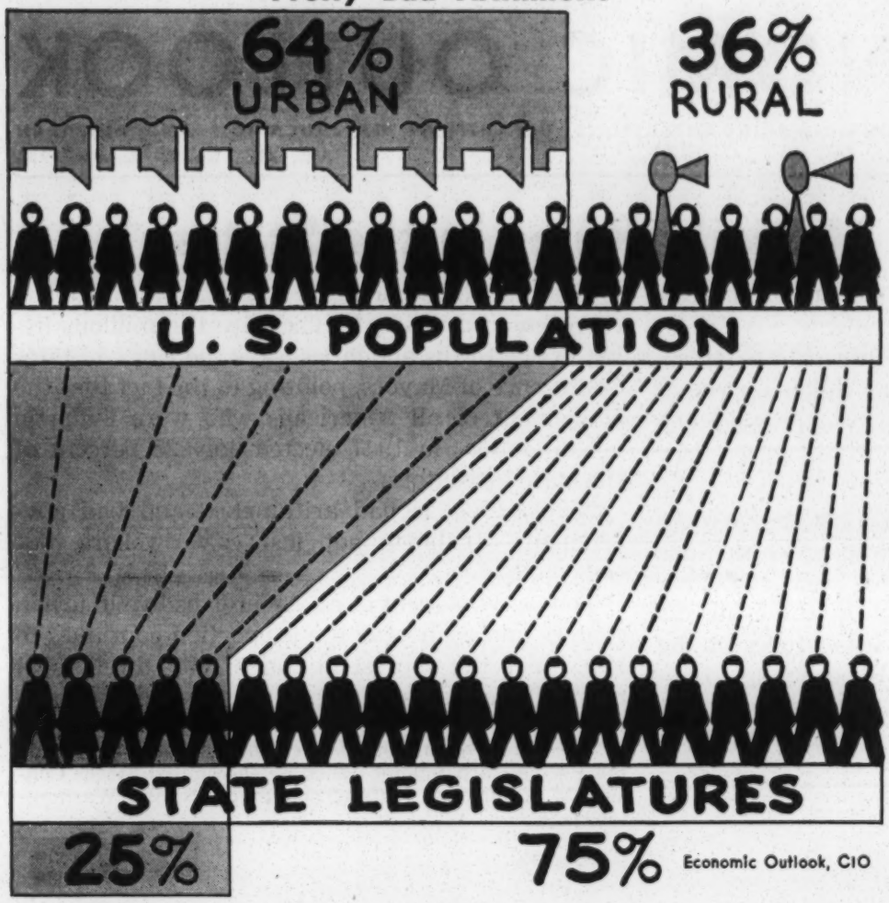
Pretty Bad Arithmetic



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Let a legislator from Oregon speak for himself:

"I represent 81,000 people. A few desks away sits a senator from a realm of sagebrush and mountains and he represents 7,200 people. This is the total population of his district. Any time there is a roll call, regardless of the proposal at issue, his vote can cancel mine. The result, of course, is that each resident of this senator's district in the backwoods has 11 times the voice in the state senate of one of my constituents in Portland." [3]

Take a roll call of the 48 state legislatures and you will find minority rule almost everywhere. Study the facts about your own state legislature. Check each representative in the Senate and in the House against the number of people he represents. Prepare to be shocked by what you find.

Take New Jersey, for example, the most heavily urbanized state in the nation. In the upper House of its state legislature sit eight senators who represent eight counties which contain four-fifths of the population. Outvoting them time after time are thirteen Senators from thirteen rural counties who represent only one-fifth of the population of New Jersey.

In Connecticut, the city of Hartford with 177,397 people has two representatives in the lower House; the town of Colebrook with a population of 592 also has two.

In agricultural Iowa, Polk County with 226,010 inhabitants—half of them living in Des Moines—is allowed one Senator in the Upper House. Mahaska County with 24,672 people has one. (The population of Polk County increased 30,000 between 1940 and 1950; Mahaska lost 2,000. Representation? Still one each.)

In California, Los Angeles County with 40 percent of the population, is entitled to only 2½ percent of the state senators.

In Georgia, the 393,000 people who live in Fulton County (Atlanta) had three representatives in the lower House in 1947; Echols County (population 3,000) had one.

America is predominantly an urban nation—over 95 million people now live in cities and towns—but the minority control over the city-dwelling majority goes far beyond the writing of state laws alone. It touches every level of government—federal, state and local.

We have already seen how the minority-controlled state legislatures influence the composition of the national government through unrestrained power to set up rotten borough federal Congressional districts within the state. But that is not all. The city majorities are even deprived by the legislatures of local self-rule in their own home towns. Not only are municipal governments controlled in their own actions, but the very existence of municipal governments must be authorized by the states from which they derive their power.

According to the U. S. Conference of Mayors, "So detailed is state control of municipal affairs that in a 20-year period, the New York State legislature made 550 amendments in the charter and passed 1,002 special acts relating to New York City alone."

[3] "Our Rotten Borough Legislatures" by Richard L. Neuberger, *The Survey*, February 1950.

In the Beginning, Just a Little Under-Representation

How, in a great Democratic nation, could such a distortion of government "by the people" come about? And why does this injustice continue to this day?

The answer can be found in the resistance of people and institutions to the changes which the growth of America into an urbanized industrial giant has long made overdue.

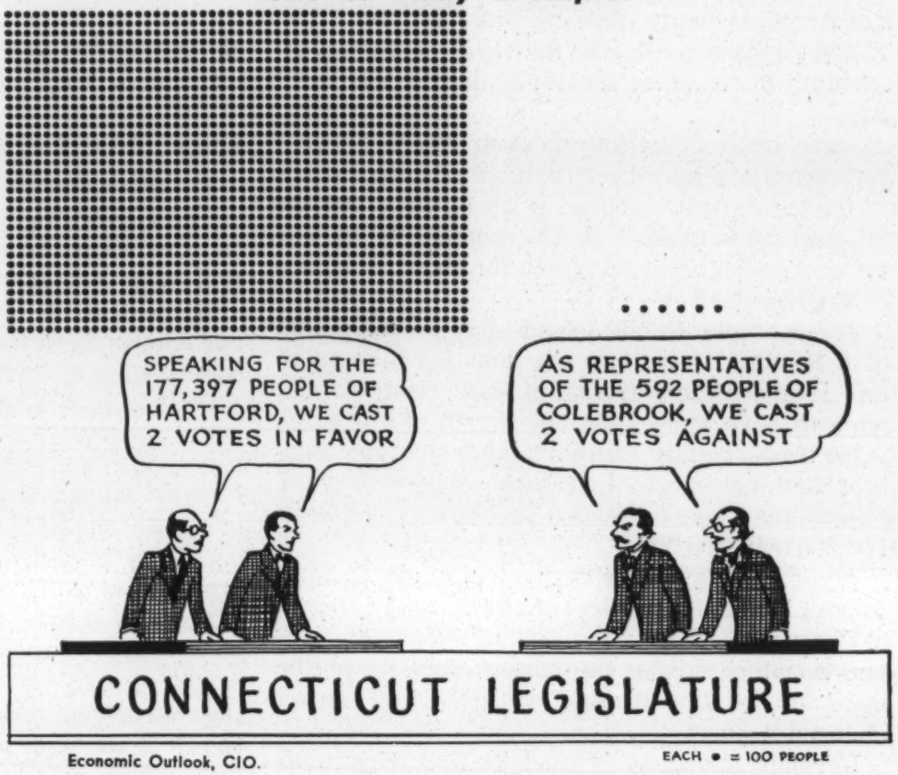
When the original 13 states adopted their state constitutions, the 95 percent of the population who lived on isolated farms and in scattered tiny villages were closely tied to their own townships and counties. In that day, it was not surprising that they wanted each township or county to have one representative in the State Legislature. In the majority of states today, this form of "area" representation, generally by counties, has become established, at least in the make-up of one of the two Houses of the State Legislature.

Back in 1790 when only 5 percent of the population lived in cities of over 2500, urban areas were so few and their populations were so small, this area form of representation involved only a slight inequity to the city dwellers.

Cities did have representation, however, and in the second House they usually had the full number to which their population entitled them. This second House, like the House of Representatives of the federal government, was often set up to reflect "people" rather than territories, like townships or counties. Under most state Constitutions seats in this second House were to be "reapportioned" at regular intervals—usually every 10 years—so that shifts in population within the state would be taken into account.

As the Constitutions of the 48 states were written, a pattern of legislative representation, somewhat like our federal system, emerged with one House based on area, the other on population. While in some states the system varies substantially from this pattern—and in detail no two state systems are alike—both area and population representation became characteristic of most state legislatures.

One of Many Examples



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Today: A Mockery of Democracy

But America would not stand still. The age of the frontier and the flintlock, and a nation predominantly made up of farmers, passed away. America's millions began to move to the cities and today a majority of us live there.

But the system by which state legislatures are elected has virtually remained the same.

Look at what this means:

In state after state "area" representation based on townships or counties has made a mockery of representative government.

Although some states have modified their Constitutions and now allow large counties two, three, or a few more additional senators (or combine two or three of the smallest counties into one senatorial district), the frustration of equality of representation continues.

Baltimore, with 47 percent of the population of Maryland, has 6 out of 29 Representatives in its Upper House. In New York and Pennsylvania, city representation in the Senate is limited to a fixed percentage of the total membership, regardless of population growth.

In Montana, Silver Bow County (Butte) with a population of 48,422 has one Senator; Petroleum County with 1,026 has one.

In California the 4,125,146 people who live in Los Angeles County elect one State Senator. The 13,568 people who live in the three counties constituting the smallest senatorial district also elect one.

Some state Constitutions even freeze unequal representation into the structures of *both* Houses of the legislature. Neither is set up to reflect the "respective numbers" in the population as our Federal constitution sets forth for the U. S. House of Representatives.

For example, Rhode Island allows a maximum of 6 Senators from any city and a minimum of one representative from any city or town but none to have more than one-fourth of the total.

No Texas county can have more than one Senator and not more than seven representatives, except that one additional is allowed for each 100,000 over 700,000.

Wyoming allows at least one seat to each county in both Houses, regardless of size.

Delaware froze its division of representatives and Senators among the various sections of the state in its Constitution of 1897 and hasn't changed it since.

Vermont and Connecticut base their representatives in the lower House on townships. Representation in the Senate is based on the counties.

We could go on recording state after state; in the overwhelming majority one House or both are set up so that political units rather than people are accorded major recognition in the legislatures.

By contrast, the lack of balance in the United States Senate—where New York has 92 times the population of Nevada but each state gets two Senate seats—is almost trivial. In California and Connecticut, for example, the vote of a resident of the smallest legislative district is worth 300 times the vote of a citizen who lives in the largest.

There is no logical justification for this outrageous distortion of the concept of representative government. Why should a sparsely populated county made up mostly of sagebrush or pastureland share equal voting rights with another, containing hundreds of thousands of people?

If representation based on townships and counties had some justification 100 years ago—when most of the population was rural and widely dispersed—there can be none today.

Any significance the county may have had in the day of the birchbark canoe or the covered wagon has dwindled in the age of the jet plane and the atom bomb. Besides, our American political system never conferred "sovereign" powers on the counties, such as were enjoyed by the 13 original sovereign states. There is no parallel in history or in function that can justify a status for the county in the structure of State government comparable to the role of the state in the government of the United States!

They Stop Counting People

But the worst shame of the states is the refusal of the legislatures to reapportion seats according to population changes *even* when the Constitution requires that they do so.

In most of the states representation in at least one House is supposed to reflect population in some degree as we have seen.

In 42 states the constitutions hold the legislators themselves responsible to reapportion legislative seats generally every 10 years, after the Federal Census is conducted. Yet in state after state, as the movement toward the cities has gained momentum, the dominantly rural legislators have refused to act. *(See page 63.)*

Perhaps it was too much to entrust this responsibility to them, since the action inevitably would remove many from their jobs. But even the courts have refused to compel compliance with the clear language of the state constitutions. Both state and federal judges have regularly ruled that they are without power since reapportionment is a "political" and not a "judicial" question.

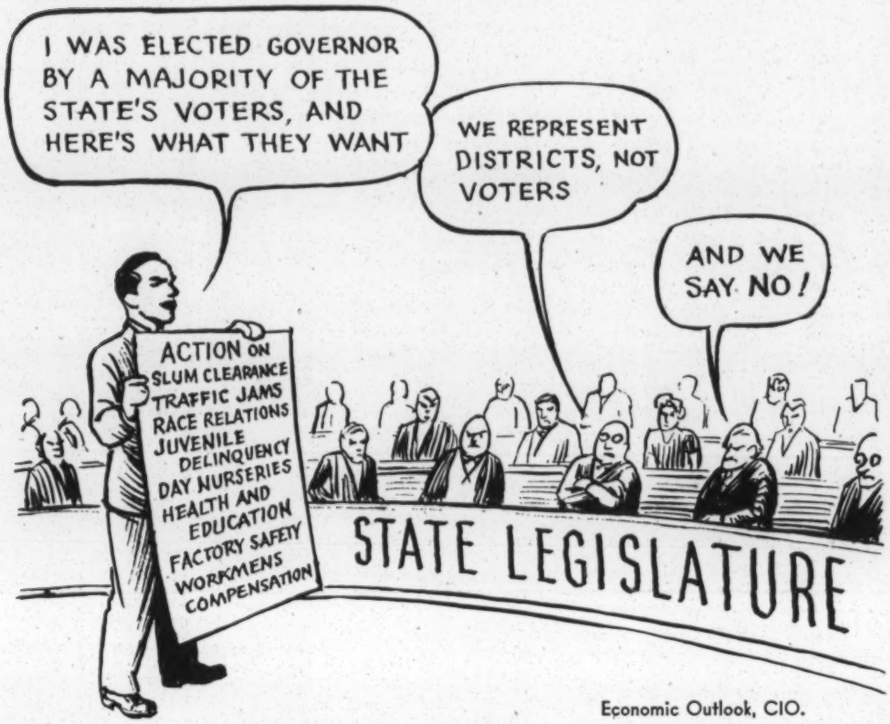
As a consequence, only 19 state legislatures have gotten around to reapportioning one or both Houses since the Census of 1940. Connecticut last established its number of state representatives in 1818 and state senators in 1903. Mississippi's last reapportionment was in 1890, Illinois' and Alabama's in 1901. Most have not reapportioned for over ten, twenty, or thirty years.

Refusal of legislatures to reapportion ensures rotten borough control over the entire legislature. While the ideal of equal representation may already be stultified in one House, because it is based on area representation, the same effect is achieved in the other House as well by a refusal to reassign representation based on new population shifts.

In the Michigan upper House, the Senators from the five largest districts represent areas with a population of 2,432,743; the five smallest, 400,823. But even in the lower House, the disparity is now almost as great—577,617 against 141,480.

Here's how Iowa (last reapportionment: Senate 1928, House 1904) practices "equal" representation: Five urban counties with a combined population of 635,000 elect 5 Senators; 20 rural counties with 627,000 people elect 20. In the lower House the 10 representatives from the 5 urban counties are outvoted almost five to one by the 46 representatives from the rural counties.

Even Nebraska, which so hopefully adopted a



Economic Outlook, CIO.

one-house "model" state legislature a few years ago allows one representative for 17,936 rural citizens as against an average of one for 40,145 city people in Omaha's populous Douglas County. (Nebraska last reapportioned in 1934.)

In state after state enlightened Governors have been elected by overwhelming majorities after promising to initiate critically needed programs in the field of housing, education, social insurance or tax reform. And time after time the peoples' will has been frustrated by the minority stranglehold over one or both Houses of the State Legislature.

Why Progress Stops at the State Line

Is there any wonder why, for the solution of so many vital issues, millions of Americans must look to their federal government instead of the capitols of their states?

While the United States Congress by no means reflects equal representation, its composition is still far more responsive to the needs of America's urban millions than the minority-dominated legislative bodies of most of the 48 states.

Even though modern-day problems increasingly require national leadership in this age of industrial inter-dependence, there is ample scope for constructive action within the states on many issues, if state governments do not default their responsibilities.[4]

Problems like slum clearance, urban traffic congestion, race relations, juvenile delinquency, day nurseries to aid working mothers, health and education, factory safety, workmen's compensation and a score of others plague city people but are often unknown in rural areas. Without adequate funds and state cooperation, cities are powerless to solve these problems unaided. Yet, the rural dominated legislatures—unfamiliar or unsympathetic to them—too often do little or nothing to help.

Is further intervention by the Federal Government the only answer? Or can representation in the legislatures of the states be so reconstituted that the needs and views of the urban majority receive attention and get action?

Too often special interest groups—not always originating in the countryside—try to pit farmer against city dweller in an effort to maintain a profitable status quo.

The State Senator from Portland, from whom we have already heard, speaks pointedly about the experience of Oregon on this issue:

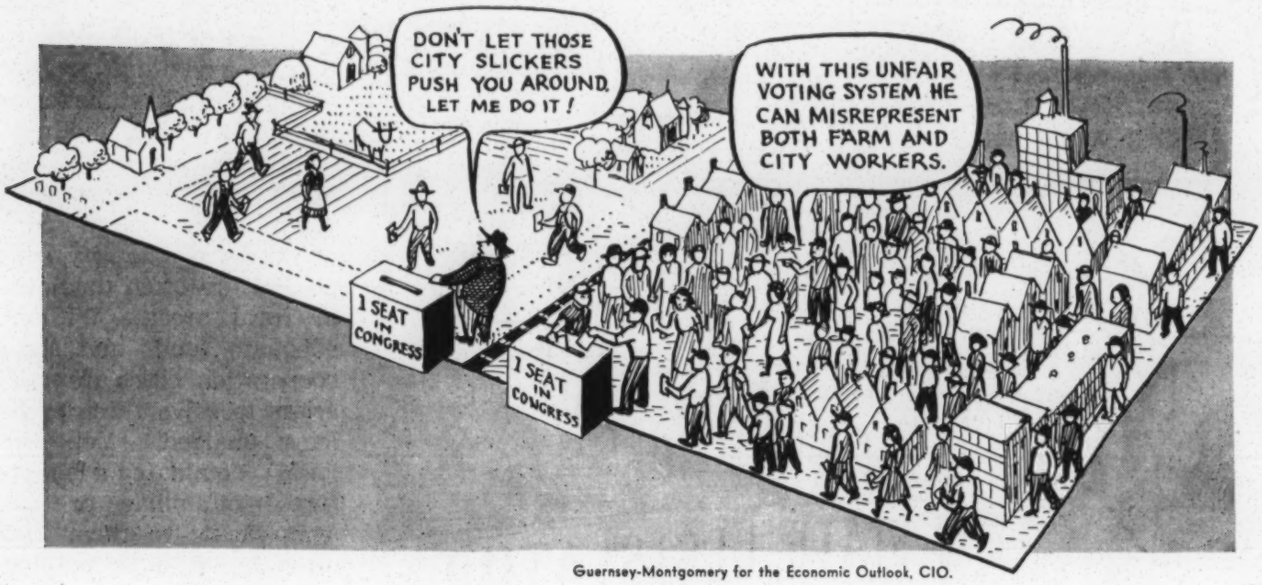
"The chasm between farm and city interests is of course exaggerated. True, there are contrasts in emphasis. Yet, in nine instances out of ten, the law which is good for the truck driver is good for the orchardist as well. May I be pardoned a personal example in proof?

"As I write these words, the Oregon State Grange, largest agricultural organization in our rural state, publishes its 'box score' on the recent legislative session. Although I represent the state's only large city, I led the Grange's list with eleven 'favorable' votes and one regarded as 'unfavorable.'

"Ironically, at the bottom of the Grange compilation, with only three 'favorable' votes each, was a trio of senators from agricultural areas. Such episodes as this at least ought to help convince the dwellers in the hinterland that legislative reapportionment will not adversely affect their welfare."

The urban-rural fight over representation is not in reality a conflict between farmers and city citizens. In the states where the issue has been

[4] See "States' Rights: How Far Do They Go" *CIO Economic Outlook* July-August 1952.



Guernsey-Montgomery for the Economic Outlook, CIO.

drawn the sharpest, few real "dirt farmers" actually sit in the halls of the legislatures.

The so-called urban-rural rivalry for legislative representation is largely a smokescreen. As Dean McHenry has pointed out with regard to California in the National Municipal Review:

"Certain business interests in the State have found it easier to make their influence felt in the legislature through Senators from rural areas. Privately owned utilities, banks, insurance companies and other concerns with crucial legislative programs have discovered some 'cow country' legislators more responsive to their demands and less committed to contrary points of view on key social and economic issues than are urban representatives." [5]

The vigorous opposition of the California Chamber of Commerce (not a dirt farmer organization) to a change in legislative representation more favorable to the cities seems to bear out this view.

Speaking on this issue in 1948, the *Los Angeles Daily News* said:

"The State Chamber of Commerce's charge that reapportionment would 'disenfranchise' the rural counties isn't borne out by analysis. Far from 'unbalancing' California's legislature, the proposed measure, if approved next November, would actually restore some semblance of democratic balance to what has been plainly an unbalanced, undemocratic legislative body. . . . Obviously what opponents of reapportionment are trying to do is to manufacture a bit of smog."

[5] Dean E. McHenry, "Urban-vs-Rural in California," National Municipal Review, July 1946.

What Can Be Done?

Respect for American democracy, both at home and abroad, as well as its ability to fulfill its basic purpose, demand the end of unrepresentative government.

The states are a good place to begin, since it is there that the rotten borough system grows the roots which eventually envelop even our federal Congress.

It is true that the United States Congress itself can end the evil of rotten borough in its own House of Representatives by enacting the Celler proposal to establish federal Congressional districts of reasonably equal size.[6]

Similarly, the state legislature can alleviate some of the gross injustice of unequal representation by reapportioning state districts as their own Constitutions prescribe. It is also within their power, and sometimes solely theirs, to initiate basic revisions of State Constitutions in order to bring their representation system up to date.

But there is a tragic dilemma in this situation. To end the minority stranglehold over our legislative bodies we are largely dependent on the initiative of these elected representatives themselves. Yet, the reluctance of legislators to vote themselves out of their own jobs, the pressure of party and special group interests, and the sheer force of inertia perpetuates the evil of misrepresentative government year after year. Since the courts won't act to destroy this veto power what then can be done?

Public opinion when sufficiently aroused can ultimately become an overwhelming force.

[6] For an explanation of the Celler Bill, see CIO *Economic Outlook*, July, 1953.

In three states—Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin, the combined pressure of patriotic citizen groups has set reform movements in motion during the last twelve months.

These efforts include proposals to secure basic constitutional changes which will revise or scrap altogether the outmoded "area" system of representation; to take from the legislatures their power to control reapportionment or, if the legislature fails to act, to give reapportionment powers to an "ex officio" committee which would be subject to the discipline of the courts; to establish maximum limits that the population of legislative districts can deviate from the statewide average, like the 15 percent limitation for federal Congressional districts suggested by the Celler proposal.

The people still retain power to secure reform by effective use of the ballot box.

In some states, a Constitution which has become unworkable due to changing times, can be amended by a petition of the people. Initiative measures, in those states, provide one form of action that can be used to escape the vise of minority rule.

In all states the governors at least, are elected by the ballots of all of the people; in this case the votes of the city dweller and the urban resident count alike. *Before elections* all candidates for statewide office, and the political parties as well, can be forced to commit themselves to constitutional reform and reapportionment if an outraged public would demand it.

Certainly it appears to many, if not yet to the United States Supreme Court itself, that the Constitution of this land is being trampled upon when the vote of any citizen counts for but one-three-hundredth of the vote of another when electing the government that passes laws affecting both.

The 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States specifically proclaims that:

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

When, as in California, the people of the urban counties, who pay almost 70 percent of the state's taxes, are allowed only five senators in the legislature and fourteen senators, who represent only 6 percent of the entire state population, enjoy a veto power over the state's billion dollar budget—it appears to many—including the United States

DATES OF LAST REAPPORTIONMENTS OF STATE LEGISLATURES, BY HOUSE

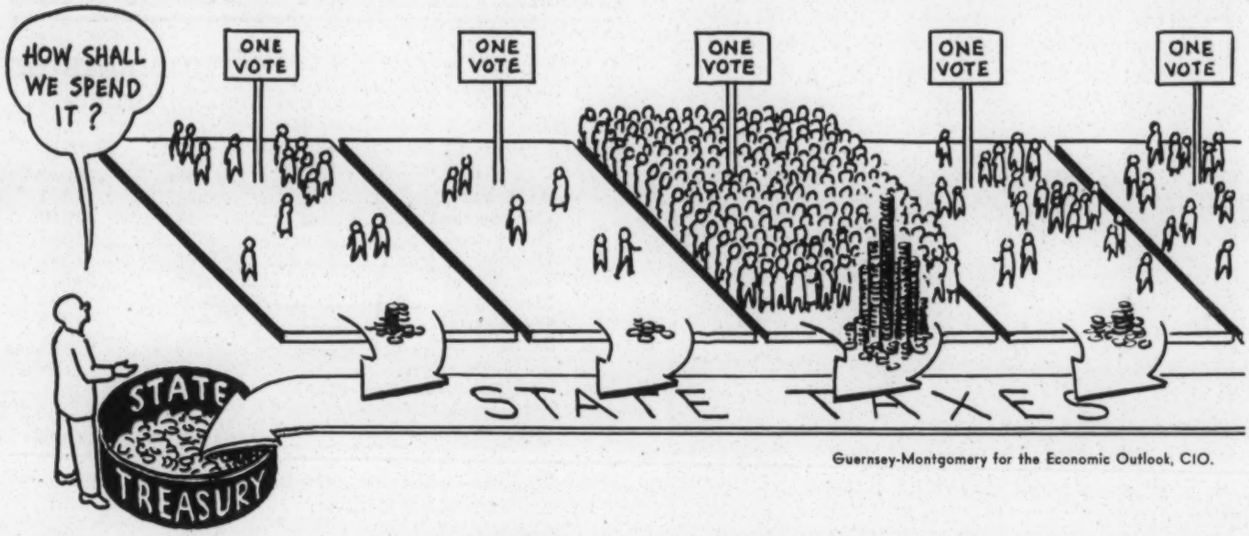
States	Senate	House
1900 Census or before—8 States		
Alabama	1901	1901
Connecticut	1903	1818
Delaware	1897	1897
Illinois	1901	1901
Iowa	1928	1904
Mississippi	1890	1890
Oklahoma	1908	1941
Tennessee	1905	1905
1910 Census—last for one or both Houses—1 State		
Minnesota	1913	1913
1920 Census—last for one or both Houses—8 States		
Indiana	1921	1921
Kansas	1923	1943
Louisiana	1921	1921
Maryland	1922	1922
Michigan	1925	1943
Montana	1921	1941 (1)
Pennsylvania	1921	1921
Texas	1920	1920
1930 Census—last for one or both Houses—11 States		
Arizona	1932	1932
Arkansas	1936	1936
Colorado	1933	1933
Nebraska	1934	1934
North Dakota	1931	1931
Oregon	1933	1931
Rhode Island	1930	1930
South Carolina	1932	1932
Washington	1931	1931
West Virginia	1937	1933
Wisconsin	1931	1931
Wyoming	1933	1933
1940 Census—last for one or both Houses—17 States		
California	1941	1941
Florida	1945	1945
Georgia	1946	1951
Idaho	.....	1941
Kentucky	1942	1942
Maine	1941	1941
Massachusetts	1947	1948
Missouri	1945	1945
Nevada	1947	1947
New Hampshire	.....	1943
New Jersey	1947	1947
New Mexico	1949	1949
New York	1943	1943
North Carolina	1941	1941
South Dakota	1947	1947
Vermont	1941	(2)
Virginia	1948	1948
1950 Census—last for one or both Houses—2 States		
Ohio	1951	1951
Utah	1951	1951

Source: Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library and Citizens Bureau Questionnaire, March 1952.

(1) Council of State Governments gives last date for Montana—House–1951.

(2) Each town and city has one representative according to State Constitution.

Note: The fact that a reapportionment was carried out recently by no means indicates that it necessarily was carried out equitably.



Guernsey-Montgomery for the Economic Outlook, CIO.

Conference of Mayors—that the Constitution of the United States is being violated.

The duty to restore truly representative government to the people is the responsibility of all of us. Both as individuals and to the groups to which we all belong—church, patriotic, professional, civic, labor, farm, business, Republican and Democratic—we must unite to win this battle. Even the most conservative citizen—the one who really wants to solve community problems "at home" rather than to content himself merely by making states' rights speeches—has a place in this crusade.

In the effort to make the 48-state legislatures and the U. S. Congress truly representative of the people as they live today, the men and women of the CIO will give their complete support.

ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

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COUNTY OF WALTON, STATE OF FLORIDA

Precinct No._____ Date_____ 19_____

NAME _____

Address _____

Age	Occupation	Col.	Sex	Party	Nativity	F. H.

Date of Birth

This registration is made in accordance with the laws of the State of Florida.

_____
Signature of Elector

By_____

Supervisor of Registration. Deputy

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO ALL VOTERS

YOU MUST NOTIFY REGISTRATION OFFICE of any change in address. Fill in following spaces and return by mail to the Office of the Supervisor of Registration.

New Address City-St. & No. or Rural Route

My residence is located: Inside City Limits ☐ Outside City Limits ☐

All registration questionnaires must be filled in, signed and returned by you if you wish to remain qualified to VOTE.

Date .....19.....

Sign .....

BOWEN SUPPLY CO., PLANT CITY, FLA. FORM 11

COUNTY, FLORIDA

THIS REGISTRATION IS MADE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAWS OF FLORIDA

R. A. GRAY SECRETARY OF STATE

PERMANENT REGISTRATION OF VOTERS

PRECINCT RECORD

LAST NAME	FIRST	MIDDLE	OCCUPATION	AGE	DATE OF BIRTH	REG. NUMBER

STREET ADDRESS	PLACE OF BIRTH	SEX	COLOR

CITY	STATE	MAILING ADDRESS

NATURALIZATION DATA - IF FOREIGN BORN

COURT	STATE	DATE	CERTIFICATE NO.	RESIDE IN MUNICIPALITY? IF SO GIVE NAME

YES	NO	HEIGHT	WEIGHT	COMPLEXION	EYES	HAIR	BLIND	LOSS OF LIMB	OTHER	ILLITERACY

CAN VOTER BOTH WRITE NAME AND MARK BALLOT? IF ANSWER IS NO, STATE FULLY DISABILITY AND DESCRIPTION

OATH: I DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR OR AFFIRM THAT I WILL PROTECT AND DEFEND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA: THAT I AM TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE AND HAVE BEEN A RESIDENT OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA FOR TWELVE MONTHS AND OF THIS COUNTY FOR SIX MONTHS AND I AM QUALIFIED TO VOTE UNDER THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA.

SWORN AND SUBSCRIBED BEFORE ME

THIS_____DAY OF_____19____

SUPERVISOR OF REGISTRATION

BY_____

SUPERVISOR ☐ DEPUTY ☐

I STATE UNDER OATH THAT ALL OF THESE STATEMENTS ARE TRUE

MARK | SIGNATURE OF VOTER | PARTY

AS AN ELECTOR VOTES RECORD FACT OF VOTING WITH AN X IN PROPER PLACE.

VOTING RECORD

1ST PRIM.																										
2ND PRIM.																										
GENERAL																										
YEAR	50	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	60	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	70	1	2	3	4
SPECIAL																									
SPECIAL																									
SPECIAL																									

SCHOOL						PERSONAL PROP.	FREE HOLDER		PARTY	LAST NAME	FIRST	MIDDLE
1												
DIST.		PRECINCT NO.				TAXPAYER	CITY	COUNTY	PARTY			

OUT

REGISTRATION NO.	LAST NAME	FIRST	MIDDLE

ADDRESS CHANGED TO	PRECINCT	DATE	DEPUTY	REMARKS	DATE	CLERK
ORIGINAL REGISTRATION ON LINE BELOW						

The humblest citizen of all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause is stronger than all the hosts of Error.
William Jennings Bryan - 1896

ANOTHER JOB FOR THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

In 1948, when all was not well in many of our Southern courts, women--church women--sat in the courts, oftentimes saying nothing, but by their very presence, the character of the courts was changed for better. Now, in an effort to circumvent the Civil Rights legislation passed by Congress last fall and at the same time curtail a large registration of Negroes, our several Southern states are in the process of passing very restrictive voters' registration legislation which will make it very difficult for any new voter - Negro or white to register. This is a denial of basic democratic principles and will bring in its trail injustices and discrimination that will inevitably bring law suits costly both to the taxpayer and the defendant.

There is something we can do as we did in our campaign "Know Your Courts as You Know Your Schools." We must know our Registrars and their methods:

BY VISITS TO THE OFFICE
AND OBSERVING METHODS USED. Hale County too-

****

For your guide here are a list of questions for you to fill in from your observations:

1. When and where are registration books open in your community? In Hale County Court House
2. When and where do Negroes register? In Court House along with white
3. Is there an application form to be filled out in order to register? yes If so, attach a sample.) In closing a blank
4. Is every one permitted to register after filling out registration forms? Whites In the Negroes fill out their form & republicized
5. What questions were asked by the Registrar? (Use another sheet of paper to list them, if many questions were asked.)
6. Are the same questions asked Negroes and whites? yes
7. How did you obtain this information?
   a. By going in registration office and observing? yes
   b. Was permitted to observe during registration? _____
   c. Talked to people who had registered? yes
   d. Talked to the Registrar? yes

FILL IN AND MAIL TO: and to Mrs. Carter Prattville Ala

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Fellowship of the Concerned
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. W. C. Carter
Prattville Ala.

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William Jennings Bryan - 1896

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There is something we can do as we did in our campaign "Know Your Courts as You Know Your Schools." We must know our Registrars and their methods:

BY VISITS TO THE OFFICE
AND OBSERVING METHODS USED.

Walton county Ga

****

For your guide here are a list of questions for you to fill in from your observations:

1. When and where are registration books open in your community? County Court House - open Continuously until 30 days before election.
2. When and where do Negroes register? Same as whites.
3. Is there an application form to be filled out in order to register? If so, attach a sample.) No
4. Is every one permitted to register after filling out registration forms? Whites Yes, Negroes Yes.
5. What questions were asked by the Registrar? (Use another sheet of paper to list them, if many questions were asked.)
6. Are the same questions asked Negroes and whites? Yes
7. How did you obtain this information?
   a. By going in registration office and observing? ✓
   b. Was permitted to observe during registration? ____
   c. Talked to people who had registered? ✓
   d. Talked to the Registrar? ✓

FILL IN AND MAIL TO:

Sample registration blank & card attached.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Fellowship of the Concerned
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

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SYPHILIS AMONG MEN OF DRAFT AGE IN THE UNITED STATES

AN ANALYSIS OF 1,895,778 SEROLOGIC REPORTS OF MEN AGED 21-35 WHO WERE EXAMINED UNDER THE SELECTIVE TRAINING AND SERVICE ACT OF 1940

R. A. VONDERLEHR, M.D.
Assistant Surgeon General, U. S. Public Health Service
AND
LIDA J. USILTON, M.A.
Principal Statistician, Division of Venereal Diseases,
U. S. Public Health Service
WASHINGTON, D. C.

For years those struggling with the syphilis problem in the United States have been fighting an unknown antagonist. What is the problem? Where is it? Lack of satisfactory answers to these questions has handicapped every effort at syphilis control. The objective of this study is to discover, for the purpose of applying the machinery of control more efficiently, what and where the syphilis problem is.

SOURCE AND NATURE OF MATERIAL

The data used were taken from the reports of clinical examinations and blood tests given to 2,093,138 selectees and volunteers through Aug. 31, 1941. The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 requires a routine serologic blood test for syphilis as a part of the general examination of every draftee and volunteer. The results of these tests were recorded in quadruplicate on standard report forms, together with a statement by the examining physician as to the presence of primary or secondary lesions. One copy of each form was forwarded to the United States Public Health Service by the health officers of forty-four states and the District of Columbia. Through April 15, 1941 1,051,985 reports of blood tests had been received. Another 1,041,153

were received through Aug. 31, 1941. A summary of the first reports has been published.[1]

The study does not include data from Idaho, Kentucky, Oregon and Vermont. These states did not use the standard report forms, and the data they supplied were incomplete. A further reduction in the number of cases included in the study was made when all men under 21 and over 35 were excluded. In most states their number was too small to yield rates which could be used with confidence. In addition, men of unknown age or residence were excluded because it was impossible to classify them properly. Finally, since races other than Negro and white were grouped with unknowns in the tabulations, they were excluded also. The study therefore deals with white and Negro men of known residence, aged 21 to 35 inclusive.

The proportion of the total sample lost because of the exclusions just described was small. Of the total 2,093,138 men for whom reports were received, 114,865 were excluded for age and another 82,495 for lack of data regarding race or residence. Thus, reports on 1,895,778 individuals, 90.6 per cent of the total number reported, form the basis for all calculations.

DEFINITION OF RATES

All rates represent the proportion of men between the ages of 21 and 35 with suggestive early lesions or with positive or doubtful serologic test results. "Observed" rates refer to the group actually examined. "Corrected" rates are an estimate of the prevalence in the entire male population between the ages of 21 and 35.

It might be objected that the inclusion of doubtful tests among the positives, by increasing the total number of infections, would make the rate too high. However, in the 1941 evaluation of serodiagnostic tests for syphilis[2] less than 0.3 per cent of positive reactions were found in known nonsyphilitic bloods, whereas at least 10 to 15 per cent of known syphilitic bloods gave negative reactions. It is therefore highly probable that the total number of positive reports would be increased rather than decreased if an infallible criterion for the

1. Vonderlehr, R. A., and Usilton, Lida J.: Syphilis Among Selectees and Volunteers, J. A M. A. **117:** 1350 (Oct. 18) 1941.

2. Parran, Thomas, and others: Serodiagnostic Tests for Syphilis in State Laboratories: The 1941 Evaluation of Their Performance, J. A. M. A. **117:** 1167 (Oct. 4) 1941.

presence or absence of syphilis could be found and applied. This interpretation is, of course, valid for statistical purposes only. It might lead to tragic errors if applied to the diagnosis of individual cases.

CORRECTION FACTORS

The chief factor which required correction in the rates was that of age. The younger men, for the most part without dependents or occupations to defer them from the draft, were numerically more strongly represented than the older men. This bias was constant throughout the sample and, since positive blood tests were found more and more frequently with increasing age, had the effect of lowering the rates. Consequently the correction for age raised the national rates in every case. Among the rates corrected for age only, i. e. the rates specific for race and residence, there is only one instance in which correction produced a reduction in rate. This was among rural Negroes in Kansas, where, probably because of the small number tested, a higher rate was found among the younger men. Similarly there was only one state in which the total rate for either whites or Negroes was lower after correction. In New Mexico the Negro rate was reduced from 318.8 to 304.8. In this case too few rural Negroes were examined to provide corrected rates for the group.

The direction of the biases introduced by race and residence was less constant than were those resulting from age. In some states, particularly those with large Negro populations, proportionately more colored than white persons were tested; elsewhere the reverse was true. Similar variations with regard to urban and rural residence existed. The total effect of these variations was to increase the rates, mainly by inclusion of an undue proportion of Negroes, thus counterbalancing to some extent the lowering of the rates by the age distribution.

This is demonstrated in some states where certain corrected rates were appreciably lower than the observed rates. These include Florida (total rate), Georgia (total rate), Louisiana (urban rate), Maryland (rural rate) and Mississippi (urban rate). In each case in which correction resulted in reduction there was a smaller proportion of Negroes among the state population than among the individuals examined.

For the three factors age, race and residence the rates can be corrected to represent the prevalence of syphilis with reasonable accuracy as far as it is reflected in the occurrence of positive and doubtful serologic reactions and suggestive early lesions. That other less tangible factors of selection exist in the sample cannot be denied. A few that come most readily to mind are marital status, permanence of residence in a community and economic status. These cannot be identified with assurance, much less evaluated or corrected; and it must suffice that their existence is suspected but their effect unknown.

CALCULATION OF THE RATES

The methods of calculating the rates and of making the corrections were sufficiently simple and straightforward. The number of men examined and the number in whom evidence of syphilis was found were tabulated according to residence (rural or urban), race (white or Negro) and age. From these two sets of figures, specific rates of prevalence were calculated. These rates were then weighted by the state populations in corresponding age, race and residence groups. The populations used for weighting were obtained from the 1940 census reports. The census tabulations, however, set up the age limits as 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, whereas the selectee tabulations had the age limits 21-25, 26-30, 31-35. Consequently it was necessary to interpolate. This was done by means of the La Grange formula applied to the cumulative population curves. Nine fixed points were used for this purpose (a polynomial of the eighth degree).

In some states the number of Negroes tested (urban, rural or both) was so small that no rates could be calculated. In all such cases the entire group was omitted from both numerator and denominator of subsequent calculations. In other instances race-residence groups contained so few individuals that only one or two of the age specific rates could be calculated. When this occurred the missing rate (or rates) was estimated on the basis of known rates for the other age groups.

The age specific rates were multiplied by the corresponding state populations to get the estimated total number of persons in each age-race-residence group showing some evidence of syphilis. When this estimated number of infected persons is divided by the

state population of the group, the result is the rate corrected for age. The total estimated number of infected persons for the state in each race and residence group divided by the total populations of these groups gave the corrected rates for the state by race and residence. The same process applied to the total number of syphilitic men and the total populations in the forty-four reporting states and the District of Columbia gave the corrected national rates by race and residence.

HOW MUCH SYPHILIS?

Now, how much syphilis is there among white and Negro men in the United States between the ages of 21 and 35? The corrected rate of prevalence is 47.7 per thousand (table 1). Among the men actually examined and without any correction the rate is 45.3 per thousand (table 2). The highest rate of prevalence is among Negroes, the corrected rates for the entire country being 272.0 per thousand for Negroes and 23.5 per thousand for white men (table 1).

Among both white men and Negroes the rates rise sharply with increasing age. Table 2 shows observed white and Negro rates for the three age groups in both urban and rural areas. Among the white urban dwellers the rate of prevalence is almost four times as high in the age group 31-35 as in the age group 21-25. Among Negro urban dwellers the rate among the oldest men is about twice the rate among the youngest men. This, of course, does not mean that the older men are exposed to syphilis twice or four times as fast as the younger men but rather that there is a constantly accumulating backlog of uncured syphilis. This is due in part to the fact that too much syphilis never is brought to treatment and in part to the fact that too many syphilitic patients are not held through an adequate treatment course.

WHERE IS IT?

Of greatest practical value to those operating the control machinery is the distribution of syphilis. Where is it? The rates by state and region given in table 1 are most effectively illustrated on the map showing total rates of syphilis in each state. It will be seen that the highest rates are in Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana. When white and Negro populations are considered separately the same

TABLE 1.—*Syphilis Rates per Thousand White and Negro Men Aged 21-35 in the United States, Based on 1,895,778 Selectee Serologic Reports and Arranged in Descending Order by States, U. S. Census Division and Region*

White		Negro		Total	
Area	Syphilis Rate	Area	Syphilis Rate	Area	Syphilis Rate
State:		State:		State:	
1. New Mexico	54.2	1. Florida	405.9	1. Mississippi	171.5
2. Texas	53.4	2. Texas	343.2	2. Florida	158.6
3. Florida	53.3	3. Georgia	327.6	3. South Carolina	145.5
4. Arizona	48.9	4. Maryland	324.6	4. Georgia	133.2
5. South Carolina	48.8	5. Mississippi	321.6	5. Louisiana	116.5
6. West Virginia	46.9	6. Arkansas	314.3	6. Arkansas	98.6
7. Oklahoma	39.5	7. New Mexico	304.8	7. Texas	93.4
8. Tennessee	39.4	8. South Carolina	296.3	8. District of Columbia	92.7
9. Georgia	39.0	9. Arizona	295.8	9. Alabama	92.3
10. Louisiana	37.9	10. Tennessee	277.8	10. North Carolina	84.6
11. Mississippi	35.2	11. District of Columbia	272.9	11. Tennessee	81.1
12. Nevada	32.1	12. Louisiana	272.0	12. Virginia	80.8
13. Virginia	31.0	13. Indiana	267.2	13. Maryland	77.3
14. Arkansas	30.0	14. Oklahoma	254.5	14. Arizona	60.4
15. Indiana	29.9	15. Virginia	245.9	15. West Virginia	57.2
16. Missouri	28.5	16. Delaware	239.6	16. New Mexico	56.5
17. North Carolina	28.5	17. North Carolina	237.4	17. Oklahoma	54.7
18. Maryland	28.4	18. Missouri	231.6	18. Delaware	51.5
19. Alabama	28.2	19. Alabama	227.1	19. Missouri	41.6
20. California	27.0	20. California	212.3	20. Indiana	38.3
21. Maine	26.9	21. West Virginia	211.7	21. Nevada	32.1
22. Wyoming	25.8	22. Illinois	211.4	22. California	30.7
23. District of Columbia	23.8	23. Kansas	210.5	23. Ohio	30.1
24. Ohio	21.9	24. Connecticut	207.1	24. Illinois	30.0
25. Delaware	21.8	25. Nebraska	204.4	25. Kansas	26.9
26. Illinois	21.1	26. Colorado	201.3	26. Maine	26.9
27. Kansas	20.5	27. New York	197.3	27. Wyoming	25.8
28. Colorado	20.2	28. New Jersey	193.0	28. Pennsylvania	24.7
29. Pennsylvania	17.0	29. Ohio	191.2	29. Michigan	23.5
30. Michigan	16.4	30. Pennsylvania	190.5	30. New York	22.8
31. Iowa	15.9	31. Michigan	182.6	31. New Jersey	22.0
32. Washington	15.6	32. Iowa	182.1	32. Colorado	21.9
33. New York	14.7	33. Washington	174.6	33. Iowa	16.8
34. Montana	14.1	34. Wisconsin	157.0	34. Washington	16.2
35. New Jersey	12.6	35. Minnesota	141.9	35. Montana	14.1
36. Nebraska	11.2	36. Massachusetts	115.8	36. Nebraska	13.1
37. Rhode Island	9.6	37. Rhode Island	91.8	37. Connecticut	12.5
38. South Dakota	9.6	Maine	*	38. Rhode Island	10.6
39. Connecticut	9.0	Montana	*	39. Massachusetts	10.3
40. Massachusetts	9.0	Nevada	*	40. South Dakota	9.6
41. Minnesota	8.6	New Hampshire	*	41. Minnesota	9.1
42. Utah	7.3	North Dakota	*	42. Utah	7.3
43. North Dakota	6.9	South Dakota	*	43. Wisconsin	7.0
44. New Hampshire	6.6	Utah	*	44. North Dakota	6.9
45. Wisconsin	6.4	Wyoming	*	45. New Hampshire	6.6
U. S. Census Division:		U. S. Census Division:		U. S. Census Division:	
1. West South Central	45.4	1. West South Central	307.1	1. East South Central	109.5
2. South Atlantic	36.8	2. South Atlantic	296.1	2. South Atlantic	102.9
3. East South Central	34.6	3. East South Central	277.2	3. West South Central	91.9
4. Mountain	26.4	4. Mountain	270.8	4. Mountain	28.9
5. Pacific	24.7	5. West North Central	222.3	5. Pacific	27.8
6. East North Central	19.7	6. Pacific	210.6	6. East North Central	27.1
7. West North Central	17.1	7. East North Central	204.6	7. Middle Atlantic	23.4
8. Middle Atlantic	15.2	8. Middle Atlantic	194.2	8. West North Central	22.2
9. New England	10.7	9. New England	146.2	9. New England	12.2
Region:		Region:		Region:	
1. 15 Southern states and District of Columbia	39.5	1. 15 Southern states and District of Columbia	294.0	1. 15 Southern states and District of Columbia	100.5
2. 29 Northern states	17.9	2. 29 Northern states	201.4	2. 29 Northern states	24.0
Total:		Total:		Total:	
44 states and the District of Columbia	23.5	44 states and the District of Columbia	272.0	44 states and the District of Columbia	47.7

* Number tested insufficient for computation of rate.

states generally show the highest prevalence rates for both groups. The rate of prevalence among white men, for instance, is highest in New Mexico, Texas, Florida, Arizona, South Carolina and West Virginia. Among Negroes the rate is highest in Florida, Texas, Georgia, Maryland, Mississippi, Arkansas and New Mexico.

In the states having Negro populations of any significant size the Negro rates are many times higher than

TABLE 2.—*Syphilis Among 1,895,778 Selectees and Volunteers by Age Group, Race and Residence: Number Tested, Number in Whom Evidence of Syphilis was Detected and Prevalence Rate per Thousand Tested*

	Urban			Rural			Total		
Age Group	Number Tested	Syphilis Detected	Rate per 1,000	Number Tested	Syphilis Detected	Rate per 1,000	Number Tested	Syphilis Detected	Rate per 1,000
				White					
21-25	594,054	5,887	9.9	350,306	3,678	10.5	944,360	9,565	10.1
26-30	309,934	6,530	21.1	162,625	3,328	20.5	472,559	9,858	20.9
31-35	172,128	6,758	39.3	81,472	2,814	34.5	253,600	9,572	37.7
Total	1,076,116	19,175	17.8	594,403	9,820	16.5	1,670,519	28,995	17.4
				Negro					
21-25	63,990	13,062	204.1	53,011	9,313	175.7	117,001	22,375	191.2
26-30	42,699	12,944	303.1	23,459	6,488	276.6	66,158	19,432	293.7
31-35	29,862	10,766	360.5	12,238	4,271	349.0	42,100	15,037	357.2
Total	136,551	36,772	269.3	88,708	20,072	226.3	225,259	56,844	252.3
				Total					
21-25	658,044	18,949	28.8	403,317	12,991	32.2	1,061,361	31,940	30.1
26-30	352,633	19,474	55.2	186,084	9,816	52.8	538,717	29,290	54.4
31-35	201,990	17,524	86.8	93,710	7,085	75.6	295,700	24,609	83.2
Total	1,212,667	55,947	46.1	683,111	29,892	43.8	1,895,778	85,839	45.3

the rates for white men. And high Negro rates in general tend to be associated with high white rates. This relationship, however, is not a constant proportion. Indeed, in those localities where the Negro rates are highest the white rates are relatively much higher than in areas where the Negro rates are low. Thus the high Florida Negro rate is only 7.6 times Florida's white rate; but the relatively low Negro rate in Massachusetts in 12.8 times the white rate. The tendency applies as well to large areas as to individual states. Table 1 shows that in the three census divisions having the highest prevalence of syphilis the Negro rates are less than ten times the white rates, whereas in the four

TABLE 3.—*Syphilis Rates per Thousand Males Aged 21-35 in the United States Based on 1,895,778 Selectee Serologic Reports by State, Race and Urban or Rural Residence*

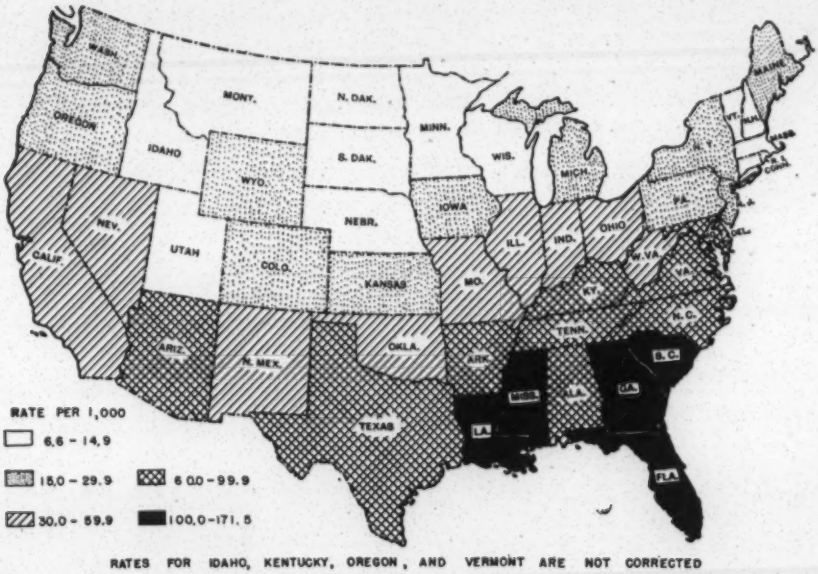
State	Urban			Rural			Total
	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	
Alabama	41.5	298.2	130.6	21.9	186.7	72.9	92.3
Arizona	55.0	304.6	67.3	45.1	289.8	56.1	60.4
Arkansas	44.7	358.2	116.8	25.3	301.2	92.8	98.6
California	27.2	212.8	31.6	26.5	209.1	28.4	30.7
Colorado	23.2	201.3	26.3	17.0	†	17.0	21.9
Connecticut	9.0	200.5	12.9	9.1	232.8	11.7	12.5
Delaware	17.2	264.2	48.5	27.2	215.0	54.9	51.5
District of Columbia	23.8	272.9	92.7	....	.....	....	92.7
Florida	52.8	413.3	163.1	53.8	395.8	152.8	158.6
Georgia	55.3	407.3	172.3	29.4	278.6	109.8	133.2
Idaho	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Illinois	22.2	212.6	33.1	17.8	200.1	21.0	30.0
Indiana	35.4	266.2	48.4	22.6	281.3	24.1	38.3
Iowa	22.5	182.1	24.7	10.9	†	10.9	16.8
Kansas	30.0	253.8	43.0	13.5	82.3	14.5	26.9
Kentucky	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Louisiana	45.3	317.9	127.0	31.6	242.9	108.4	116.5
Maine	23.8	*	23.8	29.0	†	29.0	26.9
Maryland	30.0	339.0	82.6	25.9	300.2	68.9	77.3
Massachusetts	9.1	122.2	10.5	8.2	62.9	8.9	10.3
Michigan	17.6	185.4	27.3	13.8	150.4	15.3	23.5
Minnesota	12.0	141.9	12.9	5.3	†	5.3	9.1
Mississippi	48.8	431.1	199.7	30.3	296.4	163.2	171.5
Missouri	34.9	240.2	54.0	21.2	199.5	26.6	41.6
Montana	19.6	†	19.6	10.7	†	10.7	14.1
Nebraska	17.2	204.4	21.7	7.3	†	7.3	13.1
Nevada	38.4	†	38.4	28.3	†	28.3	32.1
New Hampshire	8.5	†	8.5	3.8	†	3.8	6.6
New Jersey	12.6	194.9	22.2	12.9	183.2	21.2	22.0
New Mexico	71.3	304.8	76.7	43.5	†	43.5	56.5
New York	14.4	196.2	23.5	16.1	214.3	19.6	22.8
North Carolina	34.2	323.6	119.0	26.1	194.0	69.4	84.6
North Dakota	13.8	†	13.8	5.1	†	5.1	6.9
Ohio	22.6	199.8	33.6	20.5	121.7	22.2	30.1
Oklahoma	47.6	309.5	70.2	34.0	198.9	43.8	54.7
Oregon	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Pennsylvania	16.7	192.1	27.0	17.6	178.3	20.1	24.7
Rhode Island	9.9	91.8	10.9	6.1	†	6.1	10.6
South Carolina	51.8	417.2	181.6	44.8	256.5	131.3	145.5
South Dakota	13.4	†	13.4	8.2	†	8.2	9.6
Tennessee	58.4	313.2	125.8	29.6	228.9	53.3	81.1
Texas	67.2	384.2	112.0	40.5	303.3	76.1	93.4
Utah	9.4	†	9.4	4.5	†	4.5	7.3
Vermont	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Virginia	36.7	307.4	98.2	27.3	207.9	69.7	80.8
Washington	19.4	174.6	20.5	11.4	†	11.4	16.2
West Virginia	59.3	257.6	71.4	41.5	192.4	51.0	57.2
Wisconsin	7.3	157.0	8.3	5.4	†	5.4	7.0
Wyoming	29.7	†	29.7	23.7	†	23.7	25.8
44 states and District of Columbia	24.1	290.2	46.5	22.6	252.8	49.4	47.7

* Data not available. See text.
† Number tested insufficient for computation of rate.

divisions with the lowest prevalence the Negro rates are more than ten times the white rates.

On the whole the highest rates are found in the Southern and agricultural states, the lowest in the Northern and industrial states. As groups, the New England states show the lowest rates, the East-South Central the highest.

It has long been suspected that prevalence rates of syphilis were much higher in urban than in rural areas. The selectee data indicate that this supposition is only



Rates per thousand for two million selectees blood tested for syphilis, corrected for age, race and residence within each state; reports received November 1940 through August 1941.

partially true (table 3). Both white and Negro rates for the country as a whole are higher in urban than in rural areas; but the total corrected rates in rural areas are 49.4 per thousand as compared with 46.5 for urban areas. This may be explained by the fact that in the combined white and Negro total for all states there is a preponderance of Negroes in the rural areas. Thus, combined white and Negro rates are higher in rural areas, whereas white and Negro rates separately are higher in urban areas.

SUMMARY

1. The study is based on the serologic blood test reports received through Aug. 31, 1941 of 1,895,778 white and Negro men between the ages of 21 and 35 tested under the provisions of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940.

2. The rate of prevalence based on positive and doubtful blood tests among the selectees examined is 45.3 per thousand. The rate of prevalence for the entire male population of the United States between the ages of 21 and 35 is estimated to be 47.7 per thousand.

3. The rate of prevalence among Negro selectees is 252.3 per thousand, among white selectees 17.4 per thousand. The estimated rate of prevalence for the entire male Negro population aged 21 to 35 is 272 per thousand, for the entire male white population 23.5 per thousand.

4. The rate of prevalence among selectees from rural areas is 43.8 per thousand, from urban areas 46.1 per thousand. The estimated rate of prevalence among the entire male population aged 21-35 in rural areas is 49.4 per thousand, in urban areas 46.5 per thousand.

5. Highest prevalence rates (white and Negro) are found in the Southeastern states, the lowest in the New England, West North Central and Middle Atlantic states.

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Cheeloo
Fukien
Ginling
Hangchow
Hua Chung
Hwa Nan
Lingnan

Chinese student nurses like this one at the West China Union University Hospital, Chengtu, are being trained in the latest Western medical methods by the Christian Colleges.

Nanking
St. John's
Shanghai
Soochow
West China
Yenching

THE CHINA COLLEGES

VOLUME XIV JUNE 1947 NUMBER 4

DINNER SPEAKERS LAUD WORK OF COLLEGES AND STUDENTS

Nowhere in the world today do students hunger for an education as do the young people of China, according to Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, president emeritus of Union Theological Seminary.

Speaking at the recent Annual Dinner of the Associated Boards held in New York on May 12, Dr. Coffin declared that although "many of China's students today are poorly clad and badly nourished, nothing discourages them in their zeal for an education, and no hardship is too great to be endured." Compared with this quest for more learning, he said, everything else is of but secondary importance.

Congressman Walter H. Judd of Minnesota, a former medical missionary in China, who also spoke, asserted that "much of China's unrest is the natural outgrowth of the impact of modern and progressive Christian social and moral forces upon an ancient civilization."

Dean T. C. Chao of the Yenching School of Religion described the Christian Colleges as a "world church in miniature, international in character and interdenominational in formation." They have, he added, become a "vital force" in influencing the intellectual elements of the country. And graduates of these colleges which are vital centers of democracy, he said, create a sympathetic atmosphere for the Christian religion.

Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen presided at the dinner which was attended by more than 300 friends, supporters, and staff members of the Colleges. Henry R. Luce, publisher, served as toastmaster.

(*See picture on page* 3)

TRAINING CHINESE NURSES IN WESTERN WAYS AMONG COLLEGES' GREAT CONTRIBUTIONS

One of the greatest contributions the Christian Colleges in China have made to that country has been training young Chinese nurses in the latest western medical methods, says Dr. Leo Eloesser, formerly with UNRRA medical personnel in China.

Dr. Eloesser returned recently from China where he visited medical colleges and hospitals, and reported the findings of his trip to the Associated Boards. He will return to China shortly for the World Health Organization and will work under the direction of the Chinese Government's National Health Organization.

Asserting that 4,000,000 of the 12,000,000 persons who die each year in China could be saved if the Chinese had more knowledge of preventive medicine, Dr. Eloesser urges mission schools to spend more of their time and energy training students in preventive medicine and sanitation. These, he declares, are more important now than curative medicine.

China's two greatest needs in the field of medical education, according to Dr. Eloesser, are for personnel and supplies. As possible sources for personnel, he suggests veterans and older men of established reputation.

"The latter," he asserts, "although they may have fulfilled their usefulness in the United States, would find their training and experience of particular value in a country like China where there is a dearth of trained medical personnel."

Dr. Eloesser especially praises West China Union University which he says stands quite high among the mission schools. "When you go out to the campus you think you are in a small town in Canada rather than in China," he asserts.

ST. JOHN'S NEEDS SUPPLIES DORMS, PRE-CLINICAL STAFF

The three most pressing needs of the College of Medicine at St. John's University in Shanghai, are pre-clinical teaching staff, equipment, and dormitory space for students, according to Dean P. C. Nyi.

At a recent meeting at the Associated Boards Dr. Nyi revealed that St. John's now has 2,200 students, although it was planned for only 600. Because of the serious lack of dormitories, 1,600 of these students cannot be housed on the campus, Dr. Nyi reported, and have to travel a long way each day to reach the campus which is far from the center of the city. The Medical School at present has 154 students, about forty of whom are women.

"All Chinese of professorial standing are graduates of either American or European medical schools," he said, "or have received advanced training in America, mostly in the University of Pennsylvania."

Referring to the college's equipment, Dr. Nyi reported that most of it was used up or broken down in the war, and only a few replacements have been procurable in Shanghai. Supplies have been ordered from America, he said, but these take several months to be delivered.

Plans for the future, he revealed, include expanding the department of public health.

PERSONALITIES IN THE NEWS

Dr. W. H. Adolph, recently elected acting president of Yenching University, Peiping, with Mrs. Adolph.

President Wu Yi-fang of Ginling College travels to business appointments in Nanking in a pedicab.

Jean LeQuire

Presidents Lucy Wang, Hwa Nan College, and Henry Lin, University of Shanghai, exchange greetings at the Associated Boards' Annual Dinner.

DR. W. H. ADOLPH ELECTED ACTING PRESIDENT, YENCHING

Dr. William H. Adolph, head of the chemistry department at Yenching University in Peiping, was recently elected Acting President of Yenching. He takes over the duties relinquished by Dr. J. Leighton Stuart, the university's President, who is now American Ambassador to China.

Dr. Adolph, who has trained many of China's leading biochemists, was born in Philadelphia, Pa. in 1890. He received his A.B. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Pennsylvania and has divided his time between China and the United States, occupying teaching and research posts at Cheeloo and Yenching, and at the Universities of Illinois, Nebraska, Yale, and Cornell. He became professor of biochemistry at Yenching in 1929.

CHEELOO STUDENTS LIVING IN NEARLY BARE ROOMS

The continued economic difficulties which have been specially severe in northeast China and the financial situation of Cheeloo University have made it impossible to provide students with what would normally be considered the minimum necessities, declares President K'e-ming Wu in his annual report. "For instance," he says, "in the students' rooms in the women's dormitories there is only one chair for every two girls. There is no accommodation for bathing though it is hoped shortly to remedy this. Neither is there any provision for hot water, because the University cannot meet the cost of fuel. The students are responsible for running their own kitchen. Owing again to economic difficulties they are living on a diet which seems hardly adequate for maintenance of health. However, in spite of these adverse conditions the health record has been good on the whole and there is a very cheerful spirit among the students."

Many of the new students, writes Catherine Mackinnon, Dean of Women, had been waiting several years for the opportunity of entering the university so "they came with thankful hearts, ready to put up with many lacks in material equipment and a good deal of inconvenience. The lack of furniture in the students' rooms is quite obvious. There is a room where guests are received, but the furnishing consists of two rickety tables and there are no chairs. The social room is completely empty. In each dormitory there is a prayer room, but these also contain nothing and so remain unused. We hope it will not be too long before these outward conditions can be changed for the girls of Cheeloo University. They deserve something better."

Alumni Profiles

Jean LeQuire

Drs. Bert Yang and Edith Shiong.

A married couple, both alumni of West China Union University, '35, are being featured as our choice for this issue's outstanding Christian College graduates. They are Drs. Bert G. L. Yang and Edith B. S. Shiong (Mrs. Yang).

Both were born in Szechuen, West China, and both are Christians — Dr. Shiong a Methodist, and Dr. Yang, United Church of Canada.

Dr. Yang, who has been on the medical staff of WCUU since his graduation, came to Canada three years ago to do postgraduate work at McGill University. He also spent two and a half years working in surgery and urology at the Royal Victoria Hospital.

Dr. Shiong arrived in Canada last year and took postgraduate work in obstetrics and gynecology at Women's College Hospital in Toronto.

Drs. Yang and Shiong sailed for China May 30, after having stopped over in Rochester, Minn., to visit the Mayo Clinic.

KENTUCKY COLLEGE TO HELP RESTORE HANGCHOW LIBRARY

The Religious Activities committee of Centre College in Danville, Ky. has initiated a drive to help war-ravaged Hangchow Christian University recover from the effects of the Japanese occupation. The first aim of the committee is to raise $1,000 to start the restoration of Hangchow's library.

Hangchow will be joined with the American college not only by contributions, but also through an exchange of students, professors, and books for short periods from time to time.

Dr. Robert J. McMullen, executive secretary of the Associated Boards, is a former president of Centre College. At the time of the Japanese invasion he was head of Hangchow University.

CHURCH ATTENDANCE TRIPLES AT UNIVERSITY OF SHANGHAI

Church attendance at the University of Shanghai has tripled since the war, says President Henry H. Lin who is now in the United States on a four-months' lecture tour.

"The eight years of war made the Chinese students hungry for religion," he asserts. "About 98% of the students would now like to elect religious courses in school, while before the war very few would even take the courses."

Of the 1,571 students enrolled at the university last fall, about 19 per cent were Christians.

FUKIEN RECEIVES CATTLE FROM AMERICAN CHURCH

About 800 head of cattle were assembled recently by the Church of the Brethren in the United States, shipped from New Orleans to China and allocated by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry to the Christian institutions of North Fukien. Of these Fukien Christian University received seventeen head, including fourteen Holstein cows, a Holstein bull and two calves.

"Early one morning," says a letter just received by the Associated Boards from Fukien, "the ship's crane began swinging the cows one by one in a crate to the lighters pulled alongside the ship. The cattle were landed about two miles upriver in the yard of a temple occupied by Chinese Marines, and their barbed wire barricade formed an ideal place for sorting the cattle."

In an aluminum capsule suspended in the ear of one of the cows received was the following message from the donors: "Claribel—produced on the Claribel Stock Ranch, Oakdale, Cal., a gift of the Methodist Church, Oakdale. Hope, courage, strength, health and happiness is our wish for you. Write us."

Cows sent Fukien University by an American church arriving at their destination at Pagoda Anchorage.

HEADLINERS AT ASSOCIATED BOARDS' ANNUAL DINNER

Religious News Service

Congressman Walter Judd of Minnesota addressing the Annual Dinner of the Associated Boards in New York, May 12. Seated l. to r. are Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, president emeritus of Union Theological Seminary, Henry R. Luce, publisher and chairman, China Christian Colleges Committee, and Henry P. Van Dusen, president of the Associated Boards. Over 300 friends, supporters, and staff members of the Colleges attended.

The China Reader

CHRISTIANITY AND CHINESE CULTURE, by Dr. Francis C. M. Wei. Charles Scribner Sons, New York, $2.75.

This book by the distinguished president of Hua Chung University is a collection of the Hewett Lectures which Dr. Wei delivered in this country last year.

"We have here," writes Prof. Kenneth Scott Latourette in the Foreword, "a subject of central importance treated by a master. . . . Toward the comprehension of the spirit of the Chinese and their culture Dr. Wei is a superb guide. A Chinese by birth and nurture, he knows his people and the unseen forces which have molded them. He is a specialist on the religion and the philosophies of his people. . . . At the same time he knows the Occident and so is able to bridge the gulf between that part of the world and China. Sympathetic with the deepest insights of the Chinese spirit, he is also a Christian. Few can equal him and none can surpass him as an interpreter of the soul of China to the English-speaking world."

Lingnan University in Canton will receive twelve exchange students from the United States during 1947-48.

ASSOCIATED BOARDS BECOME UNITED BOARD ON JUNE 30

On June 30 the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China will officially become known as the United Board for Christian Colleges in China, according to an announcement by Dr. Eric North, newly-elected chairman of the Board of Trustees of the United Board.

"The Associated Boards," Dr. North explained, "has consisted of the members of thirteen separate corporations each related to one of the colleges in China. Under the new arrangement the United Board will be a single corporation for serving the interests of all the colleges, thus simplifying the corporate structure and affording a more effective way of dealing with the common interests. It is anticipated that nearly all the original college boards of trustees will merge with the United Board as some have already done."

Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, president of the Associated Boards, now becomes president of the new United Board.

During the past year more than $250,000 worth of equipment has been ordered or sent to China for the thirteen Christian Colleges by the Associated Boards.

Treasurer, United Service to China, Inc.
1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

To aid the work of United Service to China in helping the Chinese to help themselves, I am glad to contribute the sum of ..... dollars.

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Address .....

City ..... *State* .....

I wish to designate my contribution to the program activities of:

☐ Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China
☐ United Service to China

Gifts Deductible for Income Tax purposes.

ON A CHINA CHRISTIAN COLLEGE CAMPUS

Students at Ginling College in Nanking on their way to Monday morning assembly. Note the watch tower built by Japanese soldiers on top of building in the background. This has now been removed.

NANKING TEACHER DEVELOPS METHOD TO PREVENT EROSION

A unique program to prevent soil erosion in China has been developed by Dr. Shui Tsai Hwang, professor of soils and fertilizers at the University of Nanking. Dr. Hwang, experimenting with broadcasting a cover crop of soybeans on hillside corn fields rather than planting them inter rowed as was done heretofore, found that this method of planting almost completely stops loss of soil from slopes as steep as twenty per cent.

Dr. Hwang points out that Chinese farmers must be taught the right use of strip farming and other means of protecting and using slope land, and asserts that the idea must be spread among them that the use of upland is as important as the use of rice paddies.

Dr. Hwang has journeyed to the Gobi Desert area and Chinese Turkestan, and has made trips south to the border of China and French-Indo China. Today he has forty-eight "soil profiles," representing all the important soils of China ranging from those in the humid, warm areas to the desert types of soil.

Among the urgent present-day needs in the University of Nanking's College of Agriculture, according to Dr. Hwang, are at least two new soil laboratories, and special equipment, including a specter-photometer, petrographic microscope, glass electrode pH meter, and at least one fine balance.

Dr. Hwang, who is a graduate of the University of Nanking and has an MS degree from the University of California, arrived in the United States last January and visited agricultural projects and colleges and soil erosion conservation projects in all parts of the country. He left recently for England where he will study recent methods of reclaiming saline soils.

ENGLISH, ECONOMICS POPULAR WITH HUA CHUNG STUDENTS

English and economics are the two most popular subjects at Hua Chung University in Wuchang, says Prof. John L. Coe, treasurer. Prof. Coe, who also teaches mathematics at Hua Chung, arrived recently in this country for several months' furlough.

Registration at Hua Chung, he has reported to the Associated Boards, has reached an all-time high this year despite the dislocations in living induced by inflation. Last fall 450 students, two-thirds of them men, were admitted, he revealed, but because of lack of space, many men students are sleeping in double-decker beds.

Although inflation in Wuchang is not as serious as in Shanghai, it still costs plenty for an education at Hua Chung, Prof. Coe says. "In terms of Chinese dollars," he points out, "it costs a student about 3,000 times more for room, board, laboratory fees, and tuition than it did in pre-war days. Before the war it cost CN $7 a month—now it is CN $30,000 a month."

None of the college buildings were destroyed during the Japanese occupation, he reports, but the invader carried off all the books and laboratory apparatus left behind when students and faculty fled into exile before the advancing Japanese army in July, 1938. College personnel were able, however, to take 10,000 books with them when they left on the long 1,600-mile trek to Hsichow in Southwest China. About one-third of the scientific apparatus they brought back from exile is now worn out and useless, Prof. Coe reveals.

CHINA COLLEGES NEWS BOX

Dean Ruth Chester will return to Ginling College in August.... **Prof. and Mrs. Sam Dean** are enroute to Yenching after a year's furlough in the U. S.... **Elsie M. Priest** will return in August to resume her work as Treasurer of the University of Nanking.... **Prof. T. H. Wang** of Fukien Christian University has been admitted to Syracuse University and will enter this fall.... **Miss Ho-I Pai,** after a year's graduate study in home economics at Kansas State College, leaves in July for Yenching.... **Dr. Eric Cheo** is returning to the Dental School of WCUU after studying at the University of Michigan.... **Dr. Liu En-lan,** head of Ginling's geography department, has recovered from the automobile accident she had in New York several months ago. She will study this summer at McGill University's geography school in Montreal.

DR. C. T. YANG TO HEAD FUKIEN—SUCCEEDS C. J. LIN

A cable just received from China reports that Dr. Chan-tung Yang has been elected president of Fukien Christian University in Foochow. He succeeds the late Dr. C. J. Lin, president of Fukien since 1927, who died last January in New York while on furlough. To Dr. Yang, an alumnus of Fukien, falls the task of guiding the university through the difficult days of rehabilitation.

Dr. Yang holds master of arts and bachelor of divinity degrees from Yenching, and a Ph.D. degree from Drew University, Madison, N. J. A Methodist, he had been since 1945 president of Fukien Union Theological College.

CHINA COLLEGES

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Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 82d CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Fourth World Health Organization Assembly at Geneva, Switzerland, May 7 to 26, 1951

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER D. ANGELL

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 5, 1951

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Chairman, I have asked for this time to make some observations on the Fourth World Health Organization Assembly held in Geneva, Switzerland May 7 to 26, 1951, to which I had the honor to be one of the four congressional advisers, two named by the President of the Senate and two by the Speaker of the House. I appreciate deeply the opportunity afforded me to attend this outstanding assembly with my congressional colleagues, Senators HERBERT H. LEHMAN and RICHARD M. NIXON, and Representative THOMAS E. MORGAN.

The delegation in behalf of the United States consisted of the following members in addition to the congressional advisers: Chairman and chief delegate, Dr. Leonard A. Scheele, Surgeon General, Public Health Service; two delegates, Dr. Roy Cleere, executive director of the Colorado State Department of Health, Denver, Colo., and Mrs. Herbert T. Edwards, executive director, women's division, Democratic National Committee; four alternates, Dr. Frederick J. Brady, Assistant Chief, International Organizations, Division of International Health, Public Health Service; Dr. Howard B. Calderwood, Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State; Dr. H. van Zile Hyde, United States Representative, Executive Board, World Health Organization; George M. Ingram, Chief of Division of International Administration, Department of State; secretary of delegation, Millard L. Kenestrick, Conference Attaché, Office of Resident United States Delegations to International Organizations, Geneva; technical assistant, Jeanne Ende, Office of UN Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State; documents officer, Florence S. Thomason, administrative assistant to the United States representative, World Health Organization; and administrative assistant, William G. Murphy, conference assistant, Office of Resident United States Delegation to International Organizations, Geneva.

The World Health Organization is a part of a concerted effort made by the United Nations to create a firm foundation of improved economic and social conditions for all peoples of all nations. It is the United Nations Health Department of the world, with almost 70 nations belonging to it. It battles disease on a global basis. The Director General of the organization is General Brock Chisholm whose office and headquarters are maintained in Geneva. Dr. Chisholm has said no country can depend solely on its own protective arrangements. Each must be assured of satisfactory controls in all other countries as well. The protection of one country depends on the effectiveness of health administrations in other countries and upon the success of their collective actions. There is an annual meeting in which representatives of most of the United Nation's organizations take part. This international health agency was the subject of a declaration adopted in 1945 at San Francisco, and the International Health Conference which met in 1946 adopted a constitution which is the vehicle of the present World Health Organization. Briefly the objectives of this organization are as follows:

First. Peace and security can be obtained on a durable basis only in a world community composed of countries whose peoples are physically and mentally healthy.

Second. In the shrunken world of today the concept of health is indivisible; that is to say that no individual, no nation, no group of nations, can be considered safe from infection while disease still prevails in any part of the earth.

Third. The means, skills, and techniques for the eradication of most ills, and for the betterment of health, exist.

Fourth. It is therefore the joint responsibility of nations to put an end to the unequal development in different countries toward the control of disease and the improvement of health, and thus to help all people to attain "the highest possible level of health."

This specialized agency of the United Nations is set up to be the medium for a world-wide cooperative effort through which knowledge and skills are put to the disposal of all countries needing them for the improvement of their health services and to mobilize all available health resources for the solution of those health problems which lend themselves to international action in this very important field. Its purpose is to solve health problems on a world-wide basis by reason of the fact that under modern conditions united action on the part of all nations only can provide adequate answers to the problems.

While the organization is known as World Health Organization, the concept behind it and the purposes sought to be achieved are broader than mere physical health. As set forth in its constitution, health is a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. The solution of the problem, therefore, broadens the field beyond purely defensive measures to protect nations against disease. It has been said it must wage a defensive battle against mankind's physical and mental ills by attacking their very roots, which can be found in the economic and social conditions under which the majority of people live today. In the furtherance of these broad objectives which should buttress a world-wide program, the constitution states that the World Health Organization should "promote, in cooperation with other specialized agencies where necessary, the improvement of nutrition, housing, sanitation, recreation, economic, or working conditions, and other aspects of environmental hygiene; study and report on administrative and social techniques affecting public health and medical care from preventive and curative points of view, including hospital services and social security; promote improved standards of teaching and training in the health, medical, and related professions; foster activities in the field of mental health, especially those affecting the harmony of human relations; promote maternal and child health and welfare, and foster the ability to live harmoniously in a changing total environment."

The organization issues from time to time a large number of medical publications and scientific works and the technical services of the organization are contributing to the offensive against illness through various research projects on diseases such as influenza, trachoma, and poliomyelitis, as well as a number of parasitic diseases which incapacitate millions of the inhabitants of the agri-

cultural areas in America, Africa, and Asia. Also included for research are malaria, tuberculosis, and syphilis, which alone take 10,000,000 lives yearly.

A colleague of mine recently called to my attention an experience which was brought to his notice when traveling in the Far East, of the spread of a cholera epidemic in Egypt in which hundreds of people were dying daily from the dread scourge. The World Health Organization immediately took over through the activities of the medical director, who, by the way, came from the United States, and as a result literally tons of serum and thousands of hypodermic needles were dispatched by air, most of them coming from New York, to the infected areas, and the cholera epidemic was arrested in its early stages, resulting in the saving of thousands of lives. While the expense involved in this case I have recited was initially borne by the World Health Organization, the Government of Egypt reimbursed the Organization.

Mr. Chairman, all of the four congressional advisers were in attendance at the assembly and we not only found the sessions most interesting but of much importance to us as Members of the Congress in getting first-hand information on important problems of world health from the standpoint of the many nations affiliated in the Organization, comprising some sixty-one in attendance. The sessions were given over largely to reports on progress made during the last year in various areas of the world where contagions have threatened world health and also in the formulation of plans for the ensuing year for international cooperation in alleviating and stamping out the spread of contagious diseases and the adoption of plans for improving the national health of the various nations affiliated in the program. Outstanding leaders from the nations represented at the assembly took part in the discussions, and it is one organization which seems to function with a minimum of friction, notwithstanding it has in the affiliation many nations which have not been able to cooperate successfully on political and economic questions.

Dr. Leonard A. Scheele, the Surgeon General of the United States, was elected as president of the Organization for the ensuing year. He is a man of broad vision and great understanding in all health problems and will bring to the organization leadership that unquestionably will result in great achievements during his stewardship.

In considering the activities, accomplishments, and objectives of the World Health Organization, it is of interest to note that in 1909 the Fifty-sixth Congress enacted legislation defining the future relations of the United States and Cuba, which stated that the Government of Cuba should execute plans to the end that a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases may be prevented, assuring protection to the commerce of the southern ports of the United States and the people residing therein. This legislation reflected the difficulties that our Nation had experienced year after year as a result of the importation and consequent spread of yellow fever in the United States. The wording of this act indicated a new philosophy that diseases should be controlled at their sources rather than controlled by erecting international barriers to their spread.

In the past 50 years, we have made tremendous advances in all branches of medical science. But it is a black mark on our generation that the world still is ravaged by pestilential diseases that can be readily controlled. Smallpox, which can be controlled by vaccination, still sweeps through large areas of the world in epidemic waves leaving behind misery and death. Bubonic plague remains a scourge which could and should be controlled by the new tools available to medical science. Malaria still infects millions of people and yet its cure is inexpensive, and DDT, as well as other insecticides, can be used to stop its transmission. The story with a host of other diseases is similar; new developments have made their eradication possible, but lack of personnel and funds have hampered nations in eradicating these diseases.

Undoubtedly it was facts such as these which prompted the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in 1945 to recognize health as a matter with which it should concern itself. The World Health Organization later came into existence on April 7, 1948 when the required 26 member nations of the United Nations ratified its Constitution. The United States membership was not effective until June 21, 1948 some 2 months later.

The WHO is governed by the Assembly which is composed of delegations from member nations. The Fourth Assembly was the one just concluded in Geneva, to which 61 member states sent delegations. The membership today comprises 78 member nations and 1 associate member. These nations include all the more advanced nations of the world. Of the 78 members, 10 have indicated their wish to withdraw from the organization; these 10 include Russia and its satellites and the Chinese National Government. However, Communist Yugoslavia is an ardent supporter of the World Health Organization.

The United States delegation to the Fourth Assembly, as I have pointed out, was comprised of health experts in a number of fields, whose services could be foreseen as needed at the Assembly. They included Public Health Service officers, a State health officer, sanitary engineer, nurse, a dean of a school of public health, a practicing physician, a hospital administration expert, a public leader, as well as experts on financial and foreign policy matters from the Department of State. The four Congressional advisers I have named were on the delegation. One of the first activities of the Assembly was to elect Dr. Leonard A. Scheele, Surgeon General of the Public Health Service and chairman of the United States delegation, as President of the Fourth World Health Assembly.

The Fourth Assembly voted to reduce the assessment of the United States from 35 percent in 1951 to 33⅓ percent in 1952. A total budget of $8,600,000 was voted for 1952 activities.

There was considerable discussion of the WHO program for 1952. The activities of the organization will to a great extent be directed at giving training and assisting educational institutions in various parts of the world. In the United States there is 1 physician for each 500 persons; in some countries the ratio reaches 1 to 80,000. In one country with a population of 1,500,000 only one native has ever received a medical degree. The shortages of other types of personnel needed for health such as nurses and sanitary engineers are even more acute. Today the developed countries are looked to to provide personnel for these areas, and the World Health Organization, by its training programs, is being of great assistance in helping the less fortunate countries to provide their own trained experts.

The World Health Organization is giving asistance to countries in their campaigns against malaria, smallpox, venereal diseases, plague, cholera, tuberculosis, and so forth. One can readily see, however, that direct assistance of WHO must be limited when it spent but three-one-thousandths of a cent per capita on health programs compared with our expenditure of over $2 on public health. WHO must operate by showing others, using as little of its funds as possible. This it is doing and doing well by giving advice to the appropriate branches of governments, by the use of demonstration teams, by training nationals, by showing lethargic peoples a more healthy way of life previously beyond their comprehension.

The WHO, by virtue of its international membership of governments, sets standards of purity and potency of drugs for nations to adopt. These standards are similar to those adopted by the United States years ago but are new to much of the world. This activity protects United States citizens when they become ill abroad in that they will not be treated with inferior preparations.

The WHO keeps a constant vigil on the occurrence of epidemic diseases throughout the world. Compiled data are relayed by short-wave radio from Geneva daily so that we are alerted on the occurrence of epidemics thousands of miles away. The WHO has organized the best laboratories of the world into a network for typing and reporting the strains of influenza virus that are prevalent. The results of this reporting of the types of virus are made known to us so that we may be able to alter the course of a threatened pandemic such as occurred in 1918–19.

The WHO has the authority to adopt regulations binding on members. The Fourth World Health Assembly approved and adopted new quarantine regulations that in 18 months will be binding on the United States without the necessity of ratification by the Senate. Member states, however, are permitted to make reservations within 9 months after passage by the Assembly. World travel has long been harassed by a maze of conflicting regulations and agreements that have often unnecessarily delayed the traveler and hampered movement of commerce. The present regulations were drafted by assembled governmental experts of 40 nations and were designed to give the maximum protection against

importation of disease while at the same time expediting travel and commerce. The adoption of these regulations is a major accomplishment of WHO that will benefit us enormously because of the numbers of Americans who travel abroad and because of our large shipping interests.

The Fourth World Health Assembly was an outstanding example of how nations can cooperate effectively for the common good, forgetting selfish interests—indeed it was an example of a democracy of nations through voluntary cooperation for mutual benefit.

Mr. Chairman, after leaving the World Health Organization assembly meeting at Geneva, I took the occasion to return to the United States through the Near and Far East and the Pacific area, making visitations first in Germany and Italy, in order to secure as much first-hand information as possible in a short trip through these world areas where vast populations are wrestling with social, economic, and political, as well as world health problems which threaten the very foundation of world peace and security.

While in Japan I had a conference with General Ridgway and also attended a briefing on the Korean War at a session of the military leaders in charge of our operations in Korea and was able to obtain some first-hand information on the ground with respect to this conflict which threatens world peace.

Max Lerner, the noted author and columnist, has well said:

> A warless world will have its beginnings in what each of us does in his own community. If humanity moves away from the corrupt and bestial it will * * * be by the restablishment of the sense of society—the sense of what ties men to other men. A local community, for example, in which men have come together to work out the housing problem * * * is worth all the sermons in the book. This functioning sense of society, at the level of daily living, is the source to which alone we can look.

The program for moral rearmament is taking hold of many leaders throughout the world. As the Michigan congressional delegation put it:

> Moral rearmament has been described as "a world force having as its principal objective adequate preparedness of free nations for the ideological conflicts in which the world is now engaged." That is an objective which challenges the interest and imagination of all of us who believe in the strength and guidance of God. We believe that material forces alone cannot assure permanent peace, security, and tranquillity among nations and among people. We who believe in God see that our spiritual strength, as well as our material strength, must be mobilized to meet the universal threat of godless Communist materialism.

The remarks of Dr. L. L. Williams, Jr., made before the American Society of Tropical Medicine in November of last year are worthy of note in this connection. As he said, today public health has become a major concern also of the United States foreign policy with general recognition of international public health activities as an indispensable link in our strivings for solidarity between democratic nations. The underlying philosophy of this policy does not stem from unrealistic sentimentality. We are in an era of world unrest which has long been in the making but has been brought to a head by the economic and moral dislocations resulting from World War II. In the far-flung chain of nations essentially friendly to us, which encircles the globe, there are links which are weak because of downright poverty of the people. Such nations will be an easy prey to the extravagant promises and amoral teachings of militant communism. Only by creating a better reality right now before their eyes can we dispel the specter of our own isolation in a hostile world. In Asia this chain of friendly nations dips down through semitropical to tropical climates. Everyone in this room has seen such areas where poor health causes lethargy and apathy, and knows that tropical poverty can be broken only by breaking tropical diseases. The betterment of health in this area is a necessary first step toward increasing productivity. The effects of malaria, yaws, schistosomiasis, intestinal parasites, malnutrition, and other ailments reduce toward the vanishing point the power for physical and mental exertion. A hemoglobin percentage of 65 is not unusual. The daily calory intake is around 2,000 as compared with over 3,000 in the United States, and the daily protein intake is about one-sixth of ours. The death rates from tuberculosis are 4 to 10 times those recorded among us.

The extent of my trip and the places visited by me is evidenced by the following tabulation of the air travel made by me between the several stops enumerated:

From	To	Miles
Washington	Gander	1,350
Gander	Paris	2,800
Paris	Switzerland	410
Switzerland	Munich	190
Munich	Frankfort	182
Frankfort	Rome	635
Rome	Athens	715
Athens	Tripoli	705
Tripoli	Cyprus	1,195
Cyprus	Dhahran	340
Dhahran	Karachi	1,052
Karachi	Delhi	700
Delhi	Calcutta	795
Calcutta	Bangkok	1,015
Bangkok	Saigon	415
Saigon	Manila	1,000
Manila	Tokyo	1,910
Tokyo	Wake	2,030
Wake	Hawaii	2,375
Hawaii	San Francisco	2,410
San Francisco	Portland and return	1,380
Do	Salt Lake City	595
Salt Lake	Westover Air Force Base, Mass.	2,200
Westover Air Force Base.	Washington, D. C	395
Total		26,794

I was particularly impressed by what I was able to observe in this hurried trip which took me around the globe, with the futility of attempting to solve by force of arms the grave international problems now confronting the nations of the world, having to do with their political, social and economic welfare. More and more I was led to the belief that international organizations such as the World Health Organization offer a greater opportunity for cooperation by the nations which ultimately may lead to the adoption of cooperative plans rather than war for the solution of international relations.

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PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING IN BOLIVIA

THE FRONTIER OF PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING MOVES ON

CHARLOTTE C. THOMPSON, R. N.
NURSE CONSULTANT
THE INSTITUTE OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS
(A POINT 4 U. S. GOVERNMENT AGENCY)

ALTHOUGH THE Institute of Inter-American Affairs sent its first field party to Bolivia in 1942 to develop health centers, dispensaries, sanitary installations, and a program of public health nursing, I did not come to Cochabamba, Bolivia's second city, until late in December 1945. Through green and fertile valleys, across winding rivers that are dry beds in summer and raging torrents in winter, I traveled. My first sight of Cochabamba, the garden city, was an unforgettable one. Built around a plaza, like all cities of Spanish origin, the city's streets are narrow and cobblestoned—picturesque enough for tourists but very hard on traffic. Native women in wide colorful skirts and blouses and wearing the typical, stiff white hats, which resemble somewhat the fabled Mother Goose hat, bargained for eggs and vegetables in Spanish or Quechua, the local dialect.

Colorful and gay as he may seem, the average Cochabamban lives in the most primitive of homes without light, air, or heat. His home is an adobe hut with a dirt floor. Cooking is done out of doors and the usual fare consists of a thin vegetable gruel. Rarely does he see a piece of meat, and I have seen the children using their occasional pennies to buy bread and eat it as if it were the greatest of delicacies! There are no toilet facilities of any kind, and water is carried from a central supply in the streets, perhaps blocks from the house.

Certainly this was a wonderful field for public health—but where to begin? I was given the go-ahead signal by our Chief of Party and I started the search for a building that might be suitable for a health center. Two streets from the main plaza I found an old colonial type building built around a cobblestoned patio. This was city-owned and could be had rent free if we were willing to make the necessary repairs. The doors and windows sagged, the roof leaked, and it all seemed pretty hopeless. After beginning construction we found that the sewer pipes were broken in several places and sewage seeped into the ground under the entire building.

With the problem of the health center on its way to being solved, I was faced with the more difficult problem of securing nursing personnel both for clinics and field. Public health programs as we know them were unheard of, or if someone did have some information it was from an article concerning work in other countries. At that time there were not more than thirty graduate nurses in the whole country. Bedside care is not given in the native hospitals. The hospitals are under the direction of sisters and rarely is one found who has had any training or experience in nursing.

In La Paz there is a small well-equipped, thirty-five-bed mission hospital which graduated its first class in 1940. It was a small class consisting of one student. *the* Linda Richards of Bolivia. The school uses the standard curriculum as far as possible, since the director of the school at that time was a North American nurse. From that small beginning they have increased the student enrollment, but the classes must necessarily remain small, averaging about eight graduates a year.

For our center it seemed best to employ only graduates who had finished the three-year course since we were not equipped to teach a course in basic nursing. We were lucky at the beginning in getting two nurses from the La Paz 1945 class and another who had trained in Lima, Peru.

OUR NEXT DIFFICULTY was one of language. Fortunately, the nurses had learned Quechua in their childhood from servants employed in their homes. There was no teaching material in Spanish so I immediately compiled basic public health nursing texts and articles in English for translation. We studied one subject at a time, using the translations as they were ready. The work was entirely new to the nurses as well as to the community for on every side I heard, "But you can't do that here. You do not know our people. They will not change." But there is a challenge in teaching people, in bringing twentieth century scientific methods to a

96[illegible]180—51

little town that seems to be still living in the middle ages.

With the aid of maps we zoned the city to include the very poorest sections. The nurses were timid and understandably so, for this was a transition from seclusion and protection in the home and from the time not yet forgotten, when a señorita did not walk in the streets alone. We sent them first to take the census in the districts in which they would work. This was a wedge; it gave them something definite to go on. It also gave me some idea of the number of people each nurse would have to serve.

During this time we were gradually preparing supplies for the new health center. We made sheets, towels, and nurses' butcher-type aprons. We sewed everything by hand except the doctors' gowns. These were too complicated for us and were given out to a local dressmaker. Those were hectic days and we flew from classes to census, from dressmaking to checking progress on a new building. After five months we set the date for our move to the new center. The painters and the carpenters were all over the place, but we thought if we were there it might spur them on to speedier action. We moved into the building on May 15, 1946. What a hodgepodge of equipment, furniture, workmen, and personnel! Paint dripped on us at every turn and on the floors and furniture as well.

I shall always remember the nurses' shocked reaction when with pail and brush I began to scrub the floors. After they had recovered from their speechless surprise, they, too, began scrubbing right alongside me! Señoritas don't usually scrub floors in Bolivia! Finally we were ready to open our doors. The nurses were in uniform; they knew their bag technic—but here we hit another shoal. Most of them didn't want to carry the bag! People would surely think they were peddlers! All that is now forgotten, for they have learned that the bag is indispensable to the job. And they may even be a little proud to carry it.

THERE ARE NO SOCIAL AGENCIES in Cochabamba and the nurses have learned to handle social problems. We have a supply shelf filled with small bundles, each containing one flannel shirt, a band, a diaper, and one large square that can double for a blanket. One diaper is a *supply*, for native babies do not wear diapers. When a nurse finds a newborn baby wrapped in a dirty piece of blanket she has something to offer in the way of a layette. The flannel came from a Good Samaritan. The women from the North American colony got together for an afternoon of tea and sewing, and our shelf was soon filled.

Our nurses are kept busy learning new methods daily and learning the specific technics which this jungle country requires. The Rockefeller Foundation staff of local doctors give lectures and classes on typhus, typhoid, yellow fever, malaria, and intestinal parasites. Field trips are arranged during the year to the slaughter house, market, dairy, water supply, and the river, where stagnant sewage chokes the stream.

We now have seven visiting nurses and four clinic nurses. There usually are trainees waiting to take over if we lose a staff nurse to matrimony. We have had to continue on-the-job training. At first the nurses receive concentrated supervision, which becomes more limited as they are ready to assume full responsibility for their districts.

With the discouraging predictions that it couldn't be done here, our statistics reveal that from May 1946 to the end of the year clinic attendance totaled 6,562 and the nurses made 1,616 home visits. During 1949, clinic attendance totaled 47,361 and the nurses made 21,170 home visits. The people have not only accepted the service offered, they come seeking it. The success of our initial program overshadows the discouragements, the hard work and frustration that were part of the mold that shaped its foundation. We can only hope that it may prove deep and firm enough to endure.

The future of the program in Bolivia is unpredictable. I believe it will be the young professional women of the country who will one day be responsible for better hospitals, better nursing care for the sick, health education in schools, and for raising the standards of living in general to insure better health for all.

By 1952 there were ten health centers in Bolivia, with home nursing service a part of the program at La Paz and Trinidad as well as Cochabamba.

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International Health

5. Bilateral International Health Programs of the United States *

HENRY VAN ZILE HYDE, M.D., F.A.P.H.A.

Medical Director, U. S. Public Health Service, and Director, Health and Sanitation Division, Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Washington, D. C.

THE story of the World Health Organization (WHO) presented by Dr. Chisholm and his colleagues is a truly great story, one still in its first chapter.

A significant part of the complete picture of international health falls outside the World Health Organization story. It is, however, so much the same thing, so intimately related and so vital to the ultimate triumph of the world health movement, that it is necessarily a part of these discussions. This is the story of the health programs that are being carried out jointly by two friendly countries working together for their common good and for the general good. Such programs differ from those of the World Health Organization in that they involve a direct bilateral relationship between the two governments concerned, rather than a multilateral international pooling of resources under common international direction Their story is an important one in the world today and one worth recounting.

We must view it with full understanding. We all believe, first and foremost, in the World Health Organization. We want to live, and want our children to live, in a world in which internationalism is a firm and established reality. That is our national policy; it constitutes Point I of President Truman's inaugural address, more renowned for its enunciation of the newer concept, Point IV.

We do not have such a world yet. We must keep building toward it. The WHO is part of it and, to us as health workers, the most vital part. But it is young and in a most troubled world for one so young. We, with our unique resources, our deep and abiding respect for man, and our fearsome world responsibility, must grasp every opportunity to build the kind of world in which the WHO can grow into splendid maturity.

The United States shares the belief expressed by the WHO that participation by any one nation to the extent of contributing beyond one-third of its basic budget would endanger the true and unfettered international character of the organization. Acceptance of this principle places, for the moment, certain limits on the organization which are determined by the ability of the least fortunate members, in a world of eccentric balance, to share in the common endeavor.

The United States is prepared to push beyond the present reach of the WHO and is doing so through its bilateral programs. Some of these programs were under way on a large scale when the WHO was born; others have been launched since then to meet specific urgent problems.

In carrying out its bilateral programs, the United States looks constantly to the WHO for leadership and guidance. It recognizes fully the coördinating authority given to WHO in its Constitution, to which the United States is a

* Presented before the Second General Session of the American Public Health Association at the Seventy-ninth Annual Meeting in San Francisco, Calif., October 31, 1951.

party. In Washington, each month, the responsible international health officials of the U. S. Public Health Service and of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs meet under the chairmanship of the Regional Director of the WHO, for the purpose of program development and coördination within this hemisphere. In Burma, Thailand, and other countries in Southeast Asia, coördinating committees, which include representatives of WHO and U. S. Public Health Service officers, have been established by the Ministries of Health at the national level.

The international health movement is in the most real sense a single unified movement pressing toward a common goal. It draws freely on the rich international experience of private foundations, voluntary organizations, universities, commercial firms, and church medical missions. Each program makes some contribution through its own experience to the developing art of international collaboration in health.

The story of United States bilateral coöperation in health begins in our own hemisphere, taking us back almost a decade. The Foreign Ministers of the American Republics, taking a broad look at the problems of all-out war, within a month of Pearl Harbor called for cooperation among the republics on health and sanitation programs. They requested this as a measure that would aid in mobilizing the resources of the hemisphere for war and for the peace that would follow. Promptly, the United States Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs launched a coöperative health program in 18 of the Latin American republics.

This program, born of emergency needs, has become a major component of the long-range economic and social development plans and hopes of the hemisphere. It has established administrative patterns and modes of action which demonstrate that two governments can work hand in hand on joint development programs. It has pioneered the Point IV trail.

This program has from the beginning had four chief areas of emphasis: the development of local health services through health centers; sanitation of the environment, with particular emphasis on water supply, sewage disposal, and insect control; the training and full-time employment of professional public health workers; and education of the public in health matters. It has stressed complete community health development under full-time trained direction, with active community participation.

During the nine years since 1942, some 2,820 distinct projects have been undertaken in this program; 474 projects are currently active. These projects have included operation of 121 health centers; construction of 201 water supply systems, 74 sewerage systems, and 342 other health facilities, such as hospitals, nursing schools, laboratories, markets, and public laundries. Underlying this has been a training program: 1,302 Latin American professional persons have been given advanced training in public health through fellowships; technical assistance and financial aid have been given to the Schools of Public Health in Mexico, Santiago, and São Paulo; and 240 local training courses have been given at subprofessional levels.

This program has been carried out through joint services established within the Ministry of Health of each coöperating government. This, the *Servicio Cooperativo,* which is an integral part of the host government, is headed by the Chief of Field Party of the Institute, who thus becomes an official of both governments, directing a program that is jointly determined and jointly financed. The effective application of this administrative device on a wide basis in intergovernmental technical coöperation is a singularly significant achievement.

Early in the program, the financial contributions of the United States to the joint *Servicio* funds were substantially larger than those contributed by the host governments. Now, in every case, the host governments have substantially increased their contributions both in the total and in the amount relative to the contributions made by the United States. Since the inception of the work in 1942, through the fiscal year 1951, the joint programs have amounted to a total of $102,178,000, with the United States contributing, in personal services and program funds, approximately 48 per cent of the total. In the fiscal year 1951 itself, the Institute paid a total of under $3,000,000, while the coöperating Latin American governments contributed a total of $13,287,000 to the *Servicio* funds. This is not in the remotest sense a give-away program. It is a truly coöperative effort to overcome problems that are of immediate concern to the entire hemisphere and to the world in which this hemisphere plays such a vital part.

Jumping the Atlantic, we find in 1944 the second United States bilateral health program, in Liberia, a country tied to us closely by history and important to our cause in the dangerous days of World War II. It is a country that today has only one physician of national origin and has all the health problems of a primitive tropical environment. There, at the request of the President of Liberia, the U. S. Public Health Service embarked in 1944 on a program of bilateral assistance which marks the entry of the Public Health Service into the bilateral phase of international health work, in which today it plays a most important role. This program is being expanded and serves as the nucleus for the first Point IV program to be established outside of the Americas.

This program has developed health services and medical care facilities for Monrovia, the capital city. It has controlled malaria in the area of the capital and has established the first, and as yet only, nursing school in the country. Very dramatically, it stamped out a nation-wide epidemic of smallpox. For months, United States physicians and nurses led teams of Liberian dressers and vaccinators into the jungle and bush of a country which in its 43,000 square miles has a mere 200 miles of road. Since 1946 smallpox has no longer been a public health problem in Liberia.

Of deeper significance, the annual health budget of Liberia has increased tenfold since the U. S. Public Health Service Mission set foot in Africa seven years ago.

A new and important element entered into the bilateral health story in 1947. That was the open recognition, as a basis for national action, of the fact that communism breeds on filth, disease, and human misery. Immediately after the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine of containment of communism, a Mission was sent to Greece. It contained an important health component composed of U. S. Public Health Service officers which subsequently became the public health division of the present Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) Mission to Greece.

The program has been one of technical assistance and the provision of essential supplies. The work has been done by Greece, under Greek direction, with Greek funds meeting all internal expenses. This has been an extensive program. It has included the construction of 5 tuberculosis sanatoria, 3 nursing schools, 6 hospitals and 2 health centers, as well as aid to the Greek War Relief Association in the construction of 5 general hospitals and 11 health centers. Water supplies have been improved in 375 communities.

A far-reaching result of the Mission's work is its influence and assistance in the strengthening of the organization of

the national health service and, in particular, the establishment therein of sanitary engineering and nursing divisions.

The work of the public health group is recognized as one of the major factors in bringing a greater measure of economic and social stability to postwar Greece.

Today neighboring Turkey, which has seen this work in Greece, is host to a small, recently arrived ECA health mission.

With the conquest of China by the Communists and the outbreak of communistic guerilla activities in Southeast Asia, the ECA undertook to give assistance to these areas, with a view to quieting unrest. Applying its experience in Greece, it immediately undertook, with the technical assistance of the U. S. Public Health Service, to initiate health programs which would bring relief as rapidly as possible to the rural populations of the countries in this area.

In countries of Southeast Asia—Burma, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and Indonesia—and in the Philippines and Formosa, ECA is today spending some $22,000,000 to extend medical care and sanitation as rapidly as possible to the villages. Since these are highly malarious countries, much emphasis is being placed on initiating control programs, through both residual spraying and the distribution of chloroquine. In Vietnam, for example, some 114,000 houses have been sprayed within the last few months. In Thailand some 40,000 homes have been sprayed. Between 30,000 and 35,000 persons in Vietnam showing symptoms of malaria have been treated with chloroquine.

An aggressive attack is being made on trachoma and other eye infections in Burma, Vietnam, and Thailand, using the most modern techniques.

These and other extensive and intensive activities reaching directly into the villages are being directed by 80 U. S. Public Health Service officers.

The Point IV Program has already been mentioned. Its underlying concept is understood here, I am sure. It is an idea that is consonant with our greatest aspirations as American public health workers. It is administered by the Department of State through its Technical Cooperation Administration (TCA). The Institute of Inter-American Affairs has recently become a functional part of the TCA, and its program has been expanded as part of Point IV. The U. S. Public Health Service program in Liberia has been expanded in a similar manner.

The TCA has launched new Point IV programs in Iran and Lebanon. It is now planning health programs in cooperation with 15 of the governments of the Near East and South Asia, from Ethiopia to Nepal. In the field of health, the TCA and ECA meet in the U. S. Public Health Service, which supplies technical support and much of the personnel for both programs.

Today the World Health Organization, and in this hemisphere the Pan American Sanitary Organization, are growing rapidly in strength. As part of the same great international health movement, the United States is working jointly with many nations in the development of effective health services. There is ample evidence that in the field of public health we have a unique meeting ground for the people and nations of the earth, potentially the most fruitful avenue toward the coveted prize of a world of enduring peace. Working thus together toward these great ends, we can see ahead to a world that does not rock with each edition of the day's press, a world in which we, and in which our children also, can live as free citizens at peace, one with the other.

Foreign Commerce WEEKLY

Vol. XLVI, *No.* 5

February 4, 1952

LIMATAMBO AIRPORT, LIMA, PERU

March 1952

The materials in this kit are designed to provide you with background material for use in this year's celebration of World Health Day, April 7.

It is hoped that the widest possible use will be made of these materials in the observance of the day.

The material, we believe, is readily adaptable for use in newspaper articles, on radio and television programs, and for meetings of groups interested in the problems of world health and the part that we as a nation are playing in the world-wide fight against disease.

The materials in this kit may be adapted or modified as you see fit.

There are included lists of foreign trainees in the United States and United States leaders who have served on assignments abroad. You may wish to get in touch with these persons for assistance in observance of World Health Day.

I trust that the kit will prove useful to you.

Louis L. Williams, Jr.

Louis L. Williams, Jr., Med. Dir.
Chief, Division of International Health
Public Health Service
Federal Security Agency

In Observance of

WORLD HEALTH DAY

April 7, 1952

prepared by

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
Public Health Service
Division of International Health

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

WHO Newsletter

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1952—Vol. V, Nos 8-9

SPECIAL EXHIBIT NUMBER

This Man belongs to the Earth's submerged majority

Two-thirds of all the People in the World are like him

Sickness is their Burden. Death claims them by the age of 30

Sickness enfeebles them,

People in the World
are like him

Sickness is their Burden.
Death claims them by
the age of 30

Sickness enfeebles them,
condemning them to
Poverty. They live on
less than a Dollar a Week

Poverty, in turn,
perpetuates
their weakness

This is the Cost of
Sickness:
Can the Price of Health
be higher?

Present-day knowledge must be made available to all countries in order to enable them to assure adequate care for mothers, the best possible chance of survival for infants, and for children normal physical growth and development as well as mental and emotional health... This is a big programme. In order to carry it out, one essential condition must be fulfilled: all nations of the world, regardless of the political, economic or social systems to which they belong, must play their part in building a healthier human society. In our shrunken world isolationism in the field of health is unthinkable. Disease and misery in any corner of the world are a potential threat to the rest of its population. As far as health is concerned, it is obviously and immediately clear that the world will be one or none.

BROCK CHISHOLM
DIRECTOR-GENERAL WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

THIS DOUBLE ISSUE

of the "Newsletter" for the months of September and October, is designed for display as a wall newspaper. The two inside picture pages together form one panel nearly six feet in length.

This issue is based on the exhibit shown to delegates of 64 nations attending the Fifth World Health Assembly in Geneva in May last and viewed later by thousands of the general public on visits to the Palais des Nations.

Facts, figures and notes for teachers and lecturers are printed on the back of the picture-sheets.

NO

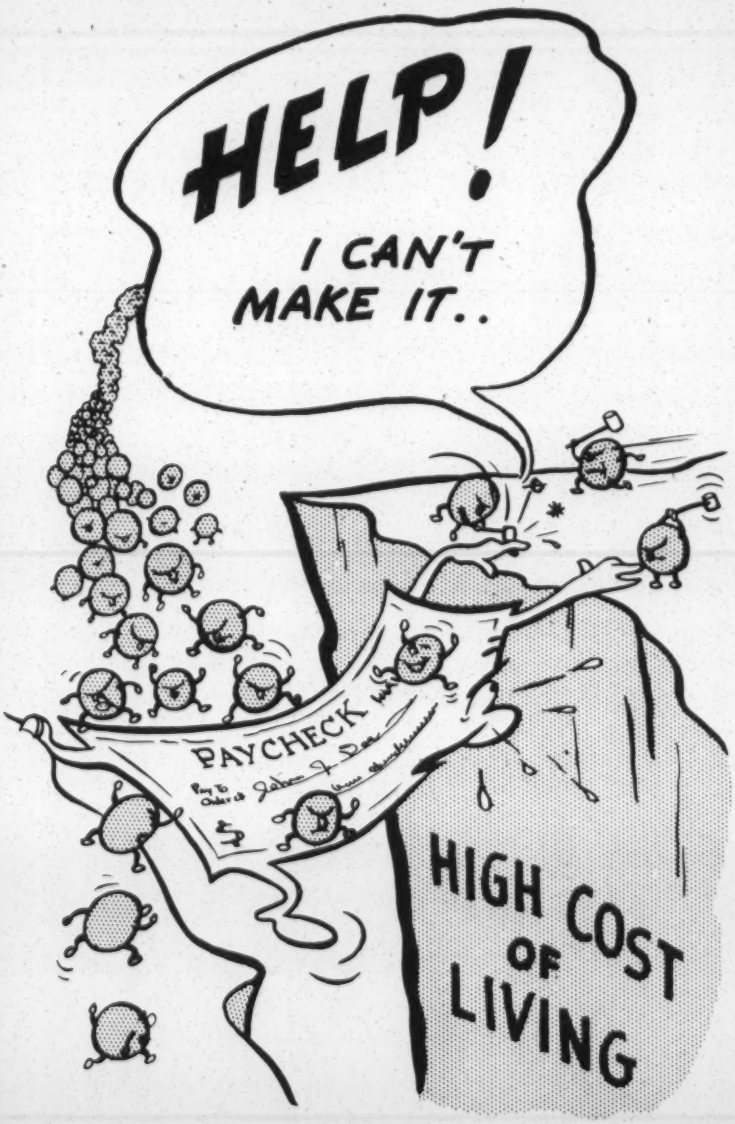
WANTED 50,000 MEN AND WOMEN

MR. BELLBOY—
HERE'S A GOOD TIP
YOU CAN GIVE...

YOU CAN HELP US
BY HELPING THEM!
MR. TAXI DRIVER

THIS IS STRAIGHT STUFF

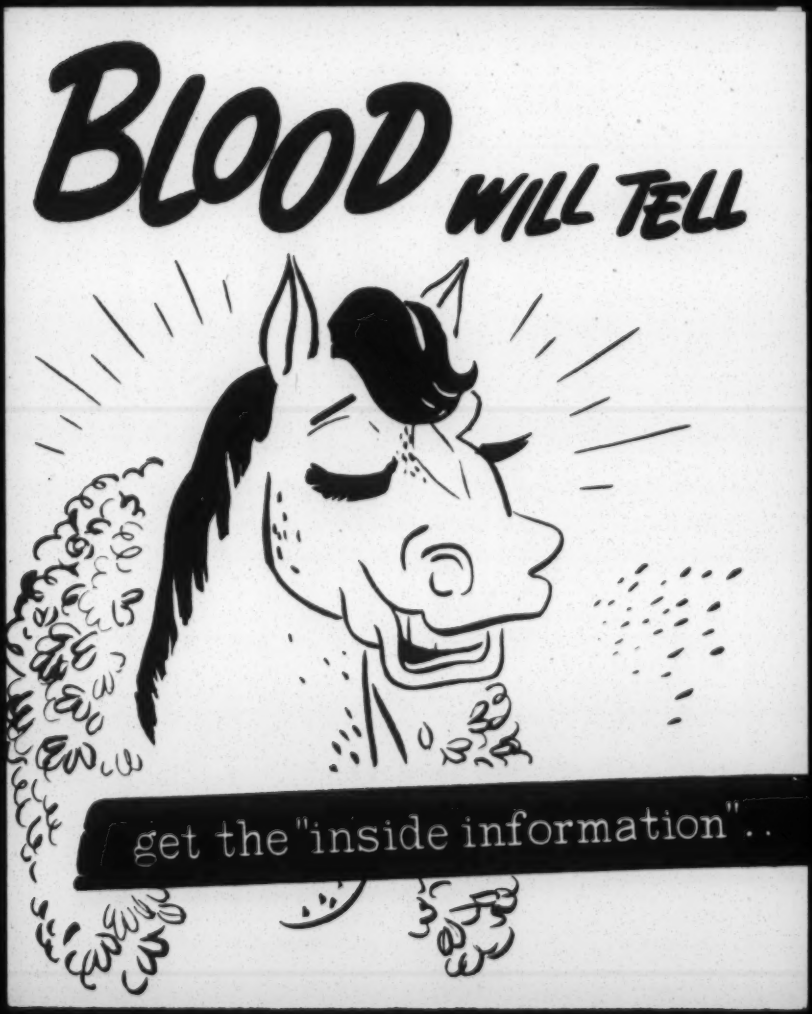
THERE'S A PLACE FOR YOU!
ROOMS


HELP!
I CAN'T MAKE IT..
PAYCHECK
HIGH COST OF LIVING

YOU DON'T GET
A BREAK LIKE
THIS VERY
OFTEN.

THIS IS A
GOOD DEAL...

MR. BELLBOY — HERE'S A GOOD TIP YOU CAN GIVE...


BLOOD WILL TELL
get the "inside information"..

DON'T LET THIS
SLIP BY YOU!

UD

Mr. Felix A. Grisselle, Dir
Health Publications Institute
216 N. Dawson St.
Raleigh, N.C.

See QSIM ltr, 8 Feb 48

the lamp is lit

the story of WHO

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

THE LAMP IS LIT. The story of the World Health Organization. By Ritchie Calder. 40 pp. (illustrated). Published by WHO Division of Public Information. 25 cents.

The Lamp of Mr. Calder's title is the lamp of health, which the World Health Organization seeks to light amid the darkness of disease and misery. Small as the light may be today, the shadows are already falling back...

In a remote corner of Bengal, for instance, a WHO team working with the Pakistan authorities demonstrated malaria control methods in a heavily infected area. At the end of a year "no cases of malaria were found among children under one year of age," said the report. But it also added: "The District Agricultural Officer reported an increase of 543 pounds of rice per acre for the year." When sickness vanished the people became stronger. Because they were stronger, they were able to work harder in their fields; and because they worked harder, they got their fields to produce more food.

This example is but one of many which Mr. Calder cites to show the humanitarian value of WHO's work and also the concrete dividends in terms of rising standards of living which go hand in hand with better health. Other examples are taken from the Organization's activities in assisting countries all over the world to combat the ravages of tuberculosis and venereal infections, to reduce sickness and death rates among mothers and children, to improve nutrition, to prevent mental ill-health, to train urgently needed doctors, nurses and other health workers, etc.

The details that Mr. Calder gives of the work already being carried out by WHO are impressive in themselves; but there is more to this booklet than a catalogue of dramatic material achievements. There is a clear realization of the wider functions of the Organization. "It is in less dramatic but enduring ways that WHO will have permanent effect," he declares. "It cannot itself create the social changes which will produce well-being for those who now lack it. It cannot do the job of governments, but it can help governments do their job better and faster..."

THE LAMP IS LIT is available at:

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
International Documents Service
2960 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN PUBLIC HEALTH
THE MIDDLE EAST

Bordering the southeastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea and extending south to the Sahara Desert and east to the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf is an area of the world often referred to as the Middle East. Although a part of two continents, Africa and Asia, the topography and the climate of the area and the cultures of its various peoples have much in common. The entire area, except along the shores of the seas or the banks of the rivers, is virtually a desert where water is man's greatest asset. It determines where he goes, what he eats, and how long he lives.

Although this area was the cradle of civilization, it is today still underdeveloped, both in its human and natural resources, and the disease problems which now exist have plagued these people for many centuries.

A major problem of this area is the movements of populations - refugees, immigrants and pilgrims. There are hundreds of thousands of homeless Palestine refugees temporarily settled in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. Immigrants continue to flow into Israel. Every year, 200,000 Moslems make their pilgrimages to Mecca. These movements have far-reaching political, social and economic importance, including an effect on disease transmission.

These are among the reasons why the United States and the United Nations Agencies are channelling much of their technical assistance to the countries in this area. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and the World Health Organization are providing medical personnel and supplies to stave off epidemics among the refugees. One hundred and forty-eight thousand refugee children have been vaccinated against tuberculosis. Control programs against malaria, typhus and other insect-borne diseases are carried on by these international organizations in the refugee camps.

Infectious eye diseases, such as trachoma, which blind large percentages of people in the Middle East, especially children, are being attacked in Jordan. With United States equipment and technical direction the Government of Jordan has set up a central laboratory to provide essential laboratory services required in attacking the problems of communicable diseases in that country. The Saudi Arabian Government, with World Health Organization assistance, has built quarantine facilities at Jidda to control diseases among the pilgrims.

The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and the World Health Organization are sponsoring vaccination programs throughout the area for protection against tuberculosis. In Israel,

208,000 children have been vaccinated, while in Egypt some two million children and young adults have been tested in the mass campaign. A vaccine production center is being established in Cairo with the assistance of the World Health Organization and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

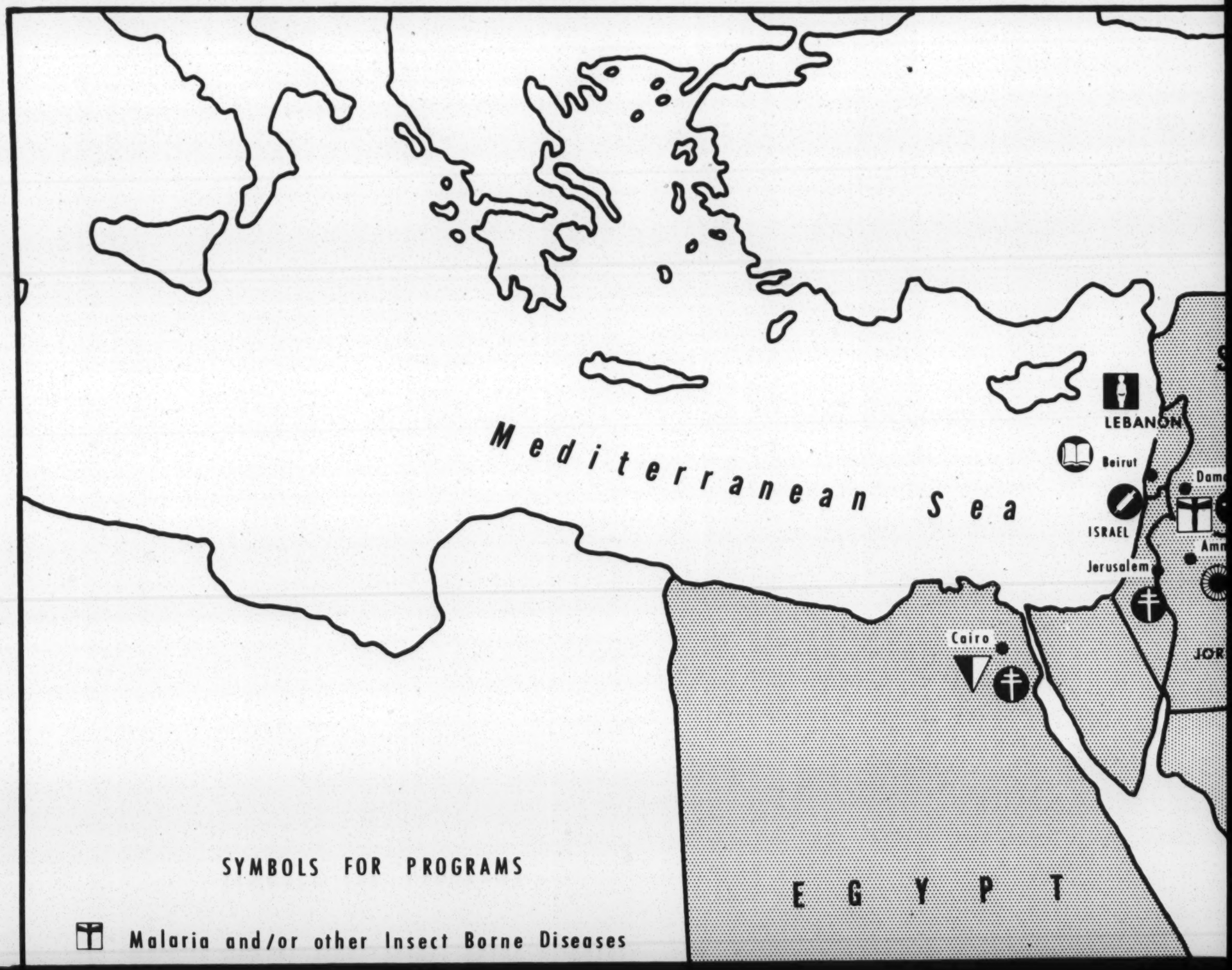
The Maternal and Child Health Center in Beirut is training local maternal and child health teams for work in the rural villages. The Technical Cooperation Administration has set up training facilities at the American University of Beirut for subprofessional and professional public health workers drawn from the nations in this area.

The World Health Organization and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund have provided mobile units in Iraq which bring medical care to thousands suffering from bejel, syphilis and other spirochetal diseases. The Technical Cooperation Administration is establishing rural public health demonstrations in areas of Iraq undergoing economic development.

For the first time, the rural population of Iran is receiving the benefits of public health, scientific agriculture and fundamental education. In each of the provinces or ostans, a team of technical experts is setting up regional health centers under the Technical Cooperation Administration program. These centers are serving as focal points for training subprofessional health workers who will return to their native towns and villages and attack such problems as malaria, faulty sanitation, and high infant mortality. Also, the Technical Cooperation Administration, the World Health Organization and the Ministry of Health of Iran are very rapidly bringing malaria under control.

Throughout this area governmental and private agencies are initiating programs destined to stop human suffering and raise the level of health of the people.

GPO 83-28281

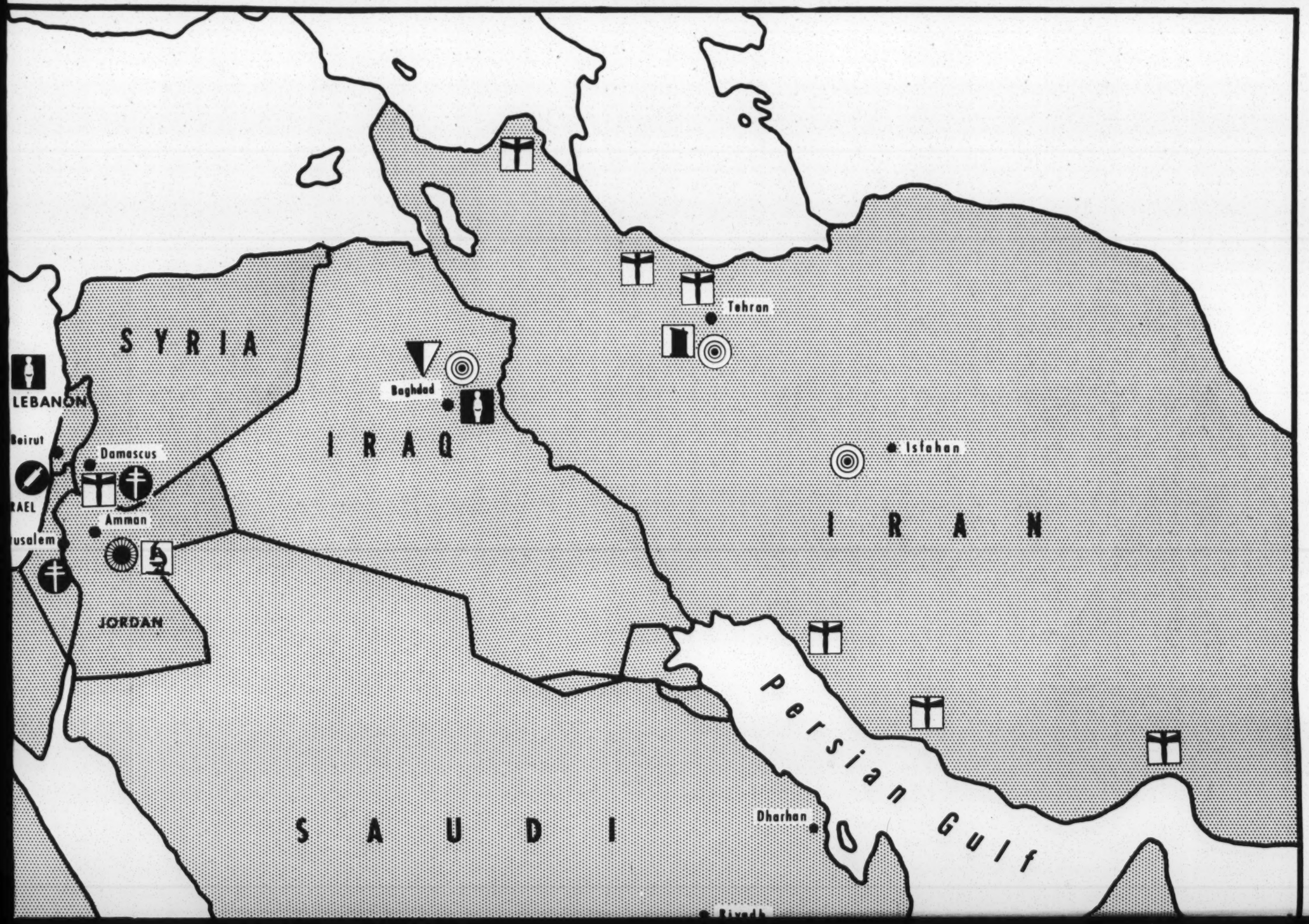

Mediterranean Sea
LEBANON
Beirut
ISRAEL
Jerusalem
Cairo
EGYPT
SYMBOLS FOR PROGRAMS
Malaria and/or other Insect Borne Diseases

SYMBOLS FOR PROGRAMS

- Malaria and/or other Insect Borne Diseases
- Tuberculosis
- Venereal Disease, Yaws, Bejel, and/or Pinta
- Maternal and/or Child Health, and/or Nutrition
- Rural Sanitation
- Public Health Training and Facilities
- Immunization
- Trachoma, and/or other Infectious Eye Diseases
- Laboratory and/or Research
- Public Health Demonstration Teams and/or Administrative Services
- Quarantine

Technical Assistance in Public Heal

THE MIDDLE EAST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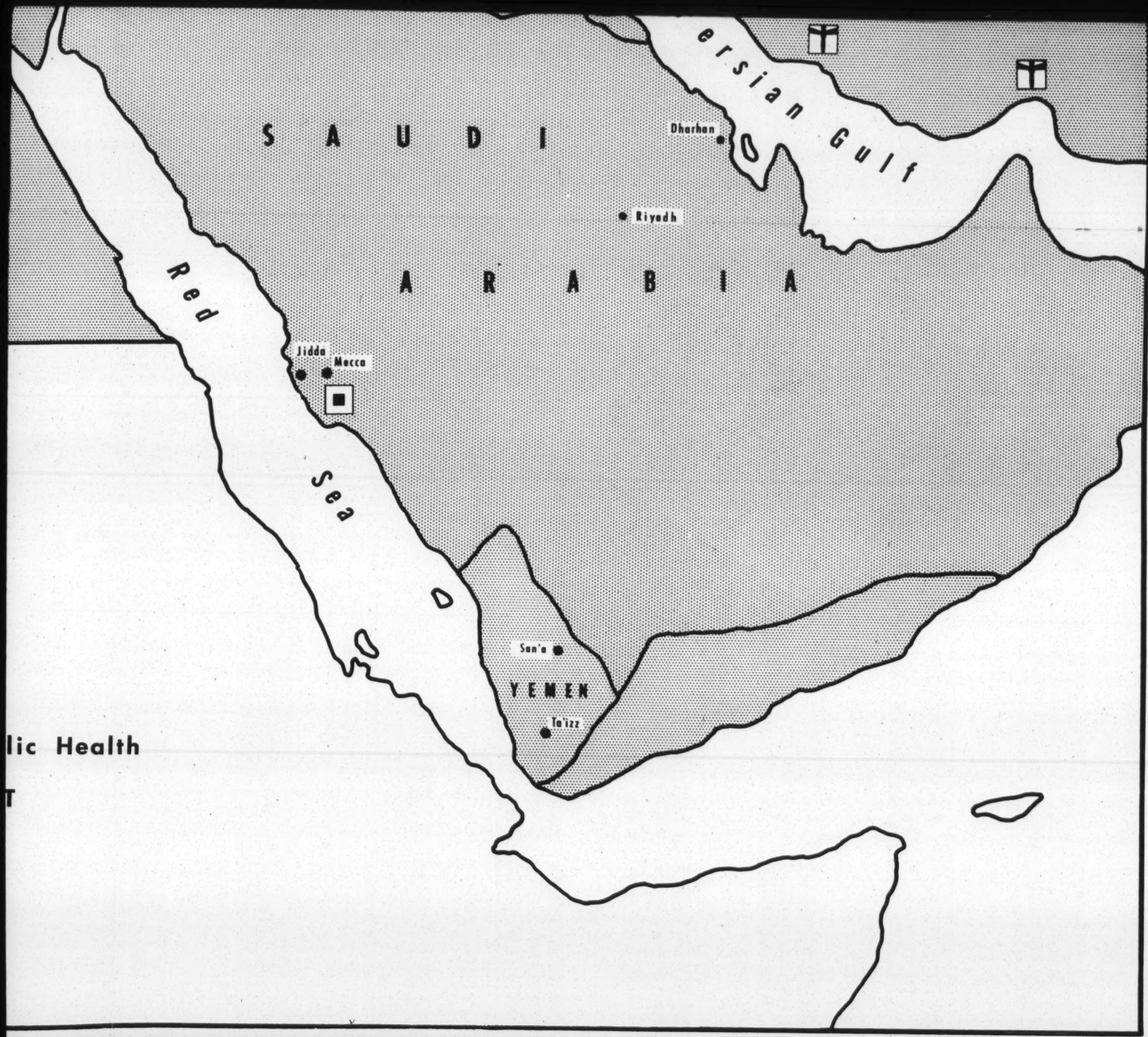
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San'a
YEMEN
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lic Health

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TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN PUBLIC HEALTH
EUROPE

Although Europe is not considered an underdeveloped area, there are many health problems which affect the economic development of particular countries. For this reason the World Health Organization, during its last assembly, decided to establish a Regional Office for Europe. Because of the advanced development of health affairs in Europe, the United States is giving technical assistance to only two countries in its bilateral program. These two countries are Greece and Turkey.

The present Greek program was initiated in 1947 as a part of the American Mission for Aid to Greece. It was designed to help in the economic recovery of Greece by controlling those diseases which affected the health of workers or made areas of the country unsuitable for agricultural production. Consequently, one of the biggest tasks when the program began was malaria control. This program was carried out on a large scale by the Public Health Division and the Agricultural Division of the ECA Mission to Greece. Once a major health and economic problem, malaria is now reduced to a minor problem in Greece. The Greek Mission also provides advisory services to the Ministry of Hygiene in helping it to reorganize its structure and to plan public health programs which will extend out into the provinces. In addition to developing health centers in the provinces, the Mission builds hospitals, promotes nursing education programs, develops hundreds of community water supplies and supervises the procurement and distribution of medical stores, drugs and chemicals. It guided the development of an artificial limb program and initiated public health fellowships for professional and subprofessional workers. Together with the World Health Organization, the Greek Government and the Danish Red Cross, it operates a tuberculosis control and BCG vaccination program.

In Turkey a small United States Mission of four people is giving assistance in malaria control. The activities of the Mission are centered in those regions of Turkey where rice production was stopped by the government because of an increase in malaria. This team also serves the government in a general advisory capacity on problems other than malaria control.

Because of the high degree of development of health in Europe the WHO has very few technical assistance missions there similar to those in the underdeveloped countries. Such assistance as is being given is confined to short term seminars and demonstrations. The World Health Organization has, however, been instrumental, along with UNICEF, in initiating extensive BCG vaccination programs in the war-ravaged areas of Central and Eastern Europe.

An international anti-venereal disease Commission of the Rhine was created in 1951 to coordinate services of the five countries bordering on the river for the benefit of Rhine boatmen and to establish diagnostic and treatment centers at principal river ports.

A training center for anesthesiology, opened in Copenhagen in May 1950, is being operated by the Danish State Medical Board, the University of Copenhagen, and the World Health Organization. Training in new techniques is being given to specialists from Sweden, Norway, Finland, Iceland, Yugoslavia, and Austria, as well as Denmark. The first class was graduated in April 1951.

A WHO team of six Swedish heart specialists demonstrated new surgical procedures such as "blue baby" operations in Vienna and Zagreb. Following the team's visits, cardiac clinics were scheduled to be established for children in those cities.

Technical aid is being given by WHO to UNICEF in a new program, launched in 1950, for rehabilitation of handicapped children in Europe. Assistance for hard-of-hearing children, war cripples blind, deaf mutes, polio victims, and other handicapped children has been requested by war-devastated countries. Supplies for the program are being provided by UNICEF.

WHO staff members and short-term consultants have been provided in such fields as venereal diseases, tuberculosis, and maternal and child health in many countries of Europe.

Medical books and periodicals have been sent to a number of governments to help them bring their scientists, isolated from research during World War II, up to date on new techniques.

WHO has helped a number of governments, including Austria, Finland and France, with specific problems of infant health.

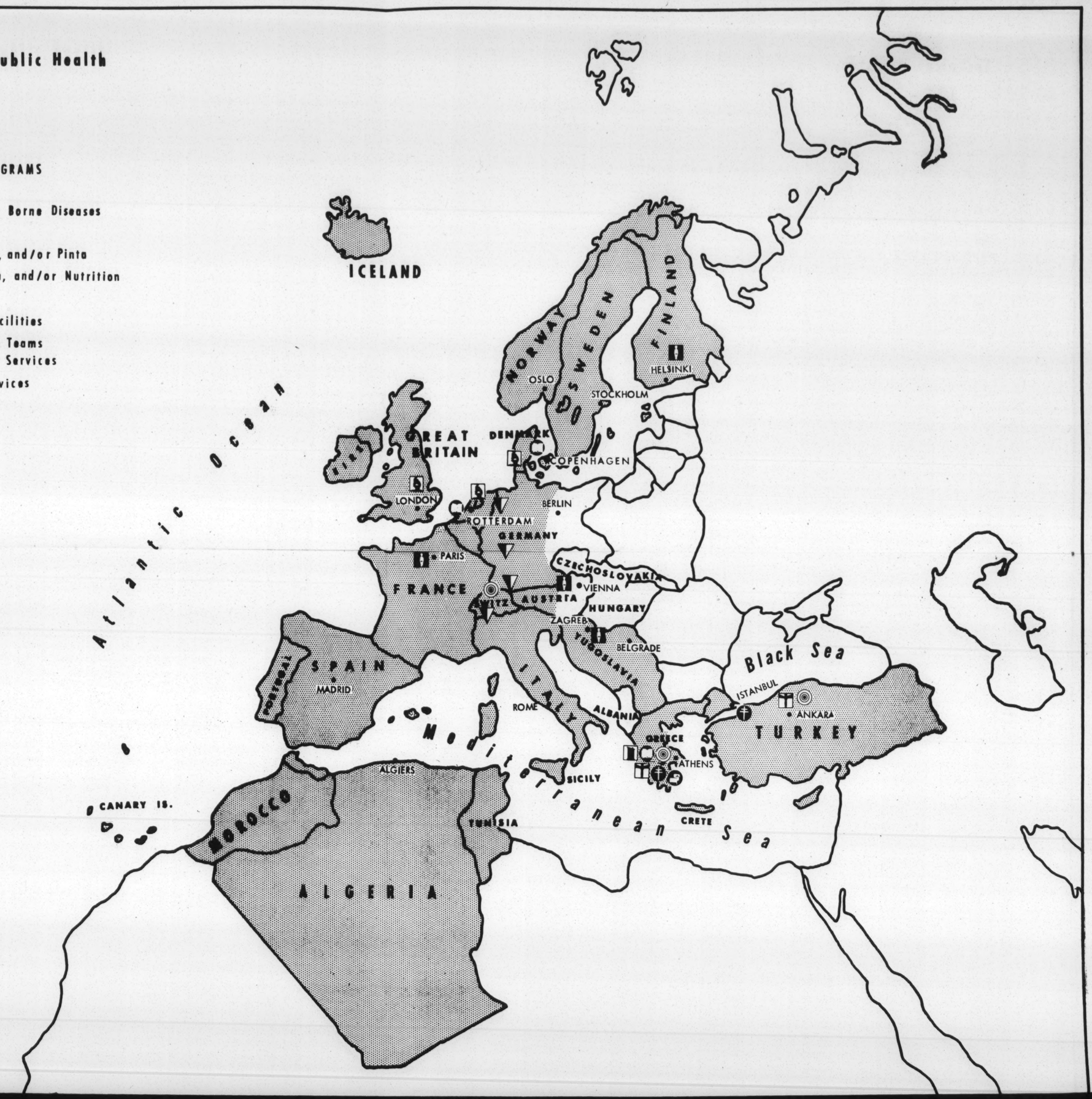
GPO 83-26976

Technical Assistance in Public Health

EUROPE

SYMBOLS FOR PROGRAMS

- Malaria and/or other Insect Borne Diseases
- Tuberculosis
- Venereal Disease, Yaws, Bejel, and/or Pinta
- Maternal and/or Child Health, and/or Nutrition
- Rural Sanitation
- Public Health Training and Facilities
- Public Health Demonstration Teams and/or Administrative Services
- Hospital Facilities and Services
- Laboratory and/or Research



TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN HEALTH IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN AREA

In Central America and the Caribbean area the United States bilateral health programs are being administered by cooperative government agencies known generally as "Servicios." These agencies are staffed jointly by Americans and nationals of the host country. They are financed by contributions from the host government and the United States. In all cases the host government supplies by far the major portion of both personnel and funds. Eight countries in this area participate in this cooperative program.

In Costa Rica there is a project for the construction of sanitary privies, technical support to the Department of Sanitary Engineering in the Ministry of Public Health and, jointly with the World Health Organization, financial assistance to the National School of Nursing.

Current activities in El Salvador include the completion and partial equipping of two hospital health centers, a tuberculosis pavilion and a nursing school, and the supervision of an extensive rural sanitation project emphasizing safe water supplies and sewerage systems.

The objective of the Guatemalan program is the completion of a 1000-bed hospital and medical center on the outskirts of Guatemala City, for which Guatemala is furnishing the funds.

Major emphasis in Haiti is given to extensive campaigns aimed at the control of yaws and malaria, the two outstanding health problems of the country. In addition to assisting the control operations through clinics and mobile units, an extensive health education activity is also carried out. Other current activities include the operation of a health center, technical guidance to the National School of Nursing, construction of additions to the water supply system of the capital city, and general cooperation with the Hydraulic Service of the Haitian Government in a program aimed at improving community water supplies throughout the nation.

The principal activities in Honduras now include malaria control operations, the construction of water and sewerage systems, and technical assistance in the operation of a national tuberculosis sanatorium in Tegucigalpa, the capital city (this is the only institution of its kind in Honduras).

Since its beginning in 1942 the program in Mexico has placed special emphasis on the construction of water supply and sewerage systems. Other cur-

rent activities include technical assistance to Servicio-constructed health centers, countrywide campaigns to control malaria, rickettsial diseases, tuberculosis, pinta, brucellosis, and Rocky Mountain spotted fever, as well as an extensive project to control venereal diseases along the U. S.-Mexican border and smallpox in the Tepalcatepec River basin.

The program in Nicaragua was reactivated in January 1951. Current operations comprise evaluation of previous work and conducting extensive surveys for water supply and waste disposal projects, construction of two health centers and two water supply systems.

The Panama program, which was reactivated in 1951 after a lapse of six years, is carrying on a countrywide health education project and making surveys for sewerage systems. It has also begun the operation of a countrywide BCG vaccination campaign against tuberculosis and is giving technical assistance to the national hospital in Panama City.

In this area the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, which acts as WHO's regional office for the Americas, continues its campaign for the eradication of the *Aedes aegypti* mosquito, carrier of yellow fever. Joint WHO/UNICEF projects for tuberculosis control have been started in Costa Rica, where a two-year program calls for tuberculin testing of 260,000 children and BCG vaccination of those not yet infected; El Salvador, where it is hoped that 877,000 children can be tested and vaccination provided in two years; and Jamaica, where the program calls for testing of 600,000 persons, vaccination, training of local personnel, and extending the services of an existing laboratory. A BCG vaccine laboratory in Mexico City aided by WHO and UNICEF, produces vaccine both for that country and for other Latin American countries.

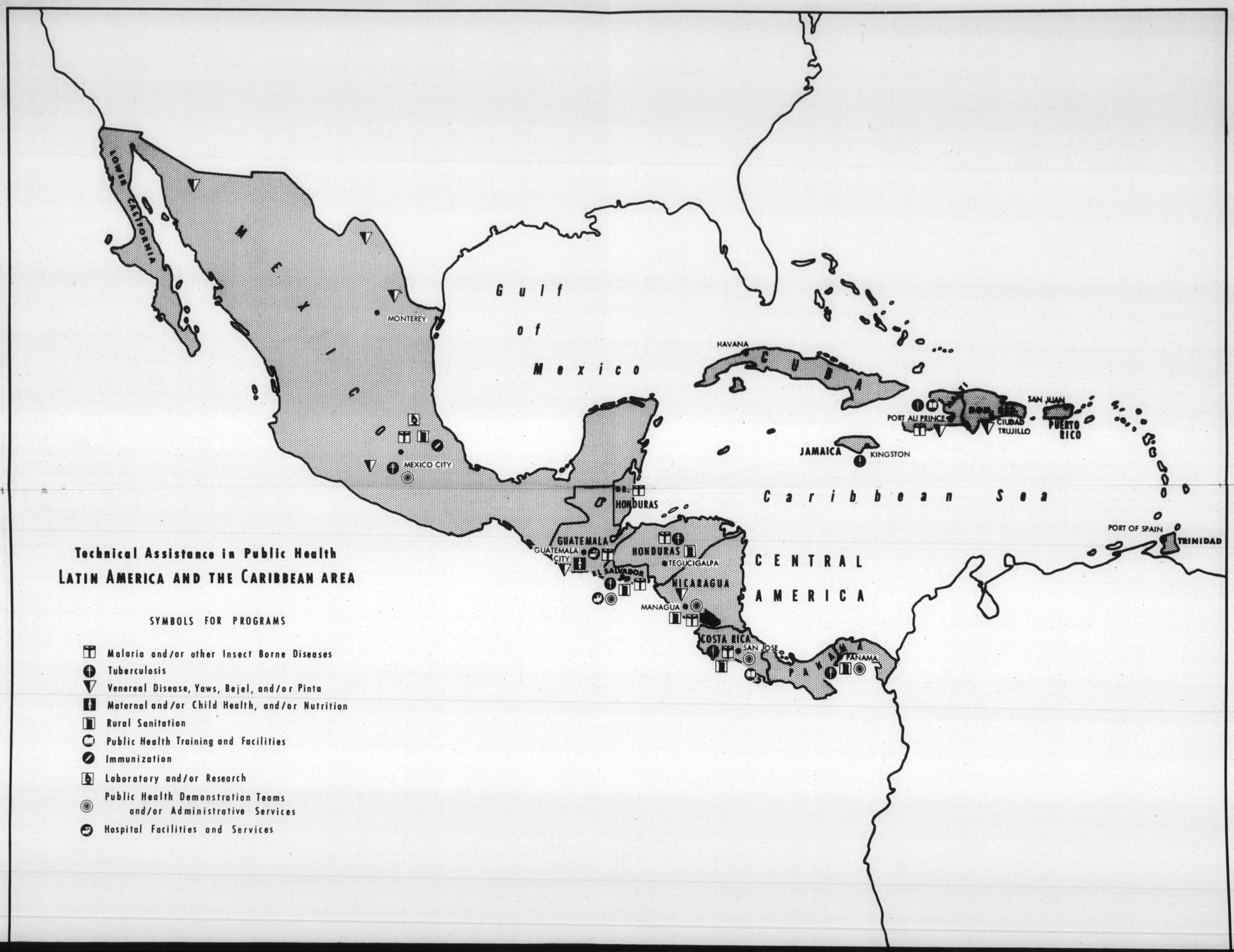
Campaigns against insect-borne diseases, including malaria, are being conducted in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, British Honduras and Nicaragua with WHO/UNICEF aid.

A two-year campaign against yaws was launched in Haiti in 1950 with the cooperation of WHO and UNICEF.

Venereal disease projects are being conducted in Nicaragua, Guatemala and Mexico.

The Institute of Nutrition for Central America and Panama was established in Guatemala with the cooperation of the regional office.

GPO 83-26976


Technical Assistance in Public Health
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN AREA
SYMBOLS FOR PROGRAMS
Malaria and/or other Insect Borne Diseases
Tuberculosis
Venereal Disease, Yaws, Bejel, and/or Pinta
Maternal and/or Child Health, and/or Nutrition
Rural Sanitation
Public Health Training and Facilities
Immunization
Laboratory and/or Research
Public Health Demonstration Teams and/or Administrative Services
Hospital Facilities and Services
LOWER CALIFORNIA
MEXICO
MONTEREY
MEXICO CITY
Gulf of Mexico
HAVANA
CUBA
PORT AU PRINCE
CIUDAD TRUJILLO
SAN JUAN
PUERTO RICO
JAMAICA
KINGSTON
Caribbean Sea
HONDURAS
GUATEMALA
GUATEMALA CITY
EL SALVADOR
HONDURAS
TEGUCIGALPA
NICARAGUA
MANAGUA
CENTRAL AMERICA
COSTA RICA
SAN JOSE
PANAMA
PANAMA
PORT OF SPAIN
TRINIDAD

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN PUBLIC HEALTH FOR AFRICA

A vast region of the continent of Africa remains underdeveloped with its wealth of natural resources denied to mankind. Many times greater in area than either the pampas regions of South America or the prairies of the United States, this region could supply much of the needed food for the world if made safe for human habitation.

Many diseases, particularly malaria and African sleeping sickness, are rampant in this area and affect the destinies of man. Although man has discovered methods for the control of most of these diseases, the economic cost of applying such measures on a large scale in this region remains a formidable barrier to development.

Smallpox, typhus, epidemic meningitis, yellow fever, hookworm disease and malnutrition are prevalent. In the drier areas, trachoma, a disease often causing blindness, may affect two-thirds of the population. Along the coast, syphilis and gonorrhea have invaded the towns and villages. In the interior, yaws incapacitates both children and adults.

Under the bilateral program, the United States is giving technical assistance to Liberia and Ethiopia.

In Liberia, the bilateral program has been in operation since 1944. Originally initiated as a war-time operation to protect American military personnel stationed in that country, the program is now an integrated part of the public health services of Liberia. The American staff of the mission is assigned to responsible positions in the national health service. American experts provide assistance in nursing education, malaria control and laboratory services as well as in rural sanitation and other types of health services. At the request of the Liberian Government, the World Health Organization has provided a consultant to draft and codify health regulations. The Organization is also providing personnel to undertake a yaws control program in that country.

The World Health Organization has been providing assistance to Ethiopia for several years. Due to the extreme shortage of trained personnel in the health fields, the program has been primarily restricted to a training program for subprofessional personnel. Recently, however, the country has received assistance from the World Health Organization in leprosy control and a project for the control of venereal disease has been approved. The Technical Cooperation Administration has approved the assignment of a public health administrator to Ethiopia to plan a national health service for that country. It is anticipated that additional personnel will be assigned to Ethiopia when a plan has been agreed

upon. So far as the rest of the region is concerned, the Mutual Security Agency has sponsored a malaria survey in Sierra Leone and epidemiological studies in the Gold Coast and Nigeria.

The World Health Organization has recently established a Regional Office for Africa at Brazzaville, French Equatorial Africa. Other than the activities cited above, assistance has been given in providing short-term consultants, survey missions and fellowships.

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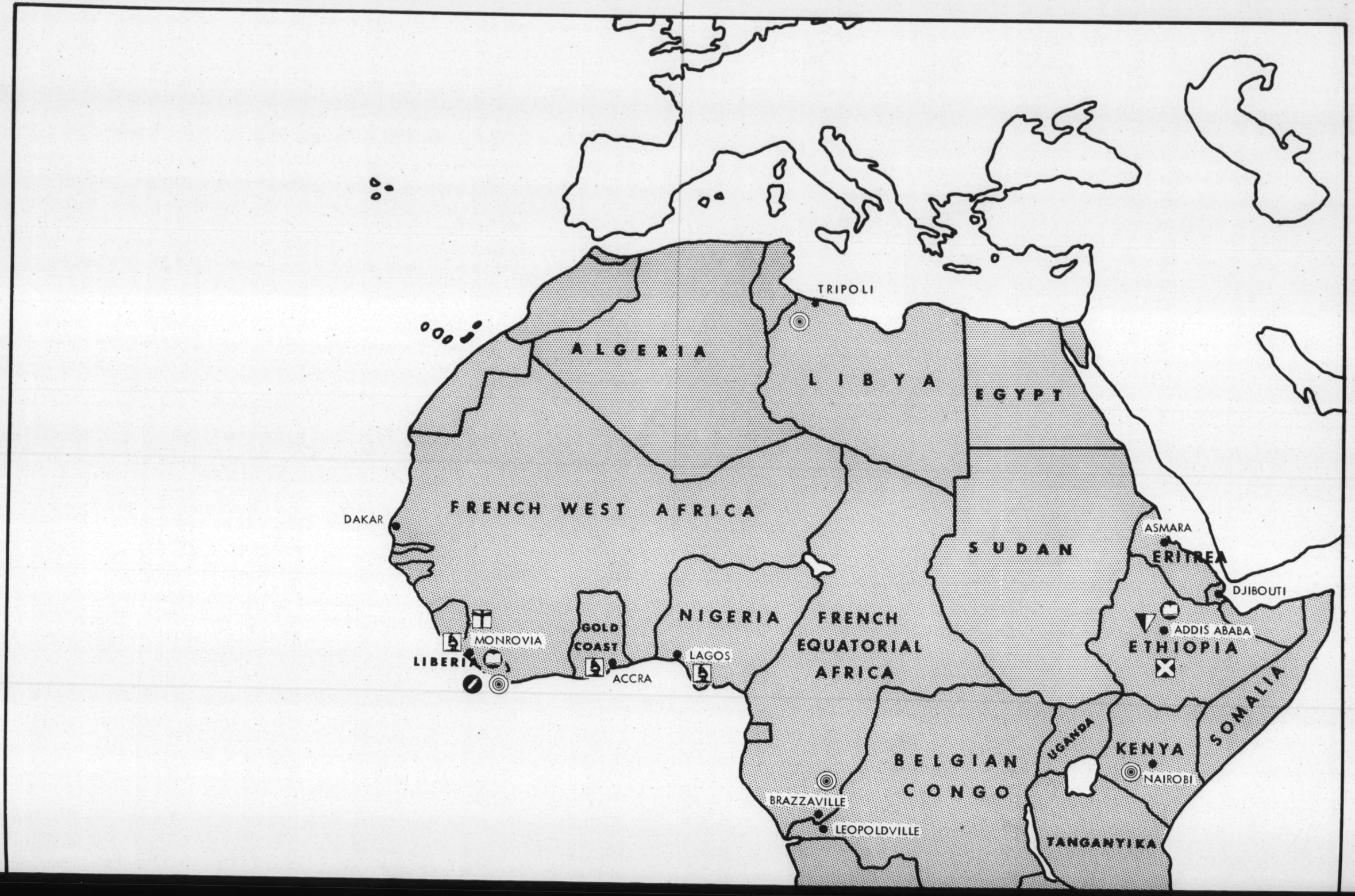
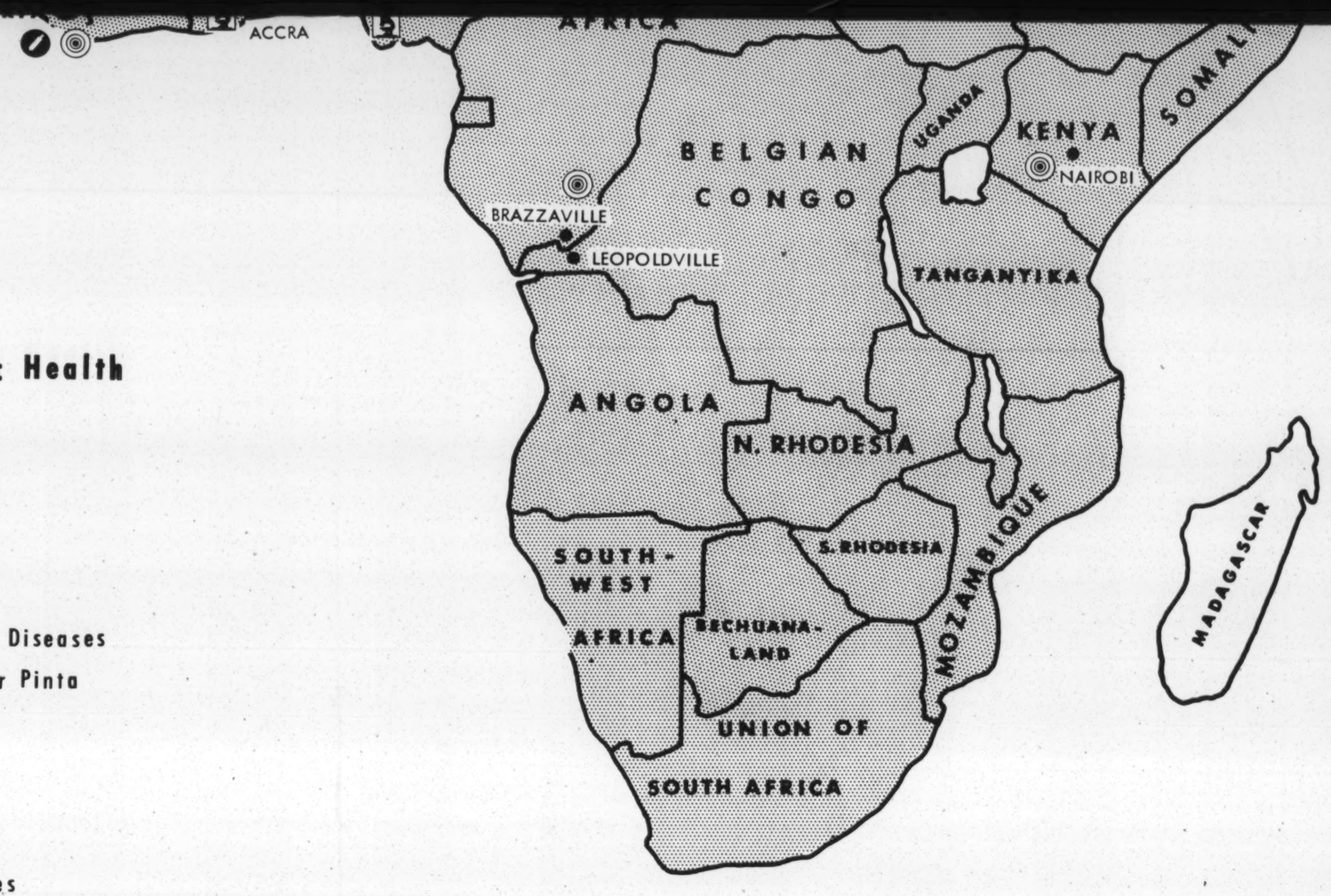

TRIPOLI
ALGERIA
LIBYA
EGYPT
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
DAKAR
SUDAN
ASMARA
ERITREA
DJIBOUTI
NIGERIA
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
MONROVIA
LIBERIA
GOLD COAST
ACCRA
LAGOS
ADDIS ABABA
ETHIOPIA
SOMALIA
UGANDA
KENYA
NAIROBI
BELGIAN CONGO
BRAZZAVILLE
LEOPOLDVILLE
TANGANYIKA

Technical Assistance in Public Health
AFRICA

SYMBOLS FOR PROGRAMS

- Malaria and/or other Insect Borne Diseases
- Venereal Disease, Yaws, Bejel, and/or Pinta
- Public Health Training and Facilities
- Immunization
- Laboratory and/or Research
- Public Health Demonstration Teams and/or Administrative Services
- Leprosy



TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN PUBLIC HEALTH
SOUTHEAST ASIA

Probably the most complex of the regions in which technical assistance activities in health are occurring is the Southeast Asia region. With a relatively small land area this region consists of peninsulas extending from the underside of China and thousands of small islands known as the "East Indies and the Philippines." Nine independent nations - Burma, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Malaya, Indonesia, the Philippines and Taiwan - and a number of non-selfgoverning territories occupy this area. These nations vary in racial characteristics, religion, social and cultural background, language, political ideologies, and the maturity of their governments.

The United States is devoting intensive efforts in this area to relieve the suffering of the people and to assist the governments to develop sound economies which can support adequate health services.

In Indochina, where the French and Vietnam Governments are still fighting Communistic rebels, relief and care for war civilian casualties and war refugees necessarily constitute a considerable part of the health program. Fifteen American experts supervise malaria control teams, operate trachoma clinics, direct the drilling of wells and the building of privies in the villages, train and supervise first aid workers, laboratory technicians, dressers and other subprofessional personnel and provide the technical guidance for the construction and equipping of hospitals. They cooperate with the WHO in developing maternal and child health programs.

In Thailand, where there is greater stability, American experts are assisting the Ministry of Health in venereal disease, malaria, trachoma and plague control programs, rural sanitation and professional education. UNICEF and WHO have initiated a three year yaws control program. Assistance is also being given in malaria control and tuberculosis.

American personnel assigned to the U. S. Health Mission in Burma have been successful in carrying preventive medicine to the areas outside the major cities of Burma. Venereal disease and malaria control teams have been trained and assigned to rural areas. Quarantine personnel have been trained. A nation wide program in environmental sanitation is getting under way. American personnel serve as instructors at the Rangoon Medical School and Hospital. WHO and UNICEF are planning an extensive maternal and child health program in cooperation with the Government of Burma.

In Indonesia the small American public health group is providing advisory services to the Ministry of Health and assisting with the malaria control program carried on by the three malaria institutes. WHO and UNICEF are assisting in equipping 250 maternal and child health centers and are training personnel to staff these centers. A nation wide yaws eradication campaign is also carried on by WHO and UNICEF in which more than 100,000 persons have already been treated.

United States technical assistance in public health for the Philippine Islands is only in the planning stage. However, WHO and UNICEF have established a rural training center and are carrying out extensive yaws and syphilis control programs in Leyte and Samar. A BCG production laboratory and a tuberculosis demonstration center have been established at Santa Cruz near Manila.

In Formosa the United States, in addition to providing advisory services to the Ministry, is assisting in its malaria control program.

WHO has assigned public health nurses to Brunei, North Borneo and Sarawak to strengthen the nursing institutions in these countries.

In Malaya the WHO is sponsoring malaria control programs and extensive BCG vaccination campaigns.

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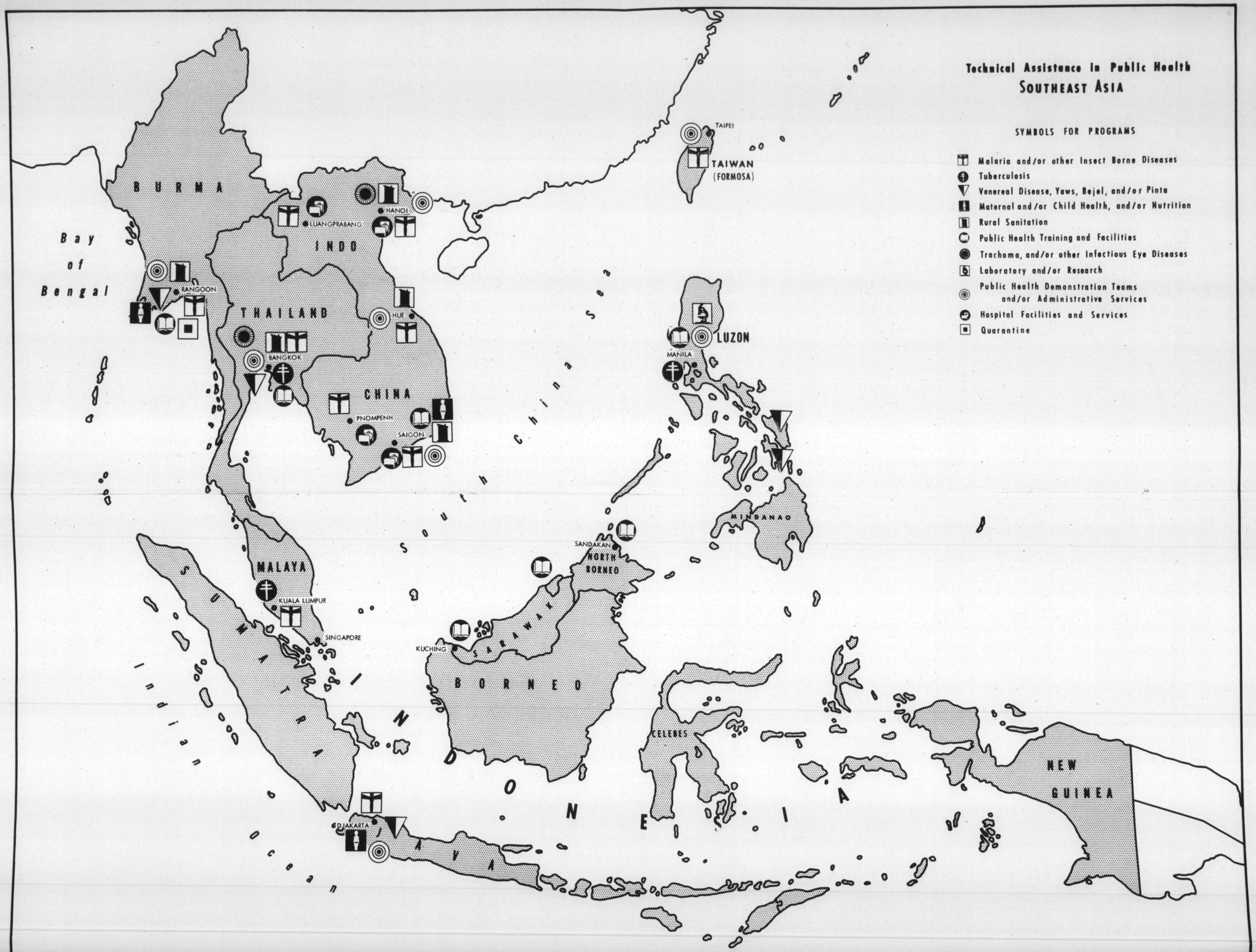
Technical Assistance in Public Health
SOUTHEAST ASIA
SYMBOLS FOR PROGRAMS
Malaria and/or other Insect Borne Diseases
Tuberculosis
Venereal Disease, Yaws, Bejel, and/or Pinta
Maternal and/or Child Health, and/or Nutrition
Rural Sanitation
Public Health Training and Facilities
Trachoma, and/or other Infectious Eye Diseases
Laboratory and/or Research
Public Health Demonstration Teams and/or Administrative Services
Hospital Facilities and Services
Quarantine
BURMA
Bay of Bengal
RANGOON
THAILAND
BANGKOK
INDO CHINA
LUANGPRABANG
HANOI
HUE
PNOMPENH
SAIGON
TAIPEI
TAIWAN (FORMOSA)
LUZON
MANILA
MINDANAO
South China Sea
MALAYA
KUALA LUMPUR
SINGAPORE
SUMATRA
Indian Ocean
SANDAKAN
NORTH BORNEO
SARAWAK
KUCHING
BORNEO
CELEBES
INDONESIA
DJAKARTA
JAVA
NEW GUINEA

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN HEALTH IN SOUTH AMERICA

The United States carries on a bilateral technical assistance program in health in nine South American countries. These programs are carried out through cooperative services similar to those used in the Central American countries. These "Servicios" are an integral part of the Ministry of Health in each country.

The major activity in public health in Bolivia is the operation of a series of health centers in six of the country's nine departmental capitals. Other activities include the operation of dispensaries and a central laboratory, the training of personnel for laboratory work in health centers and hospitals, supervision of countrywide health education projects and the construction of a maternity hospital and a water supply system.

The cooperative health program in Brazil is centered principally in the Amazon, San Francisco and Rio Doce Valleys and in the states of Bahi, Paraiba and Pernambuco. Major activities include the operation of health centers (subposts in remote areas), hospitals, laboratories, mobile dispensaries on river launches; construction of demonstration water supply systems, laundries and public baths; statewide privy construction projects in the states of Amazonas and Para; studies relating to the incidence and control of yaws, schistosomiasis and other diseases common in the areas; improvement of public health and hospital nursing services in five states; conducting extensive health education projects; development of industrial hygiene; and technical assistance in hospital administration.

In Chile an important phase of the cooperative health program is the operation of three health centers serving areas with populations ranging from 30,000 to 80,000. Other activities include countrywide campaigns for the control of tuberculosis, typhus, typhoid fever, meningitis, diphtheria, whooping cough and other diseases with especially high morbidity rates in Chile. In progress also are a countrywide nutrition project, a technical assistance project in vital statistics, a project in sanitation for the Aconcagua Valley, construction of health centers and several sewerage and water supply systems for small towns and a countrywide health education project.

Emphasis is being placed in Colombia on the control of malaria in an area with a population of 3,000,000. Through operation and research, studies are being made on the nutritional deficiencies of the people. Health centers and yaws control projects, the operation of a countrywide health education project, and operation of the National School of Nursing are other activities of the Servicio. Industrial hygiene activities are being initiated and environmental sanitation projects expanded.

The present public health program in Ecuador is a broad one involving the control of malaria and yaws the construction of several small city water supplies, the construction of improved sewerage systems, and on-the-job training of sanitary inspectors and laboratory technicians. Thirty-two hospitals have been constructed and are in use.

Current activities in Paraguay include the operation of health centers a central laboratory and a 100-bed tuberculosis sanatorium, which is being expanded to 200 beds; and assistance to the leper colony.

At the present time activities in Peru include the operation of health centers, hospitals, dispensaries, medical and sanitary posts, and river launch dispensaries in the jungle area; the study of industrial hygiene problems particularly related to high altitude mining; a yellow fever and leprosy control project in the Department of Loreto; nutritional deficiency studies; and a nationwide health education project.

The cooperative health program for Uruguay has been directed primarily toward the planning, construction and operation of demonstration health centers in the important towns. The Servicio currently is operating four such demonstration health centers. Other activities include a countrywide health education project, a yellow fever project, a tuberculosis project, and technical assistance to the University School of Medicine.

The United States-Venezuela cooperative public health program is now limited to two major fields of activity: the provision of small water systems for the many small towns throughout the country, and technical assistance to the National School of Nursing.

The threat of yellow fever has been reduced in the Western Hemisphere in the past four years by the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, which acts as WHO's regional office for the Americas. In Ecuador joint WHO/UNICEF projects for tuberculosis control include testing of 1,100,000 children and adolescents, vaccination, and establishment of a vaccine laboratory in Guayaquil. A campaign against typhus in Peru, which began in Cuzco after an earthquake in May 1950, with WHO/UNICEF help, has been extended to the entire country. Venereal disease projects are conducted in a number of countries including Ecuador; Peru, where control in a port area will be demonstrated; Venezuela, where a serological laboratory and VD training center has been opened in Caracas; and Paraguay.

Immunization of children against diphtheria and whooping cough is under way in Chile and Colombia. In La Paz, Bolivia, the country's first children's hospital is being erected with technical aid by WHO and UNICEF.

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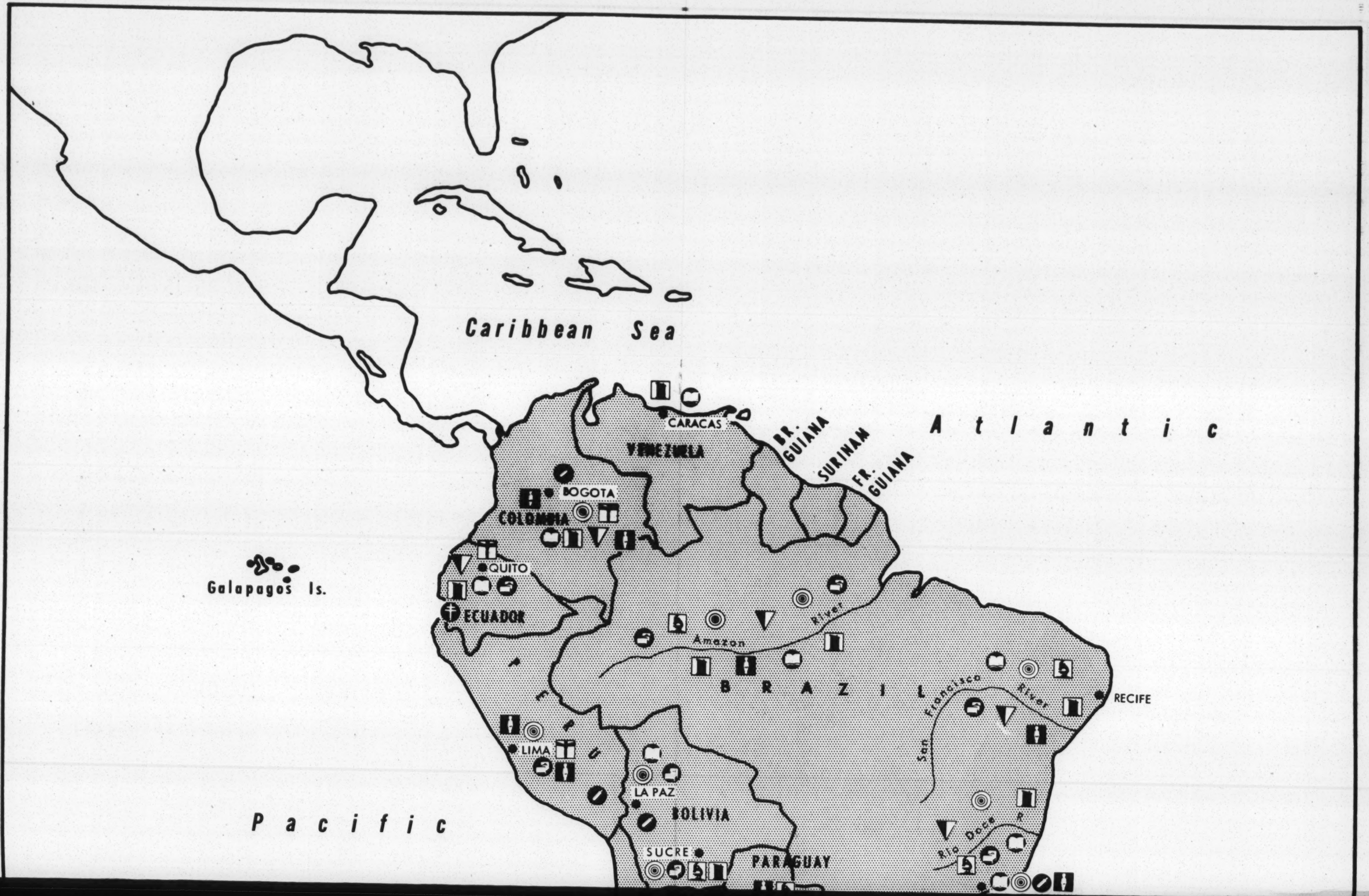
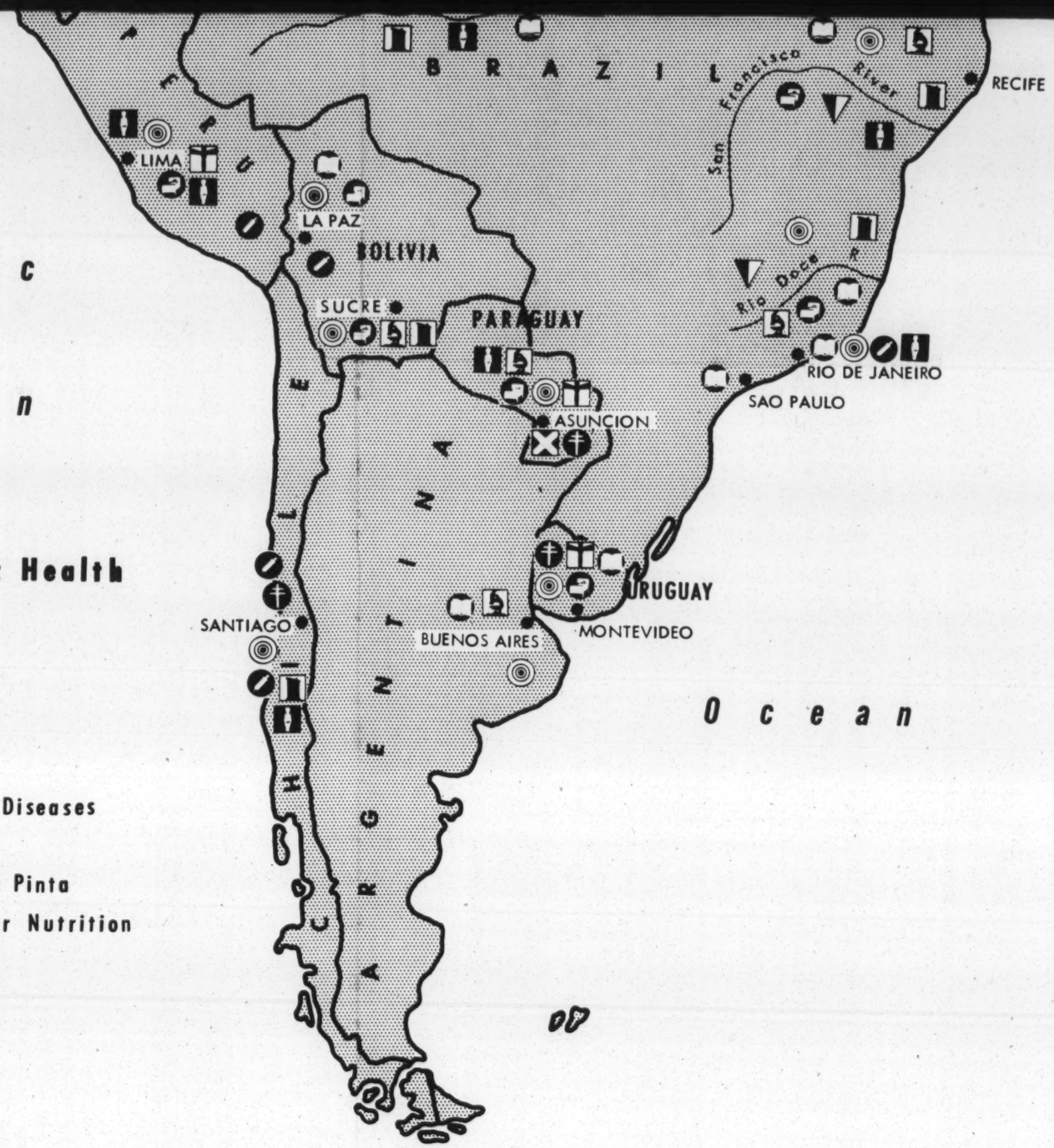

Caribbean Sea
Atlantic
CARACAS
VENEZUELA
BR. GUIANA
SURINAM
FR. GUIANA
BOGOTA
COLOMBIA
QUITO
ECUADOR
Galapagos Is.
Amazon River
BRAZIL
RECIFE
San Francisco River
LIMA
LA PAZ
BOLIVIA
SUCRE
PARAGUAY
Rio Doce
Pacific



Pacific

Ocean

Technical Assistance in Public Health

SOUTH AMERICA

SYMBOLS FOR PROGRAMS

- Malaria and/or other Insect Borne Diseases
- Tuberculosis
- Venereal Disease, Yaws, Bejel, and/or Pinta
- Maternal and/or Child Health, and/or Nutrition
- Rural Sanitation
- Public Health Training and Facilities
- Immunization
- Laboratory and/or Research
- Public Health Demonstration Teams and/or Administrative Services
- Hospital Facilities and Services

17-Illiteracy

Notes on Illiterary in the South- 1940

The usual statistics on illiterary, that is on the ability of persons to read and write English, are not yet available.* However, the 16th Census of the United States gives basic data on the education of the population that permit some significant conclusions.

In 1940 there were 74,775,836 persons 25 years old and over in the United States. Of this number 21,191,471 were in the South. In the total population there were 2,799,923 persons of this classification who had no schooling; 1,136,221 of that number were in the South. The median years of education completed for the United States was 8.4; for the South 7.8.

*1940 Census took no illiteracy figures, commenting that illiteracy was almost completely wiped out except for certain isolated spots. They do give "schooling completed" figures, however.
Selective Service has made some study of "functional illiteracy", based on draft figures.

The regional differentials for this problem are interesting. Let us set up two hypothetical populations of 1,000 people, one for the Nation, one for the South. This is the way their education would compare:

Total Population	The Nation Persons 1,000	The South Persons 1,000
No schooling	37	54
Completed 1- 4 grades	98	176
Completed 4- 6 grades	114	167
Completed 7- 8 grades	346	250
Completed 4 years high school	141	108
Completed at least 4 years college	46	40
Others and unknown	219	205
TOTAL	1,000	1,000
Completed less than 5 years of schooling.	135	205

The following table gives a break down of the educational status of the South's population twenty years of age and over by color.

MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED BY PERSONS

20 years of age and over, by color, in the South, 1940

	Total Persons 20 years old and over.	These Had NO Schooling.	This Is As Far as the Average Person went in School.	
			Age 20-24	20 years and over
			Grade	Grade
All Southerners	25,023,784	1,207,659	9.2	8.1
All Southern Men	12,415,666	668,826	8.8	7.9
All Southern Women	12,608,118	538,883	9.7	8.3
White Southerners	19,303,622	605,559	10.3	8.6
White Southern Men	9,649,972	338,019	9.8	8.4
White Southern Women	9,653,650	267,540	10.8	8.8
Negro Southerners	5,720,162	602,100	6.6	5.3
Negro Southern Men	2,765,694	330,807	6.0	4.9
Negro Southern Women	2,954,468	271,293	7.2	5.8

To these statistics may be added a few other facts about education in the Southern States.

Of every 1,000 persons 25 years old and over in the following thirteen states these are the numbers who have had less than 5 years of schooling and those who have had no schooling.

The State	Less Than 5 Years Schooling	No Schooling
Virginia	232	54
North Carolina	262	58
South Carolina	347	79
Georgia	301	65
Florida	185	40
Kentucky	202	41
Tennessee	217	42
Alabama	289	67
Mississippi	302	66
Arkansas	231	39
Louisiana	357	128
Oklahoma	135	25
Texas	188	53

Finally, Negroes number approximately 330 in every 1,000 people in the South, they number approximately 490 in every 1,000 Southern people between 5 and 24 years of age who have had no schooling, and, approximately 240 of every 1,000 in the same ages who are attending school.

February 3, 1944

Data Compiled by Ira De A. Reid
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

RECEIVED
APR 30 1948
Southern Regional Council

April 23, 1948

RELEASE NO. 2

SUBJECT: Memorandum on Current Litigation Before the United States Supreme Court Involving Race Restrictive Housing Covenants.

Purpose

This memorandum has two purposes: (1) It is designed to indicate the nature of the litigation on racial covenants and possible decisions of the Supreme Court and sets forth possible results following a decision, and (2) it proposes action that may be taken by community agencies.

PART I

Background

In the October Term, 1947, the United States Supreme Court had before it four cases involving race restrictive housing covenants. Two of these cases, Shelley v. Kraemer (from Missouri), and McGhee v. Sipes (from Michigan), reached the Supreme Court on writs of certiorari granted in June 1947; the other cases, Hurd v. Hodge and Urciolo v. Hodge (both from the District of Columbia) came to the Court on writs of certiorari granted in July 1947. All four cases were argued at the same time, January 15 and 16, 1948. Three of the nine Justices of the United States Supreme Court disqualified themselves at the time that hearings were begun. As late as April 16, 1948, the Court had announced no decision in the litigation.

Although there was much cooperation in the planning and preparation of briefs, each of the four cases was argued separately. As a consequence, there were four briefs for petitioners (who were challenging racial covenants). In addition, over 20 briefs were filed by agencies and organizations as friends of

the court (amicus curiae). The Attorney General submitted a comprehensive consolidated brief amicus curiae in all four cases for the United States, and the Solicitor General presented oral arguments at the time of the hearings.[1]

Litigation in the United States Supreme Court involving residential segregation first arose in connection with ordinances designed to establish racial zones of living in American cities. In Buchanan v. Warley (1917), Harmon v. Tyler (1925), and The City of Richmond v. Deans (1930), the Supreme Court declared residential segregation ordinances of Louisville, New Orleans, and Richmond, Va., unconstitutional. In order to effect such residential segregation and not run afoul of the law, race restrictive housing covenants, alleged to be private agreements between property owners, were revived and widely applied.

Although a race restrictive housing covenant of San Francisco aimed at Chinese was declared unconstitutional in 1890 by a Federal Court in California, in only three recent instances have courts in California and in New Jersey failed to enforce race restrictive covenant cases. Lower courts in some 19 states and the District of Columbia have, during the last two decades, upheld and enforced such agreements. Usually one or more parties to these restrictive agreements violate the terms of the covenant, and some one or several other parties to the agreement petition the court to force the recalcitrant to keep the original pledge. Without the backing of court enforcement, therefore, the race restrictive housing covenant becomes an ineffective instrument.

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[1] The remaining amicus curiae briefs (known to the writer) were from the following organizations: (for the petitioners) American Association for the United Nations, American Civil Liberties Union, American Federation of Labor, American Indian Citizens League, American Jewish Committee and B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Congress, American Unitarian Association, American Veterans Committee, California amicus, Civil Liberties Department of the Grand Lodge of Elks, Congregational Christian Churches of the United States, Congress of Industrial Organizations, National Bar Association, National Lawyers Guild, Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, and Protestant Council (of churches) of the City of New York; (for the respondents) Arlington Heights Property Owners Association, Federation of Citizens Associations of the District of Columbia, Inc., Mount Royal Protective Association, Inc., and National Association of Real Estate Boards.

The Issues

1. The basic issue involved in the current litigation is the constitutionality of judicial enforcement of racial covenants. The question is whether the judicial enforcement of private contracts, which provide for the kind of action which the Supreme Court has declared unconstitutional when attempted by state or local legislation, is constitutional, or whether racial covenants are private agreements and as such should be enforced by the courts.

2. In addition, the cases raise the following questions: Does judicial enforcement of racial covenants involving a willing seller and a willing buyer

a. violate Section 1978; Revised Statutes (8 U.S.C. Sec 42) which provides "All citizens of the United States shall have the same rights, in every State and Territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property";

b. violate a treaty of the United States, namely, the Charter of the United Nations which states that the parties to the treaty will "promote.....universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race";

c. conflict with the public policy of the United States;

d. result in such discriminatory and inequitable results that a court in equity should not lend its aid by enforcing the covenant;

e. involve unreasonable restraints on conveyance and transfer of property?

3. The broad issue involved was stated by the petitioners in Urciolo v. Hodge, as follows:

> "Shall we in the United States have ghettos for racial, religious and other minorities, or even exclude such minorities entirely from whole areas of our country, by a system of judicial enforcements based on private prejudice and made effective through the use of government authority and power?"

Constitutional Issues Involved

The constitutional question involved is this: are the restrictions contained in racial covenants upon the alienation, acquisition and occupancy of land, based solely on race, unconstitutional under the amendments to the constitution that prohibit a deprivation of property without due process of law? The states are prevented from interfering with property rights except by due process of law by the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment; for the District of Columbia, the Fifth Amendment guarantees due process of law. Consequently in Shelley v. Kraemer and in McGhee v. Sipes the Fourteenth Amendment is cited; in Hurd v. Hodge and in Urciolo v. Hodge the Fifth Amendment is cited.

Principal Legal Precedents Cited

The three United States Supreme Court decisions involving legislative action to effect residential segregation, referred to above, are the most important legal precedents. In addition, the following litigation is frequently cited in the briefs for the petitioners:

Gandolfo v. Hartman (1890)
This is the first reported case involving a racial restrictive covenant. It arose on the West Coast (California) where a covenant against a Chinese family was contested and declared unconstitutional in the federal court.

Corrigan v. Buckley (1926)
In this case the Supreme Court refused to dismiss on appeal an injunction enforcing a racial restrictive covenant. The sole issue involved was whether the covenant was void because the agreement (as contrasted to its enforcement) conflicted with the Constitution and the laws of the United States and with public policy.

Civil Rights Cases (1883)
These are cited to indicate the nature of governmental action and indicate when private action becomes public action. The Supreme Court in these cases defined private action as that "unsupported by State authority in the shape of laws, customs, or judicial or executive proceedings".

In re Drummond Wren (1945)
In this case the Supreme Court of Ontario invalidated a restrictive covenant against a Jew on the grounds that racial and religious restrictive agreements are invalid under provincial and Dominion public policy, as well as void restraints at common law. In addition, the court held that the objectives of the covenant were contrary to the objectives of the United Nations Charter to which Canada is a signator.

Principal Arguments

For the petitioners:

1. a. The United States Supreme Court has never heretofore decided the question of the constitutionality of judicial enforcement of race restrictive housing covenants.

   b. In Buchanan v. Warley, Harmon v. Tyler and the City of Richmond v. Deans, the Supreme Court ruled that legislative action to effect residential segregation violates the due process clauses of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments and, therefore, is unconstitutional. Enforcement of covenants by judicial action is the very essence of state action and it too is unconstitutional.

   c. Analyses of the effect of covenants illustrate that the social and economic effects of judicial enforcements of restrictive covenants is clearly incompatible with the due process clauses of the Constitution,

   d. Nor is there valid economic justification for judicial enforcement of covenants since a change in racial occupancy does not per se result in a loss in property values. The present income distribution in the Negro community indicates that many of its residents are financially able to purchase and maintain desirable property, while the findings of the National Association of Real Estate Boards and the experience in public housing show that Negroes maintain property at the same standards as whites of comparable income levels,

2. Judicial enforcement of race restrictive covenants would deny the right to purchase property (since denial of the right to occupy is usually a deterrent to a potential home owner to buy and since some racial covenants specifically deny the right to buy) solely on the basis of race. This is a clearer violation of Section 1978, Revised Statutes (see above).

3. According to Article VI of the Constitution, "all treaties made ....,under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land". One of the basic human rights the United States is pledged to uphold for all, regardless of race, is the right and freedom to acquire a home and live in it. Judicial enforcement of racial covenants clearly violates the obligations under the Charter (see above) of the Government not to lend its aid to racial discrimination.

4. a. Racial covenants and their judicial enforcement are contrary to the Declaration of Independence, Constitution, Statutes, Treaties and International Agreements, Decisions of the Supreme Court, Statements of the President of the United States, thus they are contrary to public policy.

   b. The drastic effect of racial covenants in accentuating the housing shortage facing Negroes and confining them involuntarily to congested ghettoes, with resulting jeopardy of health, safety and morals of the community indicate that their enforcement by the judicial branch of the government is contrary to the public policy of the country.

5. The extreme hardship which judicial enforcement of a racial covenant inflicts directly on the petitioner, and indirectly on all members of the excluded group as well as the general community, clearly outweighs any benefits to the respondent. The nature of this hardship is shown by the socio-economic sections of the petitioners' briefs which set forth in detail the adverse social and economic consequences of racial covenants. Such discrimination as results is contrary to our national tradition.

6. It is a fundamental principle of our economic system that all property be freely alienated. Such restraints as are permissible have been clearly defined, and the conditions of restraint imposed by racial covenants are not covered by permissible exceptions to the general rule. According to the American Law Institute, justification of restraints on alienation "must be found in the objective that is thereby sought to be accomplished or on the grounds that the alienation....is so negligible that the major policies furthered by freedom of alienation are not materially hampered". Race restrictive covenants are not, therefore, permissible exceptions.

7. Covenants restricting the use of land are entirely different from racial covenants which, solely on the basis of race or creed, restrict the occupancy of land. While enforcement of use covenants often results in advantages to society, enforcement of racial covenants occasions no analogous benefits.

The basic differences between the two types of restrictions is that the former relates to what an occupant does to land or property, while the latter relates to who occupies the land or property, ignoring all reasonable consideration and base their discrimination pointedly on race alone. But in a democracy, the skin color, national origin or religion of the occupant of property cannot be recognized as a legal injury to a neighbor or a concern to the state.

8. The brief of the Attorney General for the United States as amicus curiae supported most of the arguments outlined above. In addition, it set forth the effects of judicial enforcement of racial covenants upon the health, housing and territorial administrative programs of the Federal Government. The Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency was quoted at length to the effect that the widespread prevalence of racial covenants impeded the progress of federal programs for housing while increasing the costs of such programs to the Federal Government. At the same time, the amount of shelter made available to Negroes is diminished by the operations of race restrictive covenants.

For the respondents:

1. Race restrictive covenants are private agreements and contracts. As such they should be enforced in the courts.

2. Restrictions on property use have long been accepted and subjected to judicial enforcement. Racial covenants are reasonable restrictions on property use and should also be enforced by the courts.

Possible Decisions

There are a number of possible decisions in the current litigation on the race restrictive covenants. The Court may rule that

1. court enforcement of race restrictive covenants[1] is constitutional in the states and in the District of Columbia;

2. court enforcement of such agreements is unconstitutional, both in the District of Columbia (as a federal territory) and in the states;

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[1] Although briefs for the petitioners did not directly challenge the constitutionality of race restrictive covenants, but stressed court enforcement of them, the Supreme Court may reverse its earlier decision in Corrigan v. Buckley and declare that the racial covenant itself (even in the absence of judicial enforcement) is unconstitutional.

3. court enforcement of racial covenants in the District of Columbia is unconstitutional, but permissible in the states.[2]

Since three Justices, Reed, Jackson and Rutledge, have withdrawn, a unanimous ruling would be 6 to 0. But a 4 to 2 decision is required to invalidate covenants, whereas a 3 to 3 decision maintains the status quo (court enforcement of covenants). There is, in light of the delay in a decision, the possibility that the Court will request a reargument of any or all of the cases before rendering a decision. In the case of a 3 to 3 or a 4 to 2 decision, however, additional litigation may arise.

Probable Long-run Effects of Supreme Court Approval of Racial Covenants

Race restrictive housing covenants are not the only existing or possible instruments for effecting enforced residential segregation. In addition to covenants, policies and practices of the organized real estate operators, attitudes of builders and subdividers, policies and practices of financial institutions, use of violence, action of municipal government, vested interests of neighborhood businesses and institutions of every kind, and social attitudes are operative. Each of these devices and attitudes is historically related to rise of racial covenants. Approval of racial covenants, therefore, will serve to strengthen the efficacy and toleration of other devices over the long-run by reinforcing their moral and pseudo-legal sanction.

Failure of the Supreme Court to outlaw judicial enforcement of racial covenants is likely to accelerate their use at a rapid rate. This will give support to the other devices of exclusion enumerated above, resulting in more

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[2] There is a fourth possible, though highly improbable, decision. It is that the Supreme Court may decide that court enforcement of racial covenants is unconstitutional in the States but is constitutional in the District of Columbia.

effective restriction of minorities in too little living space. This, in turn, will further complicate the problem of living space for colored residents in urban centers. It will mean that minorities will have little chance to participate in any possible forthcoming building boom. Meanwhile, as whites move out of old housing, Negroes will, covenants notwithstanding, move into much that is deserted by whites. Supreme Court approval of racial covenants will not prevent this economically motivated result; it will, however, give the appearance of legality and respectability to any and all actions taken by residents in the areas entered by Negroes to drive them out. Conflict seems inevitable in this situation. The incidence of tensions and possibilities of violence will probably be appreciably intensified by Supreme Court approval of racial covenants. Certainly a decision to that effect will perpetuate the situation out of which the chronic racial conflict for space in urban centers is developed.

Current Reactions and Possible Future Developments Incident to Litigation

1. As soon as litigation on race restrictive covenants reached the Supreme Court, owners' and neighborhood improvement associations in some cities (notably Chicago, Detroit and Washington) launched new campaigns to spread the use of such agreements. Such activity, based on fear of Negro neighbors and the spread of racial stereotypes, increased racial tension in many sections of the city.

a. If the Supreme Court invalidates judicial enforcement of covenants, the immediate result will probably be great resentment and opposition on the part of all who have promoted and many who have signed the instrument.

b. Based on community reaction to Supreme Court decision on the white primary and unequal segregated schools in the South, it is probable that a decision invalidating judicial enforcement of racial covenants will be generally accepted by the American public. However,

(1) there may be agitation for more litigation, especially if there is a split decision;

(2) there will be an immediate camppaign to oppose the decision on the part of those who have vested interests in formulating covenants.

c. After the initial reaction, it is probable that there will be a lull in activity to promote racial covenants or substitutes.

d. Depending in large measure upon the volume of new construction, volume and location of vacancies, there will be expansion in areas open to Negroes. Immediate developments in this direction will probably not be appreciably greater in the present housing market as a result of a decision of the type under discussion.

e. There may, however, be fear that a revolutionary change is involved and certain groups may attempt to exploit the uncertainties in the situation.

Possible Results of Invalidation of Judicial Enforcement of Racial Covenants

1. The most pronounced and immediate effect of invalidation of judicial enforcement of race restrictive covenants will be a decline in the use of the instrument and the possibility of an end in its application in the future. Such a decision will render inoperative, for a time at least, one of the instruments that limits the free movement of colored Americans in their quest for shelter.

2. At the same time, counter forces will be set in motion. Among them are the following:

a. attempts to perfect alternative mechanisms to accomplish the same purpose, including the possibility of legislative proposals to circumvent the effect of such a Supreme Court decision;

b. more intense application of other existing methods for excluding minorities from certain areas, especially the use of

(1) violence, and

(2) non-violent intimidation.

3. Invalidation of judicial enforcement of racial covenants will not of itself solve the space problem facing minorities in American cities. It will, however, establish a legal framework in which the problem can be eased, since it will permit more rapid entrance of colored people into certain areas. It is in

the middle-rental areas that surround the Black Belt that racial covenants are concentrated. It is into these areas that Negroes are already in the process of entering. Invalidation of racial covenants will accelerate the process. Three factors, however, should be kept in mind:

a. in the present housing shortage, transfer of title will often occur in such areas before there is a corresponding change in occupancy. Thus Negroes will, in the event of a decision invalidating racial covenants, rapidly acquire title to property that lies in the path of the geographic growth of the Black Belt, but the total volume of housing and resulting rates of vacancies in the areas affected by the transfers of ownership will determine the rate at which colored people enter the areas. These same forces will operate where investment property is acquired for rental to Negroes.

b. invalidation of racial covenants will, in the present tight housing market, do little to open surburban areas to colored people or to accelerate the rapid entrance of colored people in most of the areas that are removed from existing Black Belts.

c. but invalidation of racial covenants will probably unfreeze vacant land, some of which is already being considered as sites for new construction open to Negroes, and some of which would be put to such use were it available.

4. A decision banning judicial enforcement of racial covenants will have effects in fields outside housing, serving to weaken the whole pattern of segregation. This would follow because such a decision would

a. immediately remove some of the respectability of Negro exclusion from various community institutions and facilities;

b. probably eventually serve to break down the pattern of segregation in schools, health, welfare, recreation, and other public services and in quasi-public facilities in the North and in the border states by facilitating a wider distribution of Negroes in the cities and thereby encouraging their participation in facilities in all sections of the cities.

5. When, due to more construction and consequent competition of more desirable and newer shelter on the market, there are many vacancies in scattered sections of the city, invalidation of racial covenants would make it easier for Negroes to enter housing removed from present areas of their concentration.

This is at best a possible long-run result. It could result in the creation of many clusters of colored homes, or it could be a first step in a wider distribution of non-whites in many sections of the city. Much depends upon the volume of shelter available to the mass of Negroes at rents they can afford to pay. With such a supply, the movement would be of individual families rather than the disorganized rush of large numbers intent on securing shelter regardless of its suitability to their pocketbooks and family needs. In addition, invalidation of racial covenants might unfreeze vacant units which, if unhampered by such covenants, could serve to

a. offer space for Negro families displaced by urban redevelopment

b. increase the supply of shelter available to Negroes.

6. Once there is more housing on the market, the pressure of numbers in the Black Belt and the fear of Negro penetration in the areas contiguous to the Black Belt will open the latter areas to widespread activities of speculative operators. This will have two results. It will

a. necessitate conversions and overcrowding in order to compensate purchasers for the inflated prices paid and to accommodate the rent-paying ability of the new occupants to the new rental scale. This will be accentuated by the tendency to accept Negro tenants without regard to income or family size,

b. and possibly lead to panic selling of many of the present residences.

Such developments will lead to even more rapid entrance of Negroes than otherwise would take place. The Negro area of settlement will expand once more in the characteristic manner. Invalidation of the racial covenant may accelerate this type of expansion, but the volume of construction and the availability of housing for Negroes in other parts of the city will be the more important determining factors.

7. Invalidation of judicial enforcement of racial covenants will remove one of the threats that faces minorities in urban redevelopment. Many inlying areas now occupied by Negroes and destined for treatment in redevelopment programs are still covered by racial covenants. Were the instrument invalidated by the Supreme Court, there would no longer be the danger that the covenants would be revived once the land was acquired for redevelopment. (In only one state, Illinois, is such an eventuality prohibited in redevelopment legislation.)

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Memorandum on Current Litigation Before the United States Supreme Court Involving Race Restrictive Housing Covenants.

PART II

Suggested Action

1. Immediate plans and programs should be undertaken to strengthen law enforcement agencies and create municipal and county intolerance of violence incident to minorities' entrance into new areas.

   a. regardless of the Supreme Court decision, non-whites will enter new areas at an accelerated rate in the months ahead.

   b. unless acts of violence are effectively curbed now and the community aroused to the dangers of toleration of such acts, changes in racial occupancy of areas in our cities, which seem imminent, will increase.

2. Immediate programs should be initiated to interpret the possible result of a decision invalidating judicial enforcement of racial covenants. Materials should be prepared now, discussed with newspaper editors and writers, and held in form which will permit immediate release at the time of the Supreme Court decision.

3. Plans and programs to increase the total supply of housing, at various rental and sales levels, and the Negroes' share of it should be underway at the present. This is the most important single action that can be taken.

In preparing a local program to provide materials for such a job of interpretation, the following steps are recommended:

   a. survey extent, nature and duration of existing racial covenants;

   b. determine the nature and extent of current violence or intimidation against minorities moving into new areas;

   c. make an inventory of organizations currently promoting covenants or campaigning against entrance of minorities into new areas, and

   d. prepare a bibliography on racial covenants and housing for minorities.

4. As a general approach to the problem, programs should be underway to avoid community-wide and neighborhood hysteria incident to the sharing of community and neighborhood facilities by new racial groups.

5. All the instruments of community planning should be brought to bear to establish understanding of the relationship between sound city planning, urban redevelopment and slum clearance and the need to open more space to minorities and establish racially democratic patterns of living. At the same time, it is important to point out to minority groups that while urban redevelopment may become an instrument for displacing them from desirably located areas, it can become an instrument for securing more space and establishing democratic racial patterns of living in some parts of the city. Plans to achieve the latter objective should be developed at once.

6. In the future, as in the past, the majority of Negroes will inherit old structures. One of the techniques for encouraging orderly entrance of Negroes into new areas is use of community conservation agreements establishing occupancy standards. This has limitations and can be rendered impotent unless these limitations are recognized. Community conservation agreements have little meaning or effectiveness in areas where

a. property has already been put into bad usage via doubling-up or dangerously high densities;

b. property has been sold at speculative prices which demand conversion and high rates of over-crowding;

c. area has just been transferred to Negro occupancy or is in advance stage of transfer in racial occupancy.

The community conservation agreement is applicable to

a. areas composed of desirable structures and now in good use;

b. areas where racial change in occupancy is not yet advanced to the point where speculative prices and conversion are underway or imminent;

c. such agreements are applied in lieu of and not in addition to racial covenants; or

d. the area is one of new construction.

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1-28-49 16 - Housing

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
Office of the Administrator

The Housing Needs of the Nonwhite Population in Nonfarm Areas

[illegible]lthough it is commonly known that Negroes and other racial minority groups a[illegible]-housed, the extent of their housing requirements on a national basis is e[illegible]ed for the first time by Douglas Rosenbaum, formerly a racial relations a[illegible] Office of the Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, and re-ce[illegible]n economist in the Home Loan Bank Board. The estimate, published in an ar[illegible] "The Housing Needs of the Nonwhite Population in Nonfarm Areas," in the No[illegible] 1948 issue of Land Economics,[1] calls for the construction of 200,000 non[illegible]nits annually for 12 years to accommodate the nonwhite population. The tab[illegible]w, extracted from the article, presents the estimate in relationship to the [illegible]ll findings of the Joint Congressional Committee on Housing.

Additional Nonfarm Dwelling Units Needed by 1960[2]
(in thousands)

Item	Total (Committee's[3] Estimate)	Nonwhite (Author's Estimate)	Nonwhite as Percent of Total
Estima[illegible]0 families	39,500	3,475	8.8
Allowan[illegible]4 percent effective vacancies (i.e., [illegible] actually for rent or sale, and ha[illegible]e year round)	1,600	145	9.1
Tota[illegible]lings needed in 1960	41,100	3,620	8.8
Subtract: [illegible]ctive Inventory	32,729	2,863	8.7
Numbe[illegible] of additional units needed from beginning of 1947	8,371	757	9.0
Subtract: Units added in 1947	1,000	15	1.5
Net additional number needed between 1948 and 1960 to bring requirements and supply into balance	7,371	742	10.1
Add:			
For replacement of estimated losses from 1947 to 1960 (fire, demolition, floods, etc.)	520	45	8.7
For replacement of nonfarm units in need of major repairs and of urban units lacking private bath and toilet	5,200	1,360	26.2
For replacement of substandard units in surrounding suburban areas and for replacement of standard units deteriorating by 1960	2,000	150	7.5
For replacement of temporary structures	350	40	11.4
Total replacement, 1948-60	8,070	1,595	19.8
Minimum construction needed	15,441	2,337	15.1

1/ Sterling Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison.
2/ Reproduced with permission of the author and the publication.
3/ Joint Congressional Committee on Housing, Final Majority Report, March 15, 1948.

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Opportunities in a Neglected Market

By MARGARET KANE
Office of the FHA Commissioner

Housing projects for minority groups, particularly Negroes, have proved successful under the FHA program in many sections of the country. The need, however, is still urgent and the opportunities in both rental and sales fields are analysed here

AN AREA of mortgage lending that has not been explored as thoroughly as it deserves to be is the financing of homes for minority groups. The urgent need of improved housing conditions for members of these groups is a vital part of the general housing problem. Negroes, who constitute by far the largest minority group, have access to a disproportionately limited part of the housing supply, and the amount of new housing built specifically for them is entirely inadequate. Much of the current demand by Negroes for public housing is caused by the failure of private enterprise to take advantage of a market that it could and should supply.

Although there was an increase of 11.6 percent in the nonwhite population of the United States between 1940 and 1947, compared to an increase of 7.5 percent in the white population, the number of dwelling units occupied by nonwhites increased only 6.9 percent, while the number occupied by whites increased 12.5 percent. In the same period the insufficiency of housing for the nonwhite population was aggravated by migrations which increased the nonwhite population of urban areas by 40 percent.

The bad effects of the excessive overcrowding to which these members of the community are subjected are self-evident. Overcrowding forces them to pay more for inferior living accommodations. It accelerates deterioration of properties. It makes necessary the use of substandard housing. It creates resentment against the forces that are felt to be responsible for it, and promotes the spread of physical, mental, and moral ills. These effects are bad for the community as a whole.

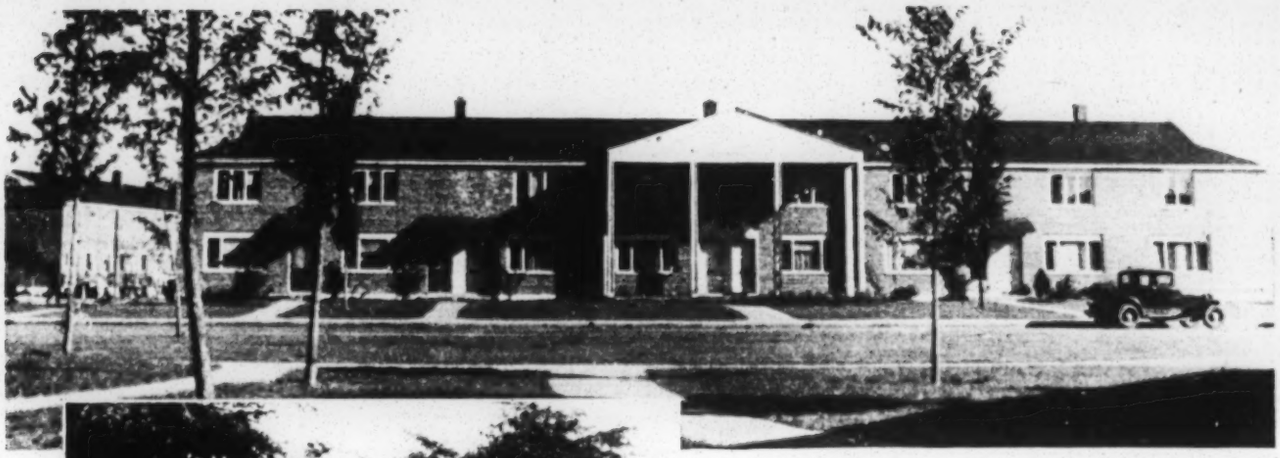
The economic status of the nonwhite population has improved greatly in the last decade. It is estimated that their earnings doubled in the period between 1940 and 1946. About half of the nonwhite nonfarm families in 1946 had total money incomes of more than $1,800. The comparable median income for whites was $3,100. About 16 percent of the nonwhite families received incomes of $3,000 and over. It is apparent, then, that although the problem of providing homes for nonwhite groups is closely tied in with the general problem of producing homes at lower sale and rental levels, there is nevertheless a substantial market for higher-priced properties among minority groups.

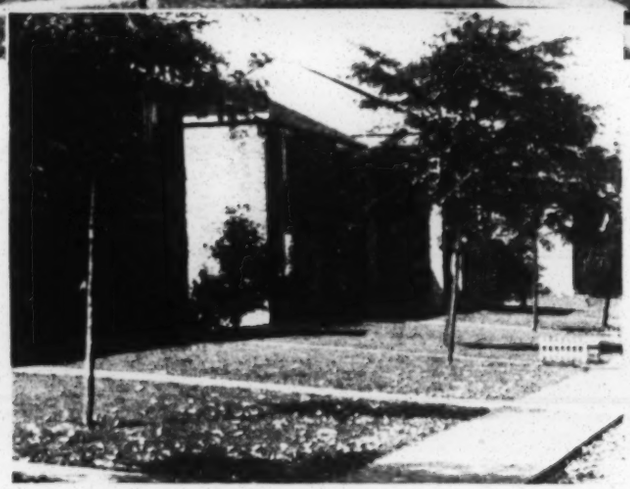
While the median rent paid by nonwhite tenants in 1947 was only $17, compared to $31 for whites, about 185,000 nonwhite families paid $40 a month or more, and many families could afford higher rents than they now pay if they could find better accommodations.

Numerous rental housing projects for minority groups have been undertaken in various parts of the country with FHA-insured financing, in addition to many individual homes. The fact that in general they have proved highly successful is evidence of the strong demand that exists among members of these groups who are willing and able to pay sales prices or rents at an economic level, and who appreciate good housing enough to devote effort and expense to its upkeep.

FHA mortgage forms contain no reference to race. Under the FHA system all mortgages are subject to the same risk rating procedure, which covers the borrower, the property, the neighborhood, and the mortgage pattern. It is only to be expected, therefore, that FHA experience when the mortgagor is a member of a minority group should be no different from that with any other mortgagor.

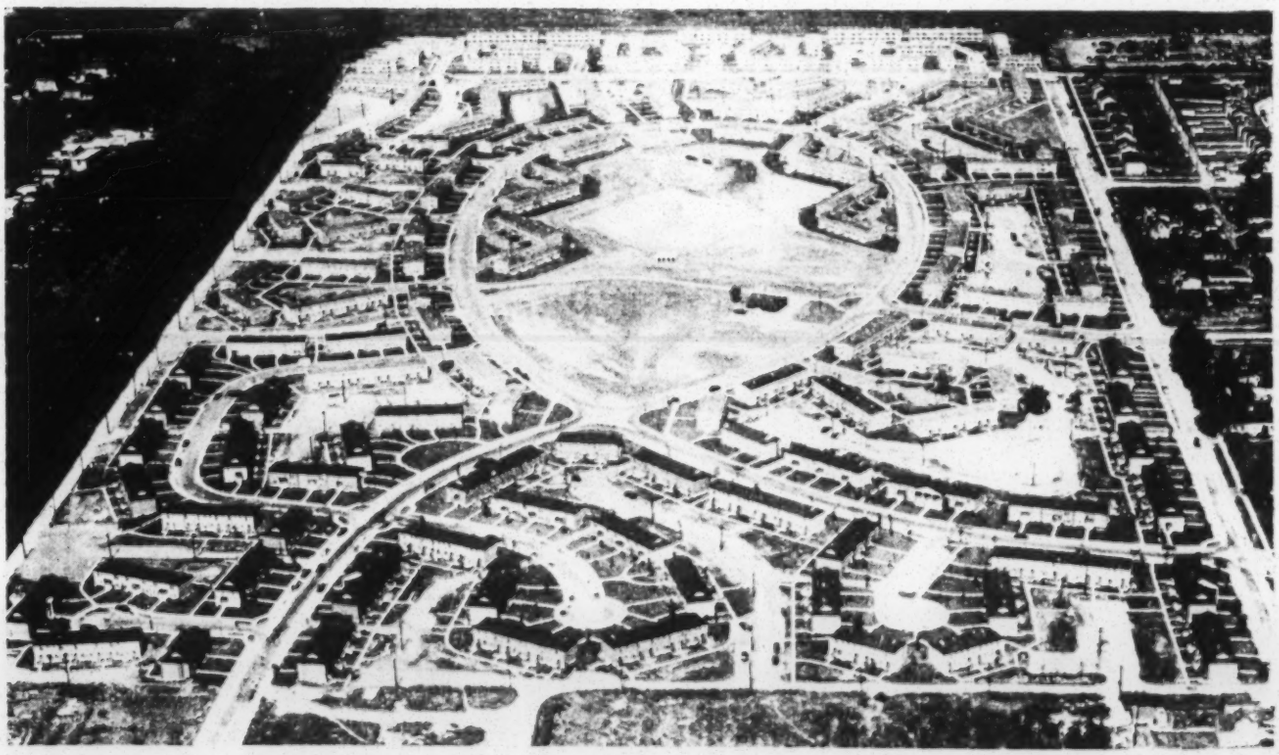
Directors of FHA insuring offices have frequently expressed opinions, based on personal knowledge, which confirm the belief that when the same standards are applied race is not a factor in mortgage experience. It has been their further observation that the chief hazards in financing homes for minority groups occur





An FHA Community for Negroes

Princeton Park homes for Negro families rank high among the rental housing projects built for minority groups in Chicago and in the Nation under the war housing program of the FHA. While started as a war housing project and financed under the emergency provisions of the National Housing Act (Section 608), Princeton Park was designed as a permanent addition to Chicago's better residential communities.



when the borrower pays more for the property than it is worth, or when the price is too high in relation to his income. The urgency of the need often makes members of these groups willing to undertake disproportionately large obligations.

The difficulty that Negroes experience in obtaining satisfactory homes seems to enhance their appreciation of and pride in good homes. Negroes who feel that they are getting good value for their money tend to keep their properties in good condition and to pay the cost even at great sacrifice.

The provision of homes for minority groups has long been a matter of concern to the Federal Housing Administration. FHA State and district directors are constantly reminded of their responsibility to encourage such provision in every way they can. The two major problems are sites and financing.

One of the chief services insuring offices have been able to render has had to do with the locating and laying out of acceptable sites. Sometimes the available sites are undeveloped; sometimes they must be cleared of existing undesirable housing or otherwise reclaimed in order to be acceptable for the proposed use. The experienced land planners employed by the FHA can estimate the possibilities of suggested sites and frequently recommend improvements that will greatly enhance their value.

Day Village in Baltimore, a Negro community of 500 units, has been built on a 38-acre tract of reclaimed land on which a few dilapidated dwellings formerly stood. This site, surrounded on three sides by water and located near industrial centers employing many Negroes, proved to be ideal for the sponsors' purpose after utilities had been installed and existing structures removed, and the existence of the attractive new community has influenced the improving of nearby properties.

Another Negro community in the Baltimore area which the FHA has had a part in developing is Cherry Hill, a short distance outside the city. A few Negroes were already living in the vicinity, but the site chosen for the new subdivision was entirely undeveloped. FHA land planning consultants cooperated with the Baltimore City Plan Commission in planning the layout. The site was planned to accommodate eventually about 3,200 units, of which 674 units in one- and two-family structures have now been built and occupied and 388 are under construction. The selling prices of the existing dwellings range from $4,700 to $5,700, and the rents are between $46.25 and $48.25. Although the tract has been planned as an integrated community, ownership of the land is dispersed among several developers.

Last year the FHA augmented its efforts to promote minority-group housing by appointing five racial relations advisers who work in the field under the direction of the FHA Zone Commissioners in Washington and in close cooperation with State and district directors. Their specific duties are to help in making determinations of local markets for minority-group housing and the availability of suitable land; to stimulate the interest of builders and lenders in the production of such housing; to encourage self-help among minority groups through greater participation by their own financial institutions and builders; and to assist in developing methods for using most effectively the resources of local, State, and Federal agencies.

Sponsors of projects built under the FHA program have used various approaches to the problems involved in producing minority-group housing. Mayfair Mansions, a rental development of 594 apartments in Washington, D. C., one of the outstanding projects in the country for Negroes, is owned by a Negro corporation, was designed by a Negro architect, and was built almost entirely by Negro workmen. The 17 structures are of steel and brick and cover only 18 per cent of the developed land, the remainder being devoted to mall, courts, landscaping, and play areas for children. The tenants include businessmen, doctors, university professors, lawyers, and members of other professions. The project occupies 28 acres of a 60-acre tract on which the owners plan eventually to build additional units that will double the present accommodations. Provision for future expansion is a significant feature of a number of Negro developments.

Suburban Gardens, the oldest FHA Negro rental project, also located in Washington, was built in 1941. The development, with 204 living units and 32 garages, is exceptionally attractive in layout, architectural design, and

landscaping. Parks and play areas occupy a large part of the total ground area. The successful operation of this project is evidenced by the fact that it was refinanced in 1945 without FHA insurance, and also by the fact that 70 per cent of its original tenants still live in the project. There has been only one eviction in seven years.

In Day Village near Baltimore, with 500 dwelling units and a shopping center, an unusually high standard of maintenance without high rents results from efficient servicing on the part of the management as well as from the high degree of cooperation given to the resident manager by the tenants, who assume much of the responsibility for keeping the properties in order.

Princeton Park, the largest Negro rental project with FHA insured financing, is in Chicago. Its 908 rental units meet a small fraction of the need in that city. Although initiated to provide housing for war workers, it was planned from the beginning with a view to the sustained value and continuing profitability that are fundamental considerations in long-term rental housing investment.

Parkway Gardens, a cooperative project of 694 apartments, now under construction in Chicago, indicates another approach to the problem.

Carver Village, a low-cost development in Savannah, opened last June, has already been the means of bringing scores of families out of the slums in which lack of better facilities had forced them to live. This development, which eventually will contain over 600 homes as well as two parks and a commercial center, is the outgrowth of a community effort to provide new homes through private enterprise in order to make possible the destruction of substandard housing. The Carver Village homes sell for $4,500.

Washington Shores, in Orlando, Florida, now in course of development, was undertaken by civic effort which resulted in the purchase, by a non-profit corporation of prominent citizens, of a 1,500-lot tract for development over a ten-year period. The first group of houses has been completed and occupied and others are going ahead. Availability of adjoining land makes the development capable of almost unlimited expansion.

In Oklahoma City a firm of Negro builders, Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Edwards, has undertaken over a period of years the development of a community with a total capacity of 728 single-family homes. The stores, service establishments, schools, and hospital in the development are all maintained and staffed by Negroes. Family incomes of home purchasers range from $150 to $200 a month. No mortgage default has ever been reported.

W. H. Aiken, a Negro contractor in Atlanta, has built over 1,000 homes for Negroes in the last six years. He has 157 homes under construction and plans to undertake next year construction of apartment buildings that will provide 3,000 dwelling units at a cost of $25,000,000.

The need for rental housing is particularly acute among minority groups. The amount built in recent years does not begin to meet the total requirements. A good rental project for Negroes, in which the rents are scaled to prevailing income levels in the area, is usually 100 per cent occupied at all times and frequently has a long waiting list of applicants. This makes it possible to be selective in the choice of tenants. The establishment of one desirable Negro project in a neighborhood often serves to demonstrate the existence of a further market and leads to the building of additional housing in the same area.

The provision of adequate housing for minority groups through private enterprise is essentially a local problem. Local planning commissions and other civic groups, the Federal Housing Administration, and private developers can cooperate in estimating the extent of the local need, in determining the appropriate type of development, and in planning the overall layout. FHA land planning services, appraisals, inspections, and mortgage insurance facilities are available to mortgagees on acceptable projects of whatever size.

(Reprinted from the Fourth Quarter 1948 FHA Insured Mortgage Portfolio)

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THE BUREAU OF BUSINESS RESEARCH

College of Business Administration The University of Georgia

Vol. VIII, No. 6 Supplement | Athens, Georgia | March 1949

Comments on A General Sales Tax

Professor Brooks submits an open reply to letters about his article in February GEORGIA BUSINESS on "Where is the Money Coming From?"

Mr. William T. Hicks
Bureau of Business Research
University of Georgia

Dear Mr. Hicks:

In the February issue of GEORGIA BUSINESS you printed a brief article I had been asked to prepare about ways of financing the proposed expanded program of state services. I laid especial stress upon three possible sources of important additional tax receipts—modifications of the income tax law (especially discontinuing the deduction of the Federal income tax in calculating the state tax), increasing the motor license charges, and the adoption of a sales tax.

I have received a surprisingly large number of letters from businessmen, legislators, and others commenting upon one or all of these suggestions. It is not possible for me to answer all these letters. Instead, I have decided to write you this letter with the suggestion that you print and distribute it as a Supplement to your March issue.

Since most of the barrage of criticism has been directed to the sales tax, I shall confine this communication to that tax. One letter from an important source complained that I failed to give my readers such a discussion of the merits and disadvantages of the sales tax as might enable them to vote more intelligently upon the problem, come April 5th. In my article I deliberately refrained from discussing the pros and cons of the sales tax. For one thing, the space you allotted me was insufficient for such a discussion. And then, too, I thought that most people were already familiar with the arguments, since sales taxes have been discussed for years in books, magazines, and newspapers. The following comments should not be interpreted as placing me among either the advocates or opponents of sales taxes. My purpose is merely to discuss the merits of the case. It will be understood, I hope, that I am talking about a "general" retail sales tax, i.e. one applying to all retail transactions not specifically exempt. We already have in Georgia several very important "special" sales taxes, such as those on gasoline, liquor, and tobacco products. These three taxes produced about 50 per cent of the total state tax collections in Georgia in 1948. Of course, such commodities as these would be exempt from the proposed general sales tax, since they already bear a much heavier burden than that proposed under the new tax.

Arguments for the Sales Tax

Productivity

The most important argument for the sales tax is that it is extraordinarily productive. In the twenty-seven states having sales taxes, $1.5 billion were collected last year. This was three times the amount produced by the individual income tax. When to this $1.5 billion the yield

of special sales taxes is added, the total amount is upward of $4 billion, or more than 50 per cent of all taxes collected by the states.

The yield, of course, depends in considerable measure upon the coverage of the tax. It would be quite possible for any legislature so to weaken the tax by exemptions urged by various pressure groups as to make it worthless for revenue purposes. In my February article I estimated that a 2 per cent tax, with the usual exemptions and with average administration, would yield about $30 million of added revenue.

Painlessness Of the Tax

At its inception in a state, the sales tax encounters much popular opposition, but as the people become accustomed to it the opposition vanishes. It is significant that only one or two states have repealed their "emergency" sales taxes (most of them were imposed in the financial crisis of the thirties). The popular attitude of eventual acceptance of the sales tax is well illustrated by the gasoline tax. When regular gasoline is selling at 28 cents, of which 7 1/2 cents is tax (as is the case in Georgia), the customer is paying the outrageous sales tax of 34 per cent. And yet, how often does one hear any opposition to the tax voiced? We have simply become accustomed to it.

Any tax that is paid in minute driblets is not felt as a burden. It would be an altogether different matter if the consumer were asked to fork up $25 or $30 at the end of the year, representing 2 per cent of his normal purchases.

Everybody Pays

It is regarded as a merit of the sales tax that everyone contributes something to the support of state services. Most citizens have no real property and are not caught by the income tax. They pay practically nothing in direct taxes and hence do not feel any deep interest in keeping down state expenditures. Furthermore, even tourists are compelled to contribute something to the cost of government.

Low Cost of Administration

It has been claimed that the administrative costs of collecting the sales tax are relatively low. There is not much in this contention. A study made by Professor James W. Martin [1] showed that on the average the beverage tax costs 3 per cent to collect; the chain store tax 5.3 per cent; the gasoline tax .5 per cent; the income tax 1.5 per cent; the tobacco tax 1.4 per cent, and the sales tax 2 per cent. The average of these costs is 2.3 per cent. From an administrative point of view the tax is good because evasion is difficult, except in interstate trade, and because there is no problem of delinquency, one of the evils of the property tax.

Balancing The Tax System

It is sometimes said that despite its regressivity the sales tax is a desirable feature of the tax system of a state in which the income tax and the property tax bear heavily upon people in the upper income brackets. It would be difficult to justify a sales tax in states which, like Ohio, Illinois, Texas and Florida, have no income tax (Ohio and Illinois have sales taxes.) In Georgia, of course, we have an income tax and the balancing argument here has some validity. Our property tax for state purposes is negligible, and, since 1937, has been emasculated by the homestead exemptions. We do not need further relief from property taxes for state purposes, although in the counties and cities this tax is the principal burden on the people and some relief would be welcomed. However, at the present time the state is subsidizing local governments to the tune of $41 million annually, and they would get a big share of the new revenue that would come into the state treasury should a sales tax be enacted.

Arguments Against the Sales Tax

Regressivity

The leading argument against all forms of commodity taxes is that they are regressive in effect. This means that the burden of the tax is relatively greater upon the poor than upon the well-to-do. There is no denying the validity of this contention. Regressivity, in fact, charac-

1 Costs of Tax Administration. National Tax Association. Vol. XXIX No. 4.

2 R. P. Brooks, State Supervision of Local Affairs in Georgia. Bulletin of the University of Georgia. Volume XLIX, No. 5, P. 16.

terizes all taxes on values or upon units of commodities and all poll taxes. If the poor man is required to pay 2 per cent of the value of a pound of butter, this 2 per cent means much more to him than it does to a rich man; if both the poor and the rich pay a tax of 7 1/2 cents a gallon upon gasoline, the poor suffer much more. Real property taxes are regressive in that a larger per cent of real value is assessed against small properties than against large properties. Effort to adjust the tax burden to ability to pay is made only in the income and inheritance taxes. There is no way to graduate sales taxes according to ability to pay. In the light of its clear regresivity the only justification of such a tax is that the masses of the people enjoy great benefits from government expenditures for education, improved roads and other services, and there is some justice in requiring them to bear some part of the burden. This argument of benefits should not be pressed too far. Indigent wards of the state, cared for in various sorts of institutions, get 100 per cent of their support free, but it would be idle to attempt to tax them. A further consideration is that after all the money burden of sales taxes is not excessively great. A table prepared by the Tax Policy League in 1935[3] showed that a 2 per cent general sales tax would take $12.18 per thousand from an income of $1,000 or less; $11.72 from incomes between $1,000 and $2,000; and $9.88 from incomes between $2,000 and $3,000. These brackets would include the great majority of Georgia families. At present prices the tax would amount to more, but incomes are also much greater than they were in 1935.

Lessens Purchasing Power

It has been pointed out many times that the total of purchasing power is reduced by the amount of the tax collected. This is necessarily true, since the consumers, if they are spending practically their all for taxed articles, would not be able to buy as much with the tax as without. Or, if they had some small surplus after living costs which they had been putting into, say, life insurance, this desirable investment might have to be abandoned.

3 Tax Policy League. The Home Owner and the Sales Tax. New York, 1935, P. 6

Interstate Difficulties

Border county merchants in sales tax states have experienced great difficulty in shifting the tax to consumers, as the law uniformly intends. The recent war we have had between Columbus and Phoenix City, Alabama, illustrates the point. The sales and warehouse and license tax in Georgia force dealers to ask more for liquor than is asked by the Alabama state stores. So Georgians naturally cross the river and buy liquor in Alabama to the hurt of Georgia dealers. The recent advance in the price of cigarettes following the law passed by the last General Assembly has induced citizens of Georgia to buy cigarettes in North Carolina which imposes no tobacco taxes.

To some extent this avoidance of the law has been cured by the adoption of "use" taxes. A commodity brought into a sales tax state from a non-sales tax state is required under the "use" laws to pay the same amount as is imposed by the sales tax. When use taxes were first adopted many felt that they were unconstitutional because they violated the Federal prohibition of state taxes on interstate commerce, but the U. S. Supreme Court in 1937 upheld the constitutionality of state use taxes. The use tax works in a satisfactory way in some cases, such as automobiles. A car bought in a non-sales tax state and brought into a sales tax state is not permitted to purchase a license tag until the use tax is paid. In most cases, however, borderline merchants in a sales tax state cannot compete with merchants across the border in a non-sales tax state, which is tantamount to saying that the sales tax state merchants have to absorb the tax.

Stimulation of Mail-Order Business

Merchants have generally complained that sales taxes stimulate mail-order business, since goods moving through this channel are tax free. To some extent this form of tax avoidance can be checked, especially if the mail-order house has an office in the sales tax state.

Nuisance to Retailers

Retail merchants uniformly oppose sales taxes, sometimes because they believe that total sales are lessened, but more commonly because of the trouble they are put to in

collecting the tax for the state. If the tax takes the form of a gross receipts tax on the merchants, they have to bear the initial burden of the tax and must recoup by shifting the legal percentage to retail sales and collecting many thousands of small amounts. This is quite a chore, one that no merchant would welcome. It has been pointed out many times that there are plenty of cases where the tax cannot be shifted at all (notably in the case of border county merchants). On the other hand it is sometimes possible for a merchant to profit by the tax. This occurs in cases where the tax is "pyramided." A tax upon the manufacturer is added to his price to the wholesaler; he in turn adds this tax plus the tax he has to pay when he bills the retailer; the retailer then proceeds to apply his usual mark-up, so that ultimately consumers will pay considerably more in increased prices than the government receives. It is the merchants who receive the difference and so-to-speak make a profit on the tax. Another case in which the merchant might profit arises from the difficulty of collecting a 2 per cent tax on a cheap article, say one that retails for 10 cents. If he adds one cent to the price, the consumer pays a 10 per cent tax. Of course this could be cured by the use of either brackets or tokens.

I have perhaps taken too much space to elaborate upon the well-known characteristics of sales taxes. I shall conclude by referring to a study in which I have been greatly interested. It was prepared by a professor in the Mississippi State College.[4] After pointing out that the tax had saved the financial life of the state, enabling it to emerge from practically a bankrupt position to the happy state of having a sizable surplus after meeting all obligations, the writer says:

> "The load is too small to be noticed. There certainly has been no noticeable increase in the cost of living traceable to the tax; nor any appreciable loss of business to foreign mail order houses. . . .
>
> 'To say that the 85 per cent of the people in the state that pay no property tax, regardless of race or the amount of intangible property possessed, bear their share of the tax burden indirectly is certainly a large assumption. The state of Mississippi acted upon some such theory until it found itself on the verge of bankruptcy.
>
> 'The general sales tax is not only forcing every buyer to contribute something to the support of the government, but it may even be contended that in its operations it tends to equalize the general burden among individuals possessing different abilities to pay and between the rural and city dwellers as well as between the different sections of the state. . . .
>
> In one of the most rural counties in the state the average monthly per capita sales tax burden for 1932 was only .7 cents. On the other hand, in the most urban county in the state the monthly per capita tax burden was 25.5 cents, or more than 36 times as great as it was in the rural county. These two counties represent the two extremes, it is true, and there were a number of factors in this case that helped to cause this difference. Yet a very striking difference is shown by a comparison between any of the other counties containing cities with those having none.
>
> 'The small per capita payment of the rural dweller as compared with his city neighbor does not necessarily mean that the standards of living of the former are lower than those of the latter. It may mean that the farmer grows more food crops for home consumption to escape the heavy part of the sales tax burden. In this way his standard of living would be pushed up since he would not only have more things to eat but would be left with money formerly spent for food with which to purchase clothes, other necessities and luxuries. That such is highly possible may be seen from the state tax commission report, showing that one of the large items for which the people spend their money is food. Also the federal census report indicates that the farmers in the county in which the sales tax burden was only .7 cents per capita per month, as cited above, used farm products grown at home in 1929 valued at $446,063."

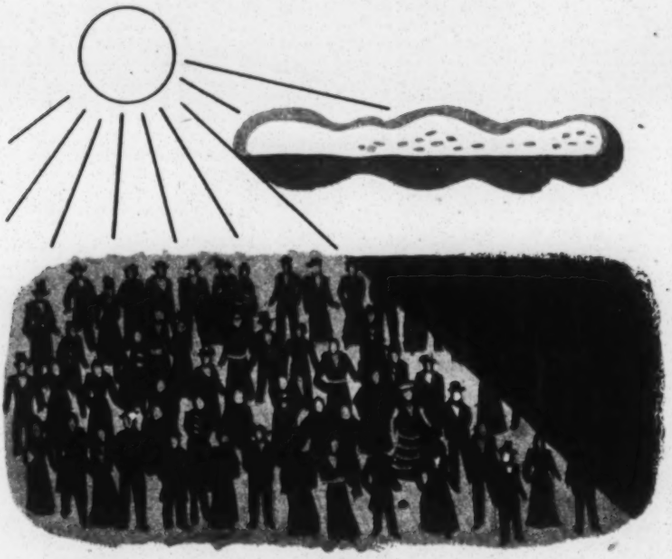
Very truly yours,
R. P. Brooks,
Professor of Economics

4 Alfred W. Garner. Note on the Mississippi Sales Tax. Southern Economic Journal. Volume 1, No. 2

17- Illiteracy-
This Week Magazine - April 3, 1949

WHAT'S HAPPENING

TO OUR LITERACY RATE



In **1870,** all but **20%** of the people in the United States could read and write

By **1900,** all but **10.7%** of the people could read and write

TODAY only **2.7%** are illiterate

BY RAY BETHERS *Sources — Bureau of the Census and Graphics Institute*

TW—4-3-

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 14, 1949

The Honorable Brent Spence
United States Congress
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Spence:

I would be most grateful for the kindness of your office in sending me a copy of report No. 975 (the report of the committee on the housing act). I understand this provides the text of the act as passed.

May I add my warmest praise for your own persistence and effectiveness in getting the act through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

16 - Housing

Brief Summary
of
Housing Legislation
Enacted Into Law 1949-1950
(81st Congress)

1. Housing Act of 1949 (Public Law 171, approved July 15, 1949)

National Housing Objectives and Policy Established

The Housing Act of 1949 enacted proposals which had been under consideration by the Congress since 1945, and established for the first time national housing objectives and the policies to be followed in attaining them. The declaration of national housing policy states that the general welfare and security of the Nation require the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family. The Act provides that private housing enterprise shall be encouraged to serve as large a part of the total need as it can; that local public bodies shall be encouraged to undertake positive programs to assist the development of well-planned residential neighborhoods, the development and redevelopment of communities, and the production at lower costs of housing of sound standards of design, construction, livability, and size for adequate family life; and that governmental assistance shall be given where the need is not being met through reliance solely upon private enterprise.

Slum Clearance and Community Development and Redevelopment Program Established

Title I of the Act authorizes the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to make loans and grants to localities to assist locally initiated, locally planned, and locally managed slum clearance and urban redevelopment undertakings. The Act authorizes $1,000,000,000 in loans and $500,000,000 in grants over a five-year period. As a condition to Federal aid there must be a feasible method for the temporary relocation of families displaced from the slum clearance area and the permanent provision of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings at prices and rents within the financial means of such families. (First preference to such displaced families of low income is required in low-rent public housing projects provided under title III of the Act.)

810,000 Additional Units of Low-rent Public Housing Authorized

Title III of the Act amends the United States Housing Act of 1937 by authorizing Federal contributions and loans for local programs involving not to exceed 810,000 additional units of low-rent public housing over a six-year period. (Note: The President's letter of July 18, 1950, requested the Housing and Home Finance Administrator, as a measure to lessen inflationary tendencies and to conserve materials for national defense purposes, to limit the commencement of construction of public housing to not more than 30,000 dwelling units in the first six months of fiscal year 1951, pending a reexamination of the public housing program in terms of the international situation.)

The 1937 Act was amended to strengthen the statutory safeguards to assure occupancy of the projects by low-income families in need of adequate housing. Eligible families displaced by slum clearance projects aided under title I of the Housing Act of 1949 are given first preference for admission to low-rent housing, with preferences among such families to veterans and families of deceased veterans and servicemen. As among families who have not been displaced by slum clearance, preference shall be extended to veterans and servicemen, and among such, families of veterans with service-connected disabilities have first preference and families of deceased veterans and servicemen whose death was service-connected have second preference.

The Act fixes the limitation on the cost of construction and equipment of dwelling facilities at $1,750 per room. An increase in the cost limitation of not more than $750 per room is authorized in areas where it would not be feasible without such increase to construct sound housing. In no event may a project be of elaborate or extravagant design or materials.

Housing Research Program Enlarged

The housing research program authorized by the Housing Act of 1948 was enlarged. The Housing and Home Finance Administrator is authorized by title IV of the Housing Act of 1949 to undertake and conduct technical research and studies which will promote reduction in housing construction and maintenance costs and stimulate the increased production of housing. The Administrator shall also prepare estimates of national housing needs and encourage and assist localities to make studies of their own housing needs and markets and plans for housing and community development.

FHA Housing Credit Insurance Program Extended

Title II of the Act provided for temporary extensions (through August 31, 1949) of FHA's title I and section 608 insurance operations; also for a $500,000,000 increase in FHA's title II mortgage insurance authorization. The extensions under title I relate to small loans for home alteration and improvement and new construction and under section 608 to rental housing. The title II mortgage insurance applies to owner occupied, small- and large-scale rental and sales housing, and cooperative housing.

Farm Housing Research and Financial Assistance Authorized

Title V provided a new program in the Department of Agriculture of technical services, loans and grants, and an expanded farm housing research program for the improvement of farm housing and other farm buildings.

Decennial Housing Census Directed

The Act directed the Director of the Census to take a census of housing in 1950 and decennially thereafter.

2. Appropriation to Carry Out the Housing Act of 1949

The Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1950, Public Law 358, approved October 14, 1949, appropriated funds to carry out the authorizations contained in the Housing Act of 1949.

3. Interim Housing Amendments - 1949

Public Law 278, approved August 30, 1949, extended FHA title I authority to insure loans for home modernization and improvement until November 1, 1949, extended FHA section 608 rental housing mortgage insurance until November 1, 1949, and increased the title II FHA mortgage insurance authorization to $6,000,000,000.

Public Law 387, approved October 25, 1949, was enacted as interim legislation pending continued consideration by the second Session of the 81st Congress in 1950 of other phases of the housing problem which had not been covered by the Housing Act of 1949, notably the need for developing means of providing additional housing for middle- and lower-middle-income families, and revisions in the Federal Government's secondary market facilities for GI and FHA loans.

Public Law 387 extended FHA mortgage insurance authorizations as follows: Title I from November 1, 1949, to March 1, 1950, and from $200,000,000 to $225,000,000. Title II from $6 000,000,000 to $6,750,000,000. Section 608 from October 31, 1949, through March 1, 1950, and from $6,150,000,000 to $6,650,000,000.

In addition, Public Law 387 exempted certain GI home loans from restrictions on the number of such loans which might be sold to the Federal National Mortgage Association by lenders.

4. Housing Act of 1950 (Public Law 475, approved April 20, 1950)

(Note: Greater down payments are now being required on FHA loans as part of inflation control - see item 10.)

New FHA Low-Cost Home Program Authorized

The Housing Act of 1950 added a new section 8 to the National Housing Act providing a new FHA mortgage insurance program for low-cost homes in suburban and outlying areas. This program replaces the former class 3 FHA loans. The section 8 authorization is limited to $250,000,000.

FHA Insurance of Modernization and Repair Loans Continued

The FHA title I authorization to insure lenders against losses on home modernization and repair loans was extended to July 1, 1955. A new formula was provided which limits the total amount of such outstanding insured loans to $1,250,000,000. This amounts to an increase in authorization of approximately $5,000,000.

FHA Title II Home Mortgage Insurance Program Improved to Provide Larger and Lower Cost Homes

The FHA title II home mortgage insurance authorization was increased by $2,250,000,000 to a total authorization of not more than $9,000,000,000, and the program was revised to stimulate more lower-cost homes of a size adequate for family life.

The section 207 FHA rental housing mortgage insurance program was amended to continue the stimulation of rental housing construction formerly provided by the temporary section 608 rental housing program. Provisions were added to section 207 requiring certification by the mortgagor that there will be no discrimination in the selection of tenants by reason of the fact that there are children in the families.

FHA Cooperative Housing Mortgage Insurance Liberalized

New provisions were added to the National Housing Act liberalizing the FHA program of mortgage insurance for projects of housing cooperatives. The Act required the appointment of a new Assistant Commissioner of FHA to administer cooperative housing mortgage insurance, and to furnish technical advice and assistance to such housing.

Temporary Section 608 FHA Rental Housing Program

An increase of $500,000,000 in the mortgage insurance authority under section 608 of the National Housing Act was provided in order that applications for section 608 mortgage insurance on rental housing received in the FHA field offices on or before March 1, 1950, might be processed. (Section 608 authority was a temporary emergency program and no more applications can be processed under that section.)

FHA Mortgage Insurance for War Housing Sales Provided

Section 610 of the National Housing Act was amended to make mortgage insurance in connection with the sale of war housing by the Government or any public housing agency applicable also to the sale of war housing constructed under Public Law 671, 76th Congress.

FHA Insurance of Loans for Manufactured Houses and Large-Scale Site Construction Liberalized

The FHA mortgage insurance authorization was liberalized covering insurance of loans to finance the manufacture of houses and to finance large-scale modernized site construction of housing.

GI Home Loan Guaranty Increased--Direct Loans to Veterans Provided

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 was amended by raising the maximum maturity of GI loans from 25 to 30 years; by raising the maximum home loan guaranty from $4,000 or 50% of the loan to $7,500 or 60% of the loan; to require all homes financed by GI home loans to

meet construction requirements prescribed by the Veterans' Administration; to abolish combination VA-FHA loans effective December 31, 1950; and to provide for standby direct home loans to veterans unable to obtain loans under the terms of the Act from private sources. (Note: Down payments and maximum maturities have been changed under new anti-inflation controls - see item 10.)

Disposal of War and Veterans' Housing Facilitated

The Housing Act of 1950 provided for the disposition of all war and veterans' housing under the jurisdiction of the Housing and Home Finance Agency and for the transfer of the farm labor camps under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Agriculture to the Public Housing Administration for management and disposal. (Program being reexamined due to international situation.)

Loans for Student and Faculty Housing Authorized

The Housing and Home Finance Administrator was authorized to make loans to educational institutions of higher learning for the construction of housing for their students and faculties. To provide funds for the loans the Administrator was authorized to issue and have outstanding at any one time obligations for purchase by the Treasury in an amount not to exceed $300,000,000. (Program temporarily suspended due to international situation.)

Home Mortgage Secondary Market Operations Enlarged

An additional authorization of $250,000,000 was provided to the Federal National Mortgage Association for the purchase of home mortgages. The new section 8 FHA home mortgages were made eligible for purchase by the Federal National Mortgage Association. GI farm home mortgages were added to the home mortgages exempted from the 50% limitation on the amount of eligible mortgages in a lender's portfolio which may be sold to the Association.

5. Military Housing Assisted by FHA Mortgage Insurance

Public Law 211, approved August 8, 1949, added a new title VIII to the National Housing Act providing additional incentives through FHA mortgage insurance to rental housing for military and civilian personnel in areas adjacent to military installations. The Act also permitted the armed forces to lease portions of military reservations and to furnish utilities on a long-term basis for such housing.

Public Law 498, approved May 2, 1950, amended title VIII to permit the military services to employ architects to draft plans for military housing projects. Upon the basis of these plans and specifications prospective sponsors of projects bid competitively for the privilege of supplying the housing so that the necessity of each prospective sponsor preparing separate plans and specifications is eliminated, thus expediting and encouraging the provision of military housing by private enterprise.

6. Special Housing Program for Alaska Established - Alaska Housing Act

Public Law 52, the Alaska Housing Act, approved April 23, 1949, authorized more liberal FHA mortgage insurance in Alaska, housing loans and a more liberal secondary mortgage market through the Federal National Mortgage Association, construction of sales or rental housing by the Alaska Housing Authority, housing construction and certain repair loans by the Alaska Housing Authority, and $15,000,000 in loans to the Alaska Housing Authority (through the purchase of the Authority's obligations) by the Housing and Home Finance Administrator.

The Third Deficiency Appropriation Act, 1949, Public Law 343, approved October 10, 1949, appropriated $10,000,000 to the Housing and Home Finance Administrator for loans to the Alaska Housing Authority pursuant to Public Law 52. The Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1950, Public Law 430, approved October 28, 1949, authorized the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to purchase obligations issued by the Alaska Housing Authority to obtain funds for its general overhead expenses in the development of the housing program provided by Public Law 52.

Public Law 264, approved August 24, 1949, authorized the appropriation of $70,000,000 for public works in Alaska and provided that 50% of the aggregate cost of the projects may be borne by the United States and the remainder by the local areas in which the construction takes place. The Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1950, Public Law 430, approved October 28, 1949, appropriated $1,000,000 for public works and authorized contracts in an amount not exceeding $4,000,000 for public works in Alaska. Public Law 759, approved September 6, 1950, appropriated an additional $9,000,000 for Alaska public works.

7. Home Mortgage Secondary Market Operations Enlarged

Public Law 176, approved July 19, 1949, increased the Federal National Mortgage Association authorization to purchase FHA and GI home mortgages to $1,500,000,000. The Association's authorization was further increased to $2,500,000,000 by the Interim Housing Amendments of 1949, supra, and to $2,750,000,000 by the Housing Act of 1950 (supra). See the Interim Housing Amendments of 1949 and the Housing Act of 1950 for other provisions enlarging secondary market operations.

8. Administration of Housing and Community Facility Programs Further Coordinated

Three Reorganization Plans were put into effect which further coordinated the housing and community facilities functions and activities of the Federal Government into the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Reorganization Plan No. 17 (effective May 24, 1950) transferred two programs from the General Services Administration to the Housing and Home Finance Agency - (1) administration of advances to State and local governments for the planning of public works, and (2) management and disposal of sewers, schools, hospitals, and other community

facilities constructed under title II of the Lanham Act, the World War II war housing Act.

Reorganization Plan No. 22 (effective September 7, 1950) transferred the Federal National Mortgage Association to the Housing and Home Finance Agency. The Association provides a secondary market for home mortgages insured or guaranteed by Federal Government agencies through the purchase, service, and sale of such mortgages. In addition, it is authorized to make direct loans for housing in Alaska.

Reorganization Plan No. 23 (effective September 7, 1950) transferred from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to the Housing and Home Finance Agency the lending functions of the Government with respect to the production and distribution of prefabricated houses and components.

9. Loans and Advances Authorized for Local Planning of Public Works

Public Law 352, approved October 13, 1949, authorizes the making of advances during a two-year period to States and local governments to finance the cost of surveys, engineering investigations, and plans preliminary to the construction of local public works. Appropriations not to exceed a total of $100,000,000 are authorized to carry out the Act.

The Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1950, Public Law 430, 81st Congress, appropriated $8,000,000 and authorized contracts in an amount not to exceed $17,000,000 for loans and advances for public works planning pursuant to Public Law 352. The General Appropriation Act, 1951, Public Law 759, approved September 6, 1950, provided $20,000,000 and an additional $27,000,000 in contract authorizations.

10. Housing Inflation Controls -- Conservation of Construction Materials for Defense Purposes

The Defense Production Act of 1950, Public Law 774, approved September 8, 1950, authorized the control of real estate credit in order to conserve materials for defense use and to protect the national economy against inflation. The Act provides that regulations may be prescribed governing maximum loan or credit values, minimum down payments, and trade-in values, as well as the amount, form and time of various payments involving real estate credit. The President had previously (on July 18, 1950,) issued administrative instructions to Government agencies requesting certain curtailments of housing credit extended by them in order to assist in curbing inflation and to conserve materials for national defense purposes. Credit controls on Government-aided housing (old or new houses financed with the aid of FHA, VA, etc.) are to be administered by the Housing and HomeFinance Agency, and controls on new construction the financing of which is not aided by Government agencies are to be administered by the Federal Reserve Board in consultation with the Housing and Home Finance Administrator.

The Act provides for priority and allocation powers which are designed to conserve materials for defense purposes. The hoarding of scarce materials (including building materials) may be prohibited. The first regulation issued under the Act by the new National Production Authority designated cement, gypsum board, sheathing, lath, and various iron and steel products as scarce materials. The Act will not only assure conservation of materials for defense purposes but, if it becomes necessary, will be used to allocate available materials for the most essential housing purposes, such as housing for military personnel and war workers, and lower cost housing.

11. Savings and Loan Industry Strengthened

Public Law 576, approved June 27, 1950, contained provisions designed to strengthen the savings and loan industry, thus further aiding in the financing of homes and the encouragement of savings.

The Act requires lending institutions which are members of Federal home loan banks (principally savings and loan associations) to maintain a certain minimum liquidity. In order to assure a source of funds to savings and loan associations to meet demands upon them for mortgage funds and to meet withdrawal requests by savers and account holders, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to purchase the obligations of Federal Home Loan Banks up to $1,000,000,000. The proceeds of these obligations would be used for advances by the banks to savings and loan associations and other members of the Federal home loan banks.

The insurance protection afforded by the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation to the accounts of savers in savings and loan associations is increased from $5,000 to $10,000 for each account. The Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation is also authorized by Public Law 576 to borrow from the Treasury such funds as in the judgment of the Home Loan Bank Board are required for insurance purposes.

The Act also accelerates retirement of the Government-owned capital stock in the Federal home loan banks and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation.

12. Sale of Suburban Resettlement Projects Assisted

Public Law 65, approved May 19, 1949, authorized the sale of the suburban resettlement projects known as Greenbelt, Maryland; Greendale, Wisconsin; and Greenhills, Ohio, by means of negotiated sale and without competitive bidding or public advertising, with a sales preference being given to nonprofit organizations of veterans and tenants.

13. Transfer of Temporary Veterans' Reuse Housing to Public Bodies Authorized -- Time for Receiving Applications Extended

The General Appropriation Act, 1951, Public Law 759, approved September 6, 1950, extended to December 31, 1950, the time during which applications may be accepted from State and local bodies, educational institutions or nonprofit organizations for the transfer to them of temporary Lanham Act housing under the terms of the McGregor Act, Public Law 796, 80th Congress. Public Law 266, approved August 24, 1949, authorized the transfer of title V temporary housing to public bodies within 120 days after August 24, 1949. Prior to Public Law 266 transfer was authorized only to nonprofit educational institutions.

14. Payments in Lieu of Taxes on Low-rent Public Housing Restricted -- Restriction Later Repealed

Public Law 266, the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1950, approved August 24, 1949, provided that none of the appropriations to the Public Housing Administration for annual contributions to the public housing agencies should be used for payments in lieu of taxes in excess of the amount specified in the original contract between a public housing agency and the Public Housing Administration. Public Law 358, approved October 14, 1949, the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1950, repealed this provision effective August 24, 1949.

15. Territories Enabled to Undertake Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment

The Territorial Enabling Act of 1950, Public Law 615, approved July 18, 1950, enabled the governments of Puerto Rico, Alaska, Hawaii, and the Virgin Islands to authorize public bodies or agencies to undertake slum clearance and urban redevelopment activities. The low-rent public housing enabling statutes of Puerto Rico, Alaska, and Hawaii were revised to assist that program in those territories.

Public Law 418, approved October 27, 1949, authorized the Government and municipalities of the Virgin Islands to issue general obligation bonds and other obligations to construct, maintain, and operate all types of public works, or to clear slums, accomplish urban redevelopment, or provide low-rent housing.

16. Veterans' Preference in Occupancy of New Housing Continued

Public Law 31, approved March 30, 1949, continued veterans' preference and priority of opportunity in the sale or rental of new housing completed after June 30, 1947, until June 30, 1950. Public Law 574, approved June 23, 1950, extended the preference until June 30, 1951.

17. Grants for Housing for Veteran Paraplegics Authorized to Additional Veterans

Public Law 286, 81st Congress, made additional groups of veterans deprived of the use of both legs eligible for grants by the Veterans Administration for special-type homes for paraplegics.

18. Rent Control Continued

Public Law 31, approved March 30, 1949, extended rent control through June 30, 1950. Public Law 574, approved June 23, 1950, continued rent control until December 31, 1950, except where local governments adopt resolutions requiring the continuance of rent control. In such instances rent control will cease June 30, 1951. The Act also provides that rent control shall be terminated in localities where the local governing body adopts a resolution after public hearing, that the shortage of housing is no longer such as to require rent control in that community.

19. Criminal Statute Amended to Protect Savings and Loan Associations

Public Law 634, approved August 3, 1950, amended the criminal provisions of the United States Code to include savings and loan associations within the definition of the word "bank" as used in the provisions of the Code with respect to bank robbery and incidental crimes.

16- Housing

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 25, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JUL 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Knowing that you have need for materials and information on the new programs authorized by the recently enacted Housing Act of 1949, we are enclosing a kit of information about each of the four new programs. We have made a special effort to get this to you as early as possible for use in connection with Fall program materials. We know that your group, along with others, will want to play a responsible role as the programs begin to take shape and form.

Even though national housing policy and program continue to be important, the major emphasis now clearly moves to the local level. Over and over again the legislative history of the new Act emphasized local responsibility for initiating, planning, and administering the public housing and slum clearance programs. As the programs get into operation, there is hardly a single phase of the planning and the operation that will not be of concern to citizens' groups with an interest in housing and community development.

The beginning job is obviously to create as much understanding as possible of the provisions of the legislation, how the programs may operate in local communities, and what potentialities the programs have for making communities better places in which to live. As this task is firmly accomplished, citizen groups will be in an effective position to relate themselves to the immediate operations in their own communities.

We know your organization wants to do its part of this important task. Please keep us informed of your interests and activities, and call on this office whenever we can be of service.

Sincerely yours,

Flora Y. Hatcher

FLORA Y. HATCHER
Director, Group Services

16 - Housing

RECEIVED
JUL 25 1949
Southern Regional Council

[PUBLIC LAW 171—81ST CONGRESS]
[CHAPTER 338—1ST SESSION]

[S. 1070]

AN ACT

To establish a national housing objective and the policy to be followed in the attainment thereof, to provide Federal aid to assist slum-clearance projects and low-rent public housing projects initiated by local agencies, to provide for financial assistance by the Secretary of Agriculture for farm housing, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Housing Act of 1949".

DECLARATION OF NATIONAL HOUSING POLICY

SEC. 2. The Congress hereby declares that the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require housing production and related community development sufficient to remedy the serious housing shortage, the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, thus contributing to the development and redevelopment of communities and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation. The Congress further declares that such production is necessary to enable the housing industry to make its full contribution toward an economy of maximum employment, production, and purchasing power. The policy to be followed in attaining the national housing objective hereby established shall be: (1) private enterprise shall be encouraged to serve as large a part of the total need as it can; (2) governmental assistance shall be utilized where feasible to enable private enterprise to serve more of the total need; (3) appropriate local public bodies shall be encouraged and assisted to undertake positive programs of encouraging and assisting the development of well-planned, integrated residential neighborhoods, the development and redevelopment of communities, and the production, at lower costs, of housing of sound standards of design, construction, livability, and size for adequate family life; (4) governmental assistance to eliminate substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, to facilitate community development and redevelopment, and to provide adequate housing for urban and rural nonfarm families with incomes so low that they are not being decently housed in new or existing housing shall be extended to those localities which estimate their own needs and demonstrate that these needs are not being met through reliance solely upon private enterprise, and without such aid; and (5) governmental assistance for decent, safe, and sanitary farm dwellings and related facilities shall be extended where the farm owner demonstrates that he lacks sufficient resources to provide such housing on

his own account and is unable to secure necessary credit for such housing from other sources on terms and conditions which he could reasonably be expected to fulfill. The Housing and Home Finance Agency and its constituent agencies, and any other departments or agencies of the Federal Government having powers, functions, or duties with respect to housing, shall exercise their powers, functions, and duties under this or any other law, consistently with the national housing policy declared by this Act and in such manner as will facilitate sustained progress in attaining the national housing objective hereby established, and in such manner as will encourage and assist (1) the production of housing of sound standards of design, construction, livability, and size for adequate family life; (2) the reduction of the costs of housing without sacrifice of such sound standards; (3) the use of new designs, materials, techniques, and methods in residential construction, the use of standardized dimensions and methods of assembly of home-building materials and equipment, and the increase of efficiency in residential construction and maintenance; (4) the development of well-planned, integrated, residential neighborhoods and the development and redevelopment of communities; and (5) the stabilization of the housing industry at a high annual volume of residential construction.

TITLE I—SLUM CLEARANCE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND REDEVELOPMENT

LOCAL RESPONSIBILITIES

SEC. 101. In extending financial assistance under this title, the Administrator shall—

(a) give consideration to the extent to which appropriate local public bodies have undertaken positive programs (1) for encouraging housing cost reductions through the adoption, improvement, and modernization of building and other local codes and regulations so as to permit the use of appropriate new materials, techniques, and methods in land and residential planning, design, and construction, the increase of efficiency in residential construction, and the elimination of restrictive practices which unnecessarily increase housing costs, and (2) for preventing the spread or recurrence, in such community, of slums and blighted areas through the adoption, improvement, and modernization of local codes and regulations relating to land use and adequate standards of health, sanitation, and safety for dwelling accommodations; and

(b) encourage the operations of such local public agencies as are established on a State, or regional (within a State), or unified metropolitan basis or as are established on such other basis as permits such agencies to contribute effectively toward the solution of community development or redevelopment problems on a State, or regional (within a State), or unified metropolitan basis.

LOANS

SEC. 102. (a) To assist local communities in eliminating their slums and blighted areas and in providing maximum opportunity for the

redevelopment of project areas by private enterprise, the Administrator may make temporary and definitive loans to local public agencies for the undertaking of projects for the assembly, clearance, preparation, and sale and lease of land for redevelopment. Such loans (outstanding at any one time) shall be in such amounts not exceeding the expenditures to be made by the local public agency as part of the gross project cost, bear interest at such rate (not less than the applicable going Federal rate), be secured in such manner, and be repaid within such period (not exceeding, in the case of definitive loans, forty years from the date of the bonds evidencing such loans), as may be deemed advisable by the Administrator.

(b) In connection with any project on land which is open or predominantly open, the Administrator may make temporary loans to municipalities or other public bodies for the provision of public buildings or facilities necessary to serve or support the new uses of land in the project area. Such temporary loans shall be in such amounts not exceeding the expenditures to be made for such purpose, bear interest as such rate (not less than the applicable going Federal rate), be secured in such manner, and be repaid within such period (not exceeding ten years from the date of the obligations evidencing such loans), as may be deemed advisable by the Administrator.

(c) Loans made pursuant to subsection (a) or (b) hereof may be made subject to the condition that, if at any time or times or for any period or periods during the life of the loan contract the local public agency can obtain loan funds from sources other than the Federal Government at interest rates lower than provided in the loan contract, it may do so with the consent of the Administrator at such times and for such periods without waiving or surrendering any rights to loan funds under the contract for the remainder of the life of such contract, and, in any such case, the Administrator is authorized to consent to a pledge by the local public agency of the loan contract, and any or all of its rights thereunder, as security for the repayment of the loan funds so obtained from other sources.

(d) The Administrator may make advances of funds to local public agencies for surveys and plans in preparation of projects which may be assisted under this title, and the contracts for such advances of funds may be made upon the condition that such advances of funds shall be repaid, with interest at not less than the applicable going Federal rate, out of any moneys which become available to such agency for the undertaking of the project or projects involved.

(e) To obtain funds for loans under this title, the Administrator, on and after July 1, 1949, may, with the approval of the President, issue and have outstanding at any one time notes and obligations for purchase by the Secretary of the Treasury in an amount not to exceed $25,000,000, which limit on such outstanding amount shall be increased by $225,000,000 on July 1, 1950, and by further amounts of $250,000,000 on July 1 in each of the years 1951, 1952, and 1953, respectively: *Provided*, That (subject to the total authorization of not to exceed $1,000,000,000) such limit, and any such authorized increase therein, may be increased, at any time or times, by additional amounts aggregating not more than $250,000,000 upon a determination by the President, after receiving advice from the Council of Economic Advisers as to the general effect of such increase upon the conditions in

the building industry and upon the national economy, that such action is in the public interest.

(f) Notes or other obligations issued by the Administrator under this title shall be in such forms and denominations, have such maturities, and be subject to such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by the Administrator, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. Such notes or other obligations shall bear interest at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the current average rate on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States as of the last day of the month preceding the issuance of such notes or other obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to purchase any notes and other obligations of the Administrator issued under this title and for such purpose is authorized to use as a public debt transaction the proceeds from the sale of any securities issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended, and the purposes for which securities may be issued under such Act, as amended, are extended to include any purchases of such notes and other obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury may at any time sell any of the notes or other obligations acquired by him under this section. All redemptions, purchases, and sales by the Secretary of the Treasury of such notes or other obligations shall be treated as public debt transactions of the United States.

(g) Obligations, including interest thereon, issued by local public agencies for projects assisted pursuant to this title, and income derived by such agencies from such projects, shall be exempt from all taxation now or hereafter imposed by the United States.

CAPITAL GRANTS

SEC. 103. (a) The Administrator may make capital grants to local public agencies to enable such agencies to make land in project areas available for redevelopment at its fair value for the uses specified in the redevelopment plans: *Provided*, That the Administrator shall not make any contract for capital grant with respect to a project which consists of open land. The aggregate of such capital grants with respect to all the projects of a local public agency on which contracts for capital grants have been made under this title shall not exceed two-thirds of the aggregate of the net project costs of such projects, and the capital grants with respect to any individual project shall not exceed the difference between the net project cost and the local grants-in-aid actually made with respect to the project.

(b) The Administrator, on and after July 1, 1949, may, with the approval of the President, contract to make capital grants, with respect to projects assisted under this title, aggregating not to exceed $100,000,000, which limit shall be increased by further amounts of $100,000,000 on July 1 in each of the years 1950, 1951, 1952, and 1953, respectively: *Provided*, That (subject to the total authorization of not to exceed $500,000,000) such limit, and any such authorized increase therein, may be increased, at any time or times, by additional amounts aggregating not more than $100,000,000 upon a determination by the President, after receiving advice from the Council of Economic Advisers as to the general effect of such increase upon the conditions in the building industry and upon the national economy, that such action

is in the public interest. The faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment of all capital grants contracted for under this title, and there are hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the amounts necessary to provide for such payments.

REQUIREMENTS FOR LOCAL GRANTS-IN-AID

SEC. 104. Every contract for capital grant under this title shall require local grants-in-aid in connection with the project involved which, together with the local grants-in-aid to be provided in connection with all other projects of the local public agency on which contracts for capital grants have theretofore been made, will be at least equal to one-third of the aggregate net project costs involved (it being the purpose of this provision and section 103 to limit the aggregate of the capital grants made by the Administrator with respect to all the projects of a local public agency on which contracts for capital grants have been made under this title to an amount not exceeding two-thirds of the difference between the aggregate of the gross project costs of all such projects and the aggregate of the total sales prices and capital values referred to in section 110 (f) of land in such projects).

LOCAL DETERMINATIONS

SEC. 105. Contracts for financial aid shall be made only with a duly authorized local public agency and shall require that—

(a) The redevelopment plan for the project area be approved by the governing body of the locality in which the project is situated, and that such approval include findings by the governing body that (i) the financial aid to be provided in the contract is necessary to enable the land in the project area to be redeveloped in accordance with the redevelopment plan; (ii) the redevelopment plans for the redevelopment areas in the locality will afford maximum opportunity, consistent with the sound needs of the locality as a whole, for the redevelopment of such areas by private enterprise; and (iii) the redevelopment plan conforms to a general plan for the development of the locality as a whole;

(b) When land acquired or held by the local public agency in connection with the project is sold or leased, the purchasers or lessees shall be obligated (i) to devote such land to the uses specified in the redevelopment plan for the project area; (ii) to begin the building of their improvements on such land within a reasonable time; and (iii) to comply with such other conditions as the Administrator finds, prior to the execution of the contract for loan or capital grant pursuant to this title, are necessary to carry out the purposes of this title;

(c) There be a feasible method for the temporary relocation of families displaced from the project area, and that there are or are being provided, in the project area or in other areas not generally less desirable in regard to public utilities and public and commercial facilities and at rents or prices within the financial means of the families displaced from the project area, decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings equal in number to the number of and available to such displaced families and reasonably accessible to their

places of employment: *Provided*, That in view of the existing acute housing shortage, each such contract entered into prior to July 1, 1951, shall further provide that there shall be no demolition of residential structures in connection with the project assisted under the contract prior to July 1, 1951, if the local governing body determines that the demolition thereof would reasonably be expected to create undue housing hardship in the locality.

(d) No land for any project to be assisted under this title shall be acquired by the local public agency except after public hearing following notice of the date, time, place, and purpose of such hearing.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 106. (a) In the performance of, and with respect to, the functions, powers, and duties vested in him by this title, the Administrator, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, shall—

(1) appoint a Director to administer the provisions of this title under the direction and supervision of the Administrator and the basic rate of compensation of such position shall be the same as the basic rate of compensation established for the heads of the constituent agencies of the Housing and Home Finance Agency;

(2) prepare annually and submit a budget program as provided for wholly owned Government corporations by the Government Corporation Control Act, as amended;

(3) maintain an integral set of accounts which shall be audited annually by the General Accounting Office in accordance with the principles and procedures applicable to commercial transactions as provided by the Government Corporation Control Act, as amended, and no other audit shall be required: *Provided*, That such financial transactions of the Administrator as the making of advances of funds, loans, or capital grants and vouchers approved by the Administrator in connection with such financial transactions shall be final and conclusive upon all officers of the Government; and

(4) make an annual report to the President, for transmission to the Congress, to be submitted as soon as practicable following the close of the year for which such report is made.

(b) Funds made available to the Administrator pursuant to the provisions of this title shall be deposited in a checking account or accounts with the Treasurer of the United States. Receipts and assets obtained or held by the Administrator in connection with the performance of his functions under this title shall be available for any of the purposes of this title (except for capital grants pursuant to section 103 hereof), and all funds available for carrying out the functions of the Administrator under this title (including appropriations therefor, which are hereby authorized), shall be available, in such amounts as may from year to year be authorized by the Congress, for the administrative expenses of the Administrator in connection with the performance of such functions.

(c) In the performance of, and with respect to, the functions, powers, and duties vested in him by this title, the Administrator, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, may—

(1) sue and be sued;

(2) foreclose on any property or commence any action to protect or enforce any right conferred upon him by any law, contract, or other agreement, and bid for and purchase at any foreclosure or any other sale any project or part thereof in connection with which he has made a loan or capital grant pursuant to this title. In the event of any such acquisition, the Administrator may, notwithstanding any other provision of law relating to the acquisition, handling, or disposal of real property by the United States, complete, administer, dispose of, and otherwise deal with, such project or part thereof: *Provided*, That any such acquisition of real property shall not deprive any State or political subdivision thereof of its civil jurisdiction in and over such property or impair the civil rights under the State or local laws of the inhabitants on such property;

(3) enter into agreements to pay annual sums in lieu of taxes to any State or local taxing authority with respect to any real property so acquired or owned, and such sums shall approximate the taxes which would be paid upon such property to the State or local taxing authority, as the case may be, if such property were not exempt from taxation;

(4) sell or exchange at public or private sale, or lease, real or personal property, and sell or exchange any securities or obligations, upon such terms as he may fix;

(5) obtain insurance against loss in connection with property and other assets held;

(6) subject to the specific limitations in this title, consent to the modification, with respect to rate of interest, time of payment of any installment of principal or interest, security, amount of capital grant, or any other term, of any contract or agreement to which he is a party or which has been transferred to him pursuant to this title; and

(7) include in any contract or instrument made pursuant to this title such other covenants, conditions, or provisions (including such covenants, conditions, or provisions as, in the determination of the Administrator, are necessary or desirable to prevent the payment of excessive prices for the acquisition of land in connection with projects assisted under this title) as he may deem necessary to assure that the purposes of this title will be achieved. No provision of this title shall be construed or administered to permit speculation in land holding.

(d) Section 3709, as amended, of the Revised Statutes shall not apply to any contract for services or supplies on account of any property acquired pursuant to this title if the amount of such contract does not exceed $1,000.

(e) Not more than 10 per centum of the funds provided for in this title, either in the form of loans or grants, shall be expended in any one State.

PAYMENT FOR LAND USED FOR LOW-RENT PUBLIC HOUSING

SEC. 107. If the land for a low-rent housing project assisted under the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, is made available from a project assisted under this title, payment equal to the fair value of the land for the uses specified in accordance with the re-

development plan shall be made therefor by the public housing agency undertaking the housing project, and such amount shall be included as part of the development cost of the low-rent housing project.

SURPLUS FEDERAL REAL PROPERTY

SEC. 108. The President may at any time in his discretion, transfer, or cause to be transferred, to the Administrator any right, title, or interest held by the Federal Government or any department or agency thereof in any land (including buildings thereon) which is surplus to the needs of the Government and which a local public agency certifies will be within the area of a project being planned by it. When such land is sold to the local public agency by the Administrator, it shall be sold at a price equal to its fair market value, and the proceeds from such sale shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

PROTECTION OF LABOR STANDARDS

SEC. 109. In order to protect labor standards—

(a) Any contract for financial aid pursuant to this title shall contain a provision requiring that not less than the salaries prevailing in the locality, as determined or adopted (subsequent to a determination under applicable State or local law) by the Administrator, shall be paid to all architects, technical engineers, draftsmen, and technicians employed in the development of the project involved and shall also contain a provision that not less than the wages prevailing in the locality, as predetermined by the Secretary of Labor pursuant to the Davis-Bacon Act (49 Stat. 1011), shall be paid to all laborers and mechanics employed in the development of the project involved; and the Administrator shall require certification as to compliance with the provisions of this paragraph prior to making any payment under such contract;

(b) The provisions of title 18 U. S. C., section 874, and of title 40 U. S. C., section 276c, shall apply to any project financed in whole or in part with funds made available pursuant to this title;

(c) Any contractor engaged on any project financed in whole or in part with funds made available pursuant to this title shall report monthly to the Secretary of Labor, and shall cause all subcontractors to report in like manner, within five days after the close of each month and on forms to be furnished by the United States Department of Labor, as to the number of persons on their respective pay rolls on the particular project, the aggregate amount of such pay rolls, the total man-hours worked, and itemized expenditures for materials. Any such contractor shall furnish to the Department of Labor the names and addresses of all subcontractors on the work at the earliest date practicable.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 110. The following terms shall have the meanings, respectively, ascribed to them below, and, unless the context clearly indicates otherwise, shall include the plural as well as the singular number:

(a) "Redevelopment area" means an area which is appropriate for development or redevelopment and within which a project area is located.

(b) "Redevelopment plan" means a plan, as it exists from time to time, for the development or redevelopment of a redevelopment or project area, which plan shall be sufficiently complete (1) to indicate its relationship to definite local objectives as to appropriate land uses and improved traffic, public transportation, public utilities, recreational and community facilities, and other public improvements; and (2) to indicate proposed land uses and building requirements in the project area: *Provided*, That the Administrator shall take such steps as he deems necessary to assure consistency between the redevelopment plan and any highways or other public improvements in the locality receiving financial assistance from the Federal Works Agency.

(c) "Project" may include (1) acquisition of (i) a slum area or a deteriorated or deteriorating area which is predominantly residential in character, or (ii) any other deteriorated or deteriorating area which is to be developed or redeveloped for predominantly residential uses, or (iii) land which is predominantly open and which because of obsolete platting, diversity of ownership, deterioration of structures or of site improvements, or otherwise substantially impairs or arrests the sound growth of the community and which is to be developed for predominantly residential uses, or (iv) open land necessary for sound community growth which is to be developed for predominantly residential uses (in which event the project thereon, as provided in the proviso of section 103 (a) hereof, shall not be eligible for any capital grant); (2) demolition and removal of buildings and improvements; (3) installation, construction, or reconstruction of streets, utilities, and other site improvements essential to the preparation of sites for uses in accordance with the redevelopment plan; and (4) making the land available for development or redevelopment by private enterprise or public agencies (including sale, initial leasing, or retention by the local public agency itself) at its fair value for uses in accordance with the redevelopment plan. For the purposes of this title, the term "project" shall not include the construction of any of the buildings contemplated by the redevelopment plan, and the term "redevelopment" and derivatives thereof shall mean develop as well as redevelop. For any of the purposes of section 109 hereof, the term "project" shall not include any donations or provisions made as local grants-in-aid and eligible as such pursuant to clauses (2) and (3) of section 110 (d) hereof.

(d) "Local grants-in-aid" shall mean assistance by a State, municipality, or other public body, or any other entity, in connection with any project on which a contract for capital grant has been made under this title, in the form of (1) cash grants; (2) donations, at cash value, of land (exclusive of land in streets, alleys, and other public rights-of-way which may be vacated in connection with the project), and demolition or removal work, or site improvements in the project area, at their cost; and (3) the provision, at their cost, of parks, playgrounds, and public buildings or facilities (other than low-rent public housing) which are primarily of direct benefit to the project and which are necessary to serve or support the new uses of land in the project area in accordance with the redevelopment plan: *Provided*, That, in any case where, in the determination of the Administrator, any park, playground, public building, or facility is of direct and substantial benefit both to the project and to other areas, the

Administrator shall provide that, for the purpose of computing the amount of the local grants-in-aid for such project, there shall be included an allowance of an appropriate portion (as determined by the Administrator) of the cost of such park, playground, public building, or facility. No demolition or removal work, improvement, or facility for which a State, municipality, or other public body has received or has contracted to receive any grant or subsidy from the United States, or any agency or instrumentality thereof, for such work, or the construction of such improvement or facility, shall be eligible for inclusion as a local grant-in-aid in connection with a project or projects assisted under this title.

(e) "Gross project cost" shall comprise (1) the amount of the expenditures by the local public agency with respect to any and all undertakings necessary to carry out the project (including the payment of carrying charges, but not beyond the point where the project is completed), and (2) the amount of such local grants-in-aid as are furnished in forms other than cash.

(f) "Net project cost" shall mean the difference between the gross project cost and the aggregate of (1) the total sales prices of all land sold, and (2) the total capital values (i) imputed, on a basis approved by the Administrator, to all land leased, and (ii) used as a basis for determining the amounts to be transferred to the project from other funds of the local public agency to compensate for any land retained by it for use in accordance with the redevelopment plan.

(g) "Going Federal rate" means the annual rate of interest (or, if there shall be two or more such rates of interest, the highest thereof) specified in the most recently issued bonds of the Federal Government having a maturity of ten years or more, determined at the date the contract for advance of funds or for loan is made. Any contract for loan made may be revised or superseded by a later contract, so that the going Federal rate, on the basis of which the interest rate on the loan is fixed, shall mean the going Federal rate, as herein defined, on the date that such contract is revised or superseded by such later contract.

(h) "Local public agency" means any State, county, municipality, or other governmental entity or public body which is authorized to undertake the project for which assistance is sought. "State" includes the several States, the District of Columbia, and the Territories, dependencies, and possessions of the United States.

(i) "Administrator" means the Housing and Home Finance Administrator.

TITLE II—AMENDMENTS TO NATIONAL HOUSING ACT

SEC. 201. The National Housing Act, as amended, is hereby amended—

(1) by striking out of the first sentence of section 2 (a) "July 1, 1949" and inserting in lieu thereof "September 1, 1949";

(2) by striking out of the proviso in section 203 (a) "$4,000,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$5,300,000,000" and by striking out of such proviso "$5,000,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$5,500,000,000"; and

(3) by striking out of the second proviso in section 603 (a) "June 30, 1949" in each place where it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "August 31, 1949".

SEC. 202. This title shall take effect as of June 30, 1949.

TITLE III—LOW-RENT PUBLIC HOUSING

LOCAL RESPONSIBILITIES AND DETERMINATIONS; TENANCY ONLY BY LOW-INCOME FAMILIES

SEC. 301. The United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, is hereby amended by adding the following additional subsections to section 15:

"(7) In recognition that there should be local determination of the need for low-rent housing to meet needs not being adequately met by private enterprise—

"(a) The Authority shall not make any contract with a public housing agency for preliminary loans (all of which shall be repaid out of any moneys which become available to such agency for the development of the projects involved) for surveys and planning in respect to any low-rent housing projects initiated after March 1, 1949, (i) unless the governing body of the locality involved has by resolution approved the application of the public housing agency for such preliminary loan; and (ii) unless the public housing agency has demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Authority that there is a need for such low-rent housing which is not being met by private enterprise; and

"(b) the Authority shall not make any contract for loans (other than preliminary loans) or for annual contributions pursuant to this Act with respect to any low-rent housing project initiated after March 1, 1949, (i) unless the governing body of the locality involved has entered into an agreement with the public housing agency providing for the local cooperation required by the Authority pursuant to this Act; and (ii) unless the public housing agency has demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Authority that a gap of at least 20 per centum has been left between the upper rental limits for admission to the proposed low-rent housing and the lowest rents at which private enterprise unaided by public subsidy is providing (through new construction and available existing structures) a substantial supply of decent, safe, and sanitary housing toward meeting the need of an adequate volume thereof.

"(8) Every contract made pursuant to this Act for annual contributions for any low-rent housing project initiated after March 1, 1949, shall provide that—

"(a) the public housing agency shall fix maximum income limits for the admission and for the continued occupancy of families in such housing, that such maximum income limits and all revisions thereof shall be subject to the prior approval of the Authority, and that the Authority may require the public housing agency to review and to revise such maximum income limits if the Authority determines that changed conditions in the locality make such revisions necessary in achieving the purposes of this Act;

"(b) a duly authorized official of the public housing agency involved shall make periodic written statements to the Authority that an investigation has been made of each family admitted to the low-rent housing project involved during the period covered thereby, and that, on the basis of the report of said investigation, he has found that each such family at the time of its admission (i) had a net family income not exceeding the maximum income limits theretofore fixed by the public housing agency (and approved by the Authority) for admission of families of low income to such housing; and (ii) lived in an unsafe, insanitary, or overcrowded dwelling, or was to be displaced by another low-rent housing project or by a public slum-clearance or redevelopment project, or actually was without housing, or was about to be without housing as a result of a court order of eviction, due to causes other than the fault of the tenant: *Provided*, That the requirement in (ii) shall not be applicable in the case of the family of any veteran or serviceman (or of any deceased veteran or serviceman) where application for admission to such housing is made not later than five years after March 1, 1949;

"(c) in the selection of tenants (i) the public housing agency shall not discriminate against families, otherwise eligible for admission to such housing, because their incomes are derived in whole or in part from public assistance and (ii) in initially selecting families for admission to dwellings of given sizes and at specified rents the public housing agency shall (subject to the preferences prescribed in subsection 10 (g) of this Act) give preference to families having the most urgent housing needs, and thereafter, in selecting families for admission to such dwellings, shall give due consideration to the urgency of the families' housing needs; and

"(d) the public housing agency shall make periodic reexaminations of the net incomes of tenant families living in the low-rent housing project involved; and if it is found, upon such reexamination, that the net incomes of any such families have increased beyond the maximum income limits fixed by the public housing agency (and approved by the Authority) for continued occupancy in such housing, such families shall be required to move from the project."

VETERANS' PREFERENCES

SEC. 302. The United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, is hereby amended as follows:

(a) By adding the following new subsection to section 10:

"(g) Every contract made pursuant to this Act for annual contributions for any low-rent housing project shall require that the public housing agency, as among low-income families which are eligible applicants for occupancy in dwellings of given sizes and at specified rents, shall extend the following preferences in the selection of tenants:

"First, to families which are to be displaced by any low-rent housing project or by any public slum-clearance or redevelopment project initiated after January 1, 1947, or which were so displaced within three years prior to making application to

such public housing agency for admission to any low-rent housing; and as among such families first preference shall be given to families of disabled veterans whose disability has been determined by the Veterans' Administration to be service-connected, and second preference shall be given to families of deceased veterans and servicemen whose death has been determined by the Veterans' Administration to be service-connected, and third preference shall be given to families of other veterans and servicemen;

"Second, to families of other veterans and servicemen and as among such families first preference shall be given to families of disabled veterans whose disability has been determined by the Veterans' Administration to be service-connected, and second preference shall be given to families of deceased veterans and servicemen whose death has been determined by the Veterans' Administration to be service-connected."

(b) By adding the following new subsection to section 2:

"(14) The term 'veteran' shall mean a person who has served in the active military or naval service of the United States at any time on or after September 16, 1940, and prior to July 26, 1947, or at any time on or after April 6, 1917, and prior to November 11, 1918, and who shall have been discharged or released therefrom under conditions other than dishonorable. The term 'serviceman' shall mean a person in the active military or naval service of the United States who has served therein on or after September 16, 1940, and prior to July 26, 1947, or at any time on or after April 6, 1917, and prior to November 11, 1918."

COST LIMITS

SEC. 303. Subsection 15 (5) of the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(5) Every contract made pursuant to this Act for loans (other than preliminary loans), annual contributions, or capital grants for any low-rent housing project completed after January 1, 1948, shall provide that the cost for construction and equipment of such project (excluding land, demolition, and nondwelling facilities) shall not exceed $1,750 per room ($2,500 per room in the case of Alaska): *Provided*, That if the Administrator finds that in the geographical area of any project (i) it is not feasible under the aforesaid cost limitations to construct the project without sacrifice of sound standards of construction, design, and livability, and (ii) there is an acute need for such housing, he may prescribe in such contract cost limitations which may exceed by not more than $750 per room the limitations that would otherwise be applicable to such project hereunder. Every contract made pursuant to this Act for loans (other than preliminary loans), annual contributions, or capital grants with respect to any low-rent housing project initiated after March 1, 1949, shall provide that such project shall be undertaken in such a manner that it will not be of elaborate or extravagant design or materials, and economy will be promoted both in construction and administration. In order to attain the foregoing objective, every such contract shall provide that no award of the main construction contract for such project shall be made unless the Authority, taking into account the level of construction costs prevailing

in the locality where such project is to be located, shall have specifically approved the amount of such main construction contract."

PRIVATE FINANCING

SEC. 304. In order to stimulate increasing private financing of low-rent housing projects, the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, is hereby amended as follows:

(a) The last proviso of subsection (b) of section 10 is repealed, and subsection (f) of said section is amended to read as follows:

"(f) Payments under annual contributions contracts shall be pledged, if the Authority so requires, as security for any loans obtained by a public housing agency to assist the development or acquisition of the housing project to which the annual contributions relate.";

(b) The following is added after section 21:

"PRIVATE FINANCING

"SEC. 22. To facilitate the enlistment of private capital through the sale by public housing agencies of their bonds and other obligations to others than the Authority, in financing low-rent housing projects, and to maintain the low-rent character of housing projects—

"(a) Every contract for annual contributions (including contracts which amend or supersede contracts previously made) may provide that—

"(1) upon the occurrence of a substantial default in respect to the covenants or conditions to which the public housing agency is subject (as such substantial default shall be defined in such contract), the public housing agency shall be obligated at the option of the Authority, either to convey title in any case where, in the determination of the Authority (which determination shall be final and conclusive), such conveyance of title is necessary to achieve the purposes of this Act, or to deliver possession to the Authority of the project, as then constituted, to which such contract relates;

"(2) the Authority shall be obligated to reconvey or to redeliver possession of the project, as constituted at the time of reconveyance or redelivery, to such public housing agency or to its successor (if such public housing agency or a successor exists) upon such terms as shall be prescribed in such contract and as soon as practicable: (i) after the Authority shall be satisfied that all defaults with respect to the project have been cured, and that the project will, in order to fulfill the purposes of this Act, thereafter be operated in accordance with the terms of such contract; or (ii) after the termination of the obligation to make annual contributions available unless there are any obligations or covenants of the public housing agency to the Authority which are then in default. Any prior conveyances and reconveyances, deliveries and redeliveries of possession shall not exhaust the right to require a conveyance or delivery of possession of the project to the Authority pursuant to subparagraph (1), upon the subsequent occurrence of a substantial default.

"(b) Whenever such contract for annual contributions shall include provisions which the Authority, in said contract, determines are in

accordance with subsection (a) hereof, and the annual contributions, pursuant to such contract, have been pledged by the public housing agency as security for the payment of the principal and interest on any of its obligations, the Authority (notwithstanding any other provisions of this Act) shall continue to make annual contributions available for the project so long as any of such obligations remain outstanding, and may covenant in such contract (in lieu of the provision required by the first sentence of subsection 15 (3) of this Act and notwithstanding any other provisions of law) that in any event such annual contributions shall in each year be at least equal to an amount which, together with such income or other funds as are actually available from the project for the purpose at the time such annual contribution is made, will suffice for the payment of all installments, falling due within the next succeeding twelve months, of principal and interest on the obligations for which the annual contributions provided for in the contract shall have been pledged as security: *Provided*, That such annual contributions shall not be in excess of the maximum sum determined pursuant to the first proviso of subsection 10 (b), or, where applicable, the second proviso of subsection 10 (c); and in no case shall such annual contributions be in excess of the maximum sum specified in the contract involved, nor for longer than the remainder of the maximum period fixed by the contract.";

(c) In the fourth sentence of section 9 the words "going Federal rate at the time the loan is made," are deleted; in the first proviso of subsection 10 (b) the words "going Federal rate of interest at the time such contract is made" are deleted; and in lieu thereof in each case there are substituted the words "applicable going Federal rate"; and subsection 2 (10) is amended to read as follows:

"(10) The term 'going Federal rate' means the annual rate of interest (or, if there shall be two or more such rates of interest, the highest thereof) specified in the most recently issued bonds of the Federal Government having a maturity of ten years or more, determined, in the case of loans or annual contributions, respectively, at the date of Presidential approval of the contract pursuant to which such loans or contributions are made: *Provided*, That for the purposes of this Act, the going Federal rate shall be deemed to be not less than 2½ per centum.";

(d) Section 9 is amended by striking out the period at the end of said section and adding a colon and the following: "*Provided*, That in the case of projects initiated after March 1, 1949, with respect to which annual contributions are contracted for pursuant to this Act, loans shall not be made for a period exceeding forty years from the date of the bonds evidencing the loan: *And provided further*, That, in the case of such projects or any other projects with respect to which the contracts (including contracts which amend or supersede contracts previously made) provide for loans for a period not exceeding forty years from the date of the bonds evidencing the loan and for annual contributions for a period not exceeding forty years from the date the first annual contribution for the project is paid, such loans shall bear interest at a rate not less than the applicable going Federal rate.";

(e) Subsection 10 (c) is amended by striking out the period at the end of the last sentence and adding a colon and the following: "*Provided*, That, in the case of projects initiated after March 1, 1949,

contracts for annual contributions shall not be made for a period exceeding forty years from the date the first annual contribution for the project is paid: *And provided further*, That, in the case of such projects or any other projects with respect to which the contracts for annual contributions (including contracts which amend or supersede contracts previously made) provide for annual contributions for a period not exceeding forty years from the date the first annual contribution for the project is paid, the fixed contribution may exceed the amount provided in the first proviso of subsection (b) of this section by 1 per centum of development or acquisition cost.";

(f) The first sentence of subsection 10 (c) is amended to read as follows: "Every contract for annual contributions shall provide that whenever in any year the receipts of a public housing agency in connection with a low-rent housing project exceed its expenditures (including debt service, administration, maintenance, establishment of reserves, and other costs and charges), an amount equal to such excess shall be applied, or set aside for application, to purposes which, in the determination of the Authority, will effect a reduction in the amount of subsequent annual contributions.";

(g) Section 14 is amended by inserting the following after the first sentence: "When the Authority finds that it would promote economy or be in the financial interest of the Federal Government, any contract heretofore or hereafter made for annual contributions, loans, or both, may, with Presidential approval, be amended or superseded by a contract of the Authority so that the going Federal rate on the basis of which such annual contributions or interest rate on the loans, or both, respectively, are fixed shall mean the going Federal rate, as herein defined, on the date of Presidential approval of such amending or superseding contract: *Provided*, That contracts may not be amended or superseded in a manner which would impair the rights of the holders of any outstanding obligations of the public housing agency involved for which annual contributions have been pledged.";

(h) Section 20 is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 20. The Authority may issue and have outstanding at any one time notes and other obligations for purchase by the Secretary of the Treasury in an amount not to exceed $1,500,000,000. Such notes or other obligations shall be in such forms and denominations, shall have such maturities, and shall be subject to such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by the Authority with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. Such notes or other obligations shall bear interest at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the current average rate on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States as of the last day of the month preceding the issuance of the notes or other obligations by the Authority. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to purchase any notes or other obligations of the Authority issued hereunder and for such purpose is authorized to use as a public debt transaction the proceeds from the sale of any securities issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended, and the purposes for which securities may be issued under such Act, as amended, are extended to include any purchases of such obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury may at any time sell any of the notes or other obligations acquired by him under this section. All redemptions, purchases, and

sales by the Secretary of the Treasury of such notes or other obligations shall be treated as public debt transactions of the United States.";

(i) Subsection 2 (5) is amended to read as follows:

"(5) The term 'development' means any or all undertakings necessary for planning, land acquisition, demolition, construction, or equipment, in connection with a low-rent housing project. The term 'development cost' shall comprise the costs incurred by a public housing agency in such undertakings and their necessary financing (including the payment of carrying charges, but not beyond the point of physical completion), and in otherwise carrying out the development of such project. Construction activity in connection with a low-rent housing project may be confined to the reconstruction, remodeling, or repair of existing buildings."; and

(j) The following additional subsection is added to section 15:

"(9) Any contract for loans or annual contributions, or both, entered into by the Authority with a public housing agency, may cover one or more than one low-rent housing project owned by said public housing agency; in the event such contract covers two or more projects, such projects may, for any of the purposes of this Act and of such contract (including, but not limited to, the determination of the amount of the loan, annual contributions, or payments in lieu of taxes, specified in such contract), be treated collectively as one project."

ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS

SEC. 305. The United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, is hereby amended as follows:

(a) By inserting the following after the first sentence of subsection (e) of section 10: "With respect to projects assisted pursuant to this Act, the Authority (in addition to the amount authorized by the first sentence of this subsection) is authorized, with the approval of the President, to enter into contracts, on and after July 1, 1949, for annual contributions aggregating not more than $85,000,000 per annum, which limit shall be increased by further amounts of $55,000,000 on July 1 in each of the years 1950, 1951, and 1952, respectively, and by $58,000,000 on July 1, 1953: *Provided*, That (subject to the total additional authorization of not more than $308,000,000 per annum) such limit, and any such authorized increase therein, may be increased at any time or times by additional amounts aggregating not more than $55,000,000 upon a determination by the President, after receiving advice from the Council of Economic Advisers as to the general effect of such increase upon conditions in the building industry and upon the national economy, that such action is in the public interest: *And provided further*, That 10 per centum of each amount of authorization to enter into contracts for annual contributions becoming available hereunder shall, for a period of three years after such amount of authorization becomes available, be available only for annual contributions contracts with respect to projects to be located in rural nonfarm areas. With respect to projects initiated after March 1, 1949, the Authority may authorize the commencement of construction of not to exceed one hundred and thirty-five thousand dwelling units after July 1, 1949, which limit shall be increased by further amounts of one hundred and thirty-five thousand dwelling units on July 1 in each of the years 1950 through and including 1954, respectively: *Provided*, That (subject to the authorization of not

to exceed eight hundred and ten thousand dwelling units) such limit, and any such authorized increase therein, may be increased at any time or times by additional amounts aggregating not more than sixty-five thousand dwelling units, or may be decreased at any time or times by amounts aggregating not more than eighty-five thousand dwelling units, upon a determination by the President, after receiving advice from the Council of Economic Advisers as to the general effect of such increase or decrease upon conditions in the building industry and upon the national economy, that such action is in the public interest: *And provided further*, That contracts for annual contributions with respect to low-rent housing projects initiated after March 1, 1949, shall not provide for the commencement of construction of more than eight hundred and ten thousand dwelling units without further authorization from the Congress: *And provided further*, That in no event shall the Authority permit the commencement of construction of more than two hundred thousand dwelling units in any fiscal year."; and

(b) By deleting the third sentence of subsection 10 (a) and adding the following new subsection to section 10:

"(h) Every contract made pursuant to this Act for annual contributions for any low-rent housing project initiated after March 1, 1949, shall provide that no annual contributions by the Authority shall be made available for such project unless such project is exempt from all real and personal property taxes levied or imposed by the State, city, county, or other political subdivisions, but such contract may authorize the public housing agency to make payments in lieu of such taxes in an annual amount not in excess of 10 per centum of the annual shelter rents charged in such project: *Provided*, That, with respect to any such project to be located in any State where, by reason of constitutional limitations or otherwise, such project is not exempt from all real and personal property taxes levied or imposed by the State, city, county, or other political subdivision, such contract may provide, in lieu of the requirement for tax exemption and the authorization of payments in lieu of taxes, that no annual contributions by the Authority shall be made available for such project unless and until the State, city, county, or other political subdivision in which such project is situated shall contribute, in the form of cash, at least 20 per centum of the annual contributions paid by the Authority. In respect to low-rent housing projects initiated prior to March 1, 1949, the Authority may, after the effective date of the Housing Act of 1949, authorize payments in lieu of taxes for each of the project fiscal years in respect to which annual contribution dates occurred during the two-year period ending June 30, 1949, in amounts which, together with amounts already paid, will not exceed the greater of either (i) 5 per centum of the shelter rents charged in such projects for each of such project fiscal years, or (ii) the amounts specified in the cooperation agreements in effect July 1, 1947, between the public housing agencies and the political subdivisions in which the projects are located, or in the ordinances or resolutions of such political subdivisions in effect on such date. In respect to such low-rent housing projects initiated prior to March 1, 1949, the contracts for annual contributions may be amended as to project fiscal years in respect to which annual contribution dates occur on or after July 1, 1949, so as to require exemption from real and personal property taxes in lieu

of any other requirements as to local contributions and to permit payments in lieu of taxes on the terms prescribed in the first sentence of this subsection; in the event that the contracts for annual contributions are not so amended, payments in lieu of taxes in respect to such project fiscal years shall be limited to the amount specified in the cooperation agreements or ordinances or resolutions in effect July 1, 1947."

SPECIAL PROVISIONS FOR LARGE FAMILIES OF LOW INCOME

SEC. 306. In order to enable low-rent housing to better serve the needs of large families of low income, the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, is hereby amended by deleting the second sentence of subsection 2 (1) and substituting therefor the following: "The dwellings in low-rent housing as defined in this Act shall be available solely for families whose net annual income at the time of admission, less an exemption of $100 for each minor member of the family other than the head of the family and his spouse, does not exceed five times the annual rental (including the value or cost to them of water, electricity, gas, other heating and cooking fuels, and other utilities) of the dwellings to be furnished such families. For the sole purpose of determining eligibility for continued occupancy, a public housing agency may allow, from the net income of any family, an exemption for each minor member of the family (other than the head of the family and his spouse) of either (a) $100, or (b) all or any part of the annual income of such minor. For the purposes of this subsection, a minor shall mean a person less than 21 years of age."

TECHNICAL AMENDMENTS

SEC. 307. The United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, is hereby amended as follows:

(a) By deleting from section 1 the words "rural or urban communities" and by substituting therefor the words "urban and rural nonfarm areas";

(b) (1) By adding at the end of subsection 2 (11) the following new sentence: "The Authority shall enter into contracts for financial assistance with a State or State agency where such State or State agency makes application for such assistance for an eligible project which, under the applicable laws of the State, is to be developed and administered by such State or State agency."; and

(2) By adding the following new subsection to section 2:

"(15) The term 'initiated' when used in reference to the date on which a project was initiated refers to the date of the first contract for financial assistance in respect to such project entered into by the Authority and the public housing agency.";

(c) By adding to section 6 the following new subsection:

"(e) With respect to all projects under title II of Public Law 671, Seventy-sixth Congress, approved June 28, 1940, references therein to the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, shall include all amendments to said Act made by the Housing Act of 1949 or by any other law thereafter enacted.";

(d) By deleting the proviso in subsection 10 (a) and the proviso in subsection 11 (a), and in each case changing the colon preceding the word "*Provided*" to a period; and by adding at the end of said

subsection 10 (a) the following new sentence: "The Authority shall not make any contract for loans (other than preliminary loans) or for annual contributions or for capital grants pursuant to this Act with respect to any low-rent housing project initiated after March 1,1949, unless the governing body of the locality involved has entered into an agreement with the public housing agency providing that, subsequent to the initiation of the low-rent housing project and within five years after the completion thereof, there has been or will be elimination, by demolition, condemnation, effective closing, or compulsory repair or improvement, of unsafe or insanitary dwelling units situated in the locality or metropolitan area substantially equal in number to the number of newly constructed dwelling units provided by such project: *Provided, however*, That where more than one family is living in an unsafe or insanitary dwelling unit the elimination of such unit shall count as the elimination of units equal to the number of families accommodated therein: *Provided further*, That such elimination may, in the discretion of the Authority be deferred in any locality or metropolitan area where there is an acute shortage of decent, safe, or sanitary housing available to families of low income: *And provided further*, That this requirement shall not apply in the case of any low-rent housing project located in a rural nonfarm area, or to any low-rent housing project developed on the site of a slum cleared subsequent to the date of enactment of the Housing Act of 1949 and that the dwelling units which had been eliminated by the clearance of the site of such project shall not be counted as elimination for any other low-rent project."

(e) By amending the second sentence of subsection 13 (a) to read as follows: "The Authority may bid for and purchase at any foreclosure by any party or at any other sale, or (pursuant to section 22 or otherwise) acquire or take possession of any project which it previously owned or in connection with which it has made a loan, annual contribution, or capital grant; and in such event the Authority may complete, administer, pay the principal of and interest on any obligations issued in connection with such project, dispose of, and otherwise deal with, such projects or parts thereof, subject, however, to the limitations elsewhere in this Act governing their administration and disposition.";

(f) By amending subsection 16 (2) to read as follows:

"(2) Any contract for loans, annual contributions, capital grants, sale, or lease pursuant to this Act shall contain a provision requiring that not less than the salaries or wages prevailing in the locality, as determined or adopted (subsequent to a determination under applicable State or local law) by the Authority, shall be paid to all architects, technical engineers, draftsmen, and technicians, employed in the development and to all maintenance laborers and mechanics employed in the administration of the low-rent housing or slum-clearance project involved; and shall also contain a provision that not less than the wages prevailing in the locality, as predetermined by the Secretary of Labor pursuant to the Davis-Bacon Act (49 Stat. 1011), shall be paid to all laborers and mechanics employed in the development of the project involved; and the Authority shall require certification as to compliance with the provisions of this paragraph prior to making any payment under such contract.";

(g) By amending subsection 21 (d) to read as follows:

"(d) Not more than 10 per centum of the total annual amount of $336,000,000 provided in this Act for annual contributions, nor more than 10 per centum of the amounts provided for in this Act for grants, shall be expended within any one State."; and

(h) By renumbering sections 22 to 30, inclusive, so that they become sections 23 to 31, inclusive.

TITLE IV—HOUSING RESEARCH

SEC. 401. Title III of Public Law 901, Eightieth Congress, approved August 10, 1948, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 301. The Housing and Home Finance Administrator shall—

"(a) Undertake and conduct a program with respect to technical research and studies concerned with the development, demonstration, and promotion of the acceptance and application of new and improved techniques, materials, and methods which will permit progressive reductions in housing construction and maintenance costs, and stimulate the increased and sustained production of housing, and concerned with housing economics and other housing market data. Such program may be concerned with improved and standardized building codes and regulations and methods for the more uniform administration thereof, standardized dimensions and methods for the assembly of home-building materials and equipment, improved residential design and construction, new and improved types of housing components, building materials and equipment, and methods of production, distribution, assembly, and construction, and sound techniques for the testing thereof and for the determination of adequate performance standards, and may relate to appraisal, credit, and other housing market data, housing needs, demand and supply, finance and investment, land costs, use and improvement, site planning and utilities, zoning and other laws, codes, and regulations as they apply to housing, other factors affecting the cost of housing, and related technical and economic research. Contracts may be made by the Administrator for technical research and studies authorized by this subsection for work to continue not more than four years from the date of any such contract. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 5 of the Act of June 20, 1874, as amended (31 U. S. C. 713), any unexpended balances of appropriations properly obligated by contracting with an organization as provided in this subsection may remain upon the books of the Treasury for not more than five fiscal years before being carried to the surplus fund and covered into the Treasury. All contracts made by the Administrator for technical research and studies authorized by this or any other Act shall contain requirements making the results of such research or studies available to the public through dedication, assignment to the Government, or such other means as the Administrator shall determine. The Administrator shall disseminate, and without regard to the provisions of 39 United States Code 321n, the results of such research and studies in such form as may be most useful to industry and to the general public. Notwithstanding any other provisions of law except provisions enacted expressly in limitation hereof, the Administrator is authorized to consolidate, with the functions and activities performed under this subsection, any functions or activities

now being performed or which, otherwise, would be performed by any constituent agency of the Housing and Home Finance Agency with respect to housing market data, and with respect to any other function or activity which the Administrator is authorized to perform by this subsection, if he determines that such consolidation is practicable and will promote more effective administration. The Administrator shall utilize the authority under this subsection with respect to housing market data to secure such information and data as may be required in connection with the functions of the constituent agencies within the Housing and Home Finance Agency and his supervision and coordination of the functions of said agencies, and in connection with determinations and approvals under section 15 (7) (b) (ii) and section 15 (8) (a) of the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended: *Provided*, That this sentence shall not be construed as a limitation upon the authority conferred upon the Administrator by this subsection.

"(b) Prepare and submit to the President and to the Congress estimates of national urban and rural nonfarm housing needs and reports with respect to the progress being made toward meeting such needs, and correlate and recommend proposals for such executive action or legislation as may be necessary or desirable for the furtherance of the national housing objective and policy established by this Act, with respect to urban and rural nonfarm housing, together with such other reports or information as may be required of the Administrator by the President or the Congress.

"(c) Encourage localities to make studies of their own housing needs and markets, along with surveys and plans for housing, urban land use and related community development, and provide, where requested and needed by the localities, technical advice and guidance in the making of such studies, surveys, and plans. To facilitate the cooperation of Federal agencies in carrying out such studies or surveys, such Federal agencies are hereby authorized to accept funds and reimburse their appropriation for the cost of such studies or surveys.

"SEC. 302. In carrying out research and studies under this title, the Administrator shall utilize, to the fullest extent feasible, the available facilities of other departments, independent establishments, and agencies of the Federal Government, and shall consult with, and make recommendations to, such departments, independent establishments, and agencies with respect to such action as may be necessary and desirable to overcome existing gaps and deficiencies in available housing data or in the facilities available for the collection of such data. The Administrator is further authorized, for the purposes of this title, to undertake research and studies cooperatively with industry and labor, and with agencies of State or local governments, and educational institutions and other nonprofit organizations. For the purpose of entering into contracts with any State or local public agency or instrumentality, or educational institution or other nonprofit agency or organization, in carrying out any research or studies authorized by this title, the Administrator may exercise any of the powers vested in him by section 502 (c) of the Housing Act of 1948.

"SEC. 303. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this title.

"SEC. 304. The Administrator shall appoint a Director to administer the provisions of this title under the direction and supervision of the Administrator, and the basic rate of compensation of such position shall be the same as the basic rate of compensation established for the heads of the constituent agencies of the Housing and Home Finance Agency."

TITLE V—FARM HOUSING

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE BY THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

SEC. 501. (a) The Secretary of Agriculture (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") is authorized, subject to the terms and conditions of this title, to extend financial assistance, through the Farmers Home Administration, to owners of farms in the United States and in the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii and in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, to enable them to construct, improve, alter, repair, or replace dwellings and other farm buildings on their farms, to provide them, their tenants, lessees, sharecroppers, and laborers with decent, safe, and sanitary living conditions and adequate farm buildings as specified in this title.

(b) For the purpose of this title, the term "farm" shall mean a parcel or parcels of land operated as a single unit which is used for the production of one or more agricultural commodities and which customarily produces or is capable of producing such commodities for sale and for home use of a gross annual value of not less than the equivalent of a gross annual value of $400 in 1944, as determined by the Secretary. The Secretary shall promptly determine whether any parcel or parcels of land constitute a farm for the purposes of this title whenever requested to do so by any interested Federal, State, or local public agency, and his determination shall be conclusive.

(c) In order to be eligible for the assistance authorized by paragraph (a), the applicant must show (1) that he is the owner of a farm which is without a decent, safe, and sanitary dwelling for himself and his family and necessary resident farm labor, or for the family of the operating tenant, lessee, or sharecropper, or without other farm buildings adequate for the type of farming in which he engages or desires to engage; (2) that he is without sufficient resources to provide the necessary housing and buildings on his own account; and (3) that he is unable to secure the credit necessary for such housing and buildings from other sources upon terms and conditions which he could reasonably be expected to fulfill.

LOANS FOR HOUSING AND BUILDINGS ON ADEQUATE FARMS

SEC. 502. (a) If the Secretary determines that an applicant is eligible for assistance as provided in section 501 and that the applicant has the ability to repay in full the sum to be loaned, with interest, giving due consideration to the income and earning capacity of the applicant and his family from the farm and other sources, and the maintenance of a reasonable standard of living for the owner and the occupants of said farm, a loan may be made by the Secretary to said applicant for a period of not to exceed thirty-three years from the making of the loan with interest at a rate not to exceed 4 per centum per annum on the unpaid balance of principal.

(b) The instruments under which the loan is made and the security given shall—

(1) provide for security upon the applicant's equity in the farm and such additional security or collateral, if any, as may be found necessary by the Secretary reasonably to assure repayment of the indebtedness;

(2) provide for the repayment of principal and interest in accordance with schedules and repayment plans prescribed by the Secretary;

(3) contain the agreement of the borrower that he will, at the request of the Secretary, proceed with diligence to refinance the balance of the indebtedness through cooperative or other responsible private credit sources whenever the Secretary determines, in the light of the borrower's circumstances, including his earning capacity and the income from the farm, that he is able to do so upon reasonable terms and conditions;

(4) be in such form and contain such covenants as the Secretary shall prescribe to secure the payment of the loan with interest, protect the security, and assure that the farm will be maintained in repair and that waste and exhaustion of the farm will be prevented.

LOANS FOR HOUSING AND BUILDINGS ON POTENTIALLY ADEQUATE FARMS

SEC. 503. If the Secretary determines (a) that, because of the inadequacy of the income of an eligible applicant from the farm to be improved and from other sources, said applicant may not reasonably be expected to make annual repayments of principal and interest in an amount sufficient to repay the loan in full within the period of time prescribed by the Secretary as authorized in this title; (b) that the income of the applicant may be sufficiently increased within a period of not to exceed five years by improvement or enlargement of the farm or an adjustment of the farm practices or methods; and (c) that the applicant has adopted and may reasonably be expected to put into effect a plan of farm improvement, enlargement, or adjusted practices or production which, in the opinion of the Secretary, will increase the applicant's income from said farm within a period of not to exceed five years to the extent that the applicant may be expected thereafter to make annual repayments of principal and interest sufficient to repay the balance of the indebtedness less payments in cash and credits for the contributions to be made by the Secretary as hereinafter provided, the Secretary may make a loan in an amount necessary to provide adequate farm dwellings and buildings on said farm under the terms and conditions prescribed in section 502. In addition, the Secretary may agree with the borrower to make annual contributions during the said five-year period in the form of credits on the borrower's indebtedness in an amount not to exceed the annual installment of interest and 50 per centum of the principal payments accruing during any installment year up to and including the fifth installment year, subject to the conditions that the borrower's income is, in fact, insufficient to enable the borrower to make payments in accordance with the plan or schedule prescribed by the Secretary and that the borrower pursues his plan of farm reorganization and improvements or enlargement with due diligence.

This agreement with respect to credits or principal and interest upon the borrower's indebtedness shall not be assignable nor accrue to the benefit of any third party without the written consent of the Secretary and the Secretary shall have the right, at his option, to cancel the agreement upon the sale of the farm or the execution or creation of any lien thereon subsequent to the lien given to the Secretary, or to refuse to release the lien given to the Secretary except upon payment in cash of the entire original principal plus accrued interest thereon less actual cash payments of principal and interest when the Secretary determines that the release of the lien would permit the benefits of this section to accrue to a person not eligible to receive such benefits.

OTHER SPECIAL LOANS AND GRANTS FOR MINOR IMPROVEMENTS TO FARM HOUSING AND BUILDINGS

SEC. 504. (a) In the event the Secretary determines that an eligible applicant cannot qualify for a loan under the provisions of sections 502 and 503 and that repairs or improvements should be made to a farm dwelling occupied by him, in order to make such dwelling safe and sanitary and remove hazards to the health of the occupant, his family, or the community, and that repairs should be made to farm buildings in order to remove hazards and make such buildings safe, the Secretary may make a grant or a combined loan and grant, to the applicant to cover the cost of improvements or additions, such as repairing roofs, providing toilet facilities, providing a convenient and sanitary water supply, supplying screens, repairing or providing structural supports, or making other similar repairs or improvements. No assistance shall be extended to any one individual under this subsection (1) in the form of a loan, or combined loan and grant, in excess of $1,000, or (2) in the from of a grant (whether or not combined with a loan) in excess of $500. Any portion of the sums advanced to the borrower treated as a loan shall be secured and be repayable in accordance with the principles and conditions set forth in this title. Sums made available by grant may be made subject to the conditions set out in this title for the protection of the Government with respect to contributions made on loans by the Secretary.

(b) In order to encourage adequate family-size farms the Secretary may make loans under this section and section 503 to any applicant whose farm needs enlargement or development in order to provide income sufficient to support decent, safe, and sanitary housing and other farm buildings, and may use the funds made available under clause (b) of section 513 for such purposes.

MORATORIUM ON PAYMENTS UNDER LOANS

SEC. 505. During any time that any such loan is outstanding, the Secretary is authorized under regulations to be prescribed by him to grant a moratorium upon the payment of interest and principal on such loan for so long a period as he deems necessary, upon a showing by the borrower that due to circumstances beyond his control, he is unable to continue making payments of such principal and interest when due without unduly impairing his standard of living. In cases of extreme hardship under the foregoing circumstances, the Secretary is further authorized to cancel interest due and payable on such

loans during the moratorium. Should any foreclosure of such a mortgage securing such a loan upon which a moratorium has been granted occur, no deficiency judgment shall be taken against the mortgagor if he shall have faithfully tried to meet his obligation.

TECHNICAL SERVICES AND RESEARCH

SEC. 506. (a) In connection with financial assistance authorized in sections 501 to 504, inclusive, the Secretary shall require that all new buildings and repairs financed under this title shall be substantially constructed and in accordance with such building plans and specifications as may be required by the Secretary. Buildings and repairs constructed with funds advanced pursuant to this title shall be supervised and inspected, as may be required by the Secretary, by competent employees of the Secretary. In addition to the financial assistance authorized in sections 501 to 504, inclusive, the Secretary is authorized to furnish, through such agencies as he may determine, to any person, including a person eligible for financial assistance under this title, without charge or at such charges as the Secretary may determine, technical services such as building plans, specifications, construction supervision and inspection, and advice and information regarding farm dwellings and other buildings. The Secretary is further authorized to conduct research and technical studies including the development, demonstration, and promotion of construction of adequate farm dwellings and other buildings for the purposes of stimulating construction, improving the architectural design and utility of such dwellings and buildings, utilizing new and native materials, economies in materials and construction methods, new methods of production, distribution, assembly, and construction, with a view to reducing the cost of farm dwellings and buildings and adapting and developing fixtures and appurtenances for more efficient and economical farm use.

(b) The Secretary of Agriculture shall prepare and submit to the President and to the Congress estimates of national farm housing needs and reports with respect to the progress being made toward meeting such needs, and correlate and recommend proposals for such executive action or legislation necessary or desirable for the furtherance of the national housing objective and policy established by this Act with respect to farm housing, together with such other reports or information as may be required of the Secretary by the President or the Congress.

PREFERENCES FOR VETERANS AND FAMILIES OF DECEASED SERVICEMEN

SEC. 507. As between eligible applicants seeking assistance under this title, the Secretary shall give preference to veterans and the families of deceased servicemen. As used herein, a "veteran" shall be a person who served in the land or naval forces of the United States during any war between the United States and any other nation and who shall have been discharged or released therefrom on conditions other than dishonorable. "Deceased servicemen" shall mean men or women who served in the land or naval forces of the United States during any war between the United States and any other nation and who died in service before the termination of such war.

LOCAL COMMITTEES TO ASSIST SECRETARY

SEC. 508. (a) For the purposes of this subsection and subsection (b) of this section, the Secretary may use the services of any existing committee of farmers operating (pursuant to laws or regulations carried out by the Department of Agriculture) in any county or parish in which activities are carried on under this title. In any county or parish in which activities are carried on under this title and in which no existing satisfactory committee is available, the Secretary is authorized to appoint a committee composed of three persons residing in the county or parish. Each member of such existing or newly appointed committee shall be allowed compensation at the rate of $5 per day while engaged in the performance of duties under this title and, in addition, shall be allowed such amounts as the Secretary may prescribe for necessary traveling and subsistence expenses. One member of the committee shall be designated by the Secretary as chairman. The Secretary shall prescribe rules governing the procedures of the committees, furnish forms and equipment necessary for the performance of their duties, and authorize and provide for the compensation of such clerical assistance as he deems may be required by any committee.

(b) The committees utilized or appointed pursuant to this section shall examine applications of persons desiring to obtain the benefits of this title and shall submit recommendations to the Secretary with respect to each applicant as to whether the applicant is eligible to receive the benefits of this title, whether by reason of his character, ability, and experience, he is likely successfully to carry out undertakings required of him under a loan or grant under this title, and whether the farm with respect to which the application is made is of such character that there is a reasonable likelihood that the making of the loan or grant requested will carry out the purposes of this title. The committees shall also certify to the Secretary their opinions of the reasonable values of the farms. The committees shall, in addition, perform such other duties under this title as the Secretary may require.

GENERAL POWERS OF SECRETARY

SEC. 509. (a) The Secretary, for the purposes of this title, shall have the power to determine and prescribe the standards of adequate farm housing and other buildings, by farms or localities, taking into consideration, among other factors, the type of housing which will provide decent, safe, and sanitary dwelling for the needs of the family using the housing, the type and character of the farming operations to be conducted, and the size and earning capacity of the land.

(b) The Secretary may require any recipient of a loan or grant to agree that the availability of improvements constructed or repaired with the proceeds of the loan or grant under this title shall not be a justification for directly or indirectly changing the terms or conditions of the lease or occupancy agreement with the occupants of such farms to the latter's disadvantage without the approval of the Secretary.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

SEC. 510. In carrying out the provisions of this title, the Secretary shall have the power to—

(a) make contracts for services and supplies without regard to the provisions of section 3709 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, when the aggregate amount involved is less than $300;

(b) enter into subordination, subrogation, or other agreements satisfactory to the Secretary;

(c) compromise claims and obligations arising out of sections 502 to 505, inclusive, of this title and adjust and modify the terms of mortgages, leases, contracts, and agreements entered into as circumstances may require, including the release from personal liability, without payments of further consideration, of—

(1) borrowers who have transferred their farms to other approved applicants for loans who have agreed to assume the outstanding indebtedness to the Secretary under this title; and

(2) borrowers who have transferred their farms to other approved applicants for loans who have agreed to assume that portion of the outstanding indebtedness to the Secretary under this title which is equal to the earning capacity value of the farm at the time of the transfer, and borrowers whose farms have been acquired by the Secretary, in cases where the Secretary determines that the original borrowers have cooperated in good faith with the Secretary, have farmed in a workmanlike manner, used due diligence to maintain the security against loss, and otherwise fulfilled the covenants incident to their loans, to the best of their abilities;

(d) collect all claims and obligations arising out of or under any mortgage, lease, contract, or agreement entered into pursuant to this title and, if in his judgment necessary and advisable, to pursue the same to final collection in any court having jurisdiction: *Provided*, That the prosecution and defense of all litigation under this title shall be conducted under the supervision of the Attorney General and the legal representation shall be by the United States attorneys for the districts, respectively, in which such litigation may arise and by such other attorney or attorneys as may, under law, be designated by the Attorney General;

(e) bid for and purchase at any foreclosure or other sale or otherwise to acquire the property pledged or mortgaged to secure a loan or other indebtedness owing under this title, to accept title to any property so purchased or acquired, to operate or lease such property for such period as may be necessary or advisable, to protect the interest of the United States therein and to sell or otherwise dispose of the property so purchased or acquired by such terms and for such considerations as the Secretary shall determine to be reasonable and to make loans as provided herein to provide adequate farm dwellings and buildings for the purchasers of such property;

(f) utilize with respect to the indebtedness arising from loans and payments made under this title, all the powers and authorities given to him under the Act approved December 20, 1944, entitled "An Act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to compromise, adjust, or cancel certain indebtedness, and for other purposes" (58 Stat. 836), as such Act now provides or may hereafter be amended;

(g) make such rules and regulations as he deems necessary to carry out the purposes of this title.

LOAN FUNDS

SEC. 511. The Secretary may issue notes and other obligations for purchase by the Secretary of the Treasury in such sums as the Congress may from time to time determine to make loans under this title (other than loans under section 504 (b)) not in excess of $25,000,000 on and after July 1, 1949, an additional $50,000,000 on and after July 1, 1950, an additional $75,000,000 on and after July 1, 1951, and an additional $100,000,000 on and after July 1, 1952. The notes and obligations issued by the Secretary shall be secured by the obligations of borrowers and the Secretary's commitments to make contributions under this title and shall be repaid from the payment of principal and interest on the obligations of the borrowers and from funds appropriated hereunder. The notes and other obligations issued by the Secretary shall be in such forms and denominations, shall have such maturities, and shall be subject to such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by the Secretary with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. Such notes or obligations shall bear interest at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the current average rate on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States as of the last day of the month preceding the issuance of the notes or obligations by the Secretary. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to purchase any notes and other obligations of the Secretary issued hereunder and for such purpose is authorized to use as a public debt transaction the proceeds from the sale of any securities issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended, and the purposes for which securities may be issued under such Act are extended to include any purchases of such obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury may at any time sell any of the notes or obligations acquired by him under this section. All redemptions, purchases, and sales by the Secretary of the Treasury of such notes or obligations shall be treated as public debt transactions of the United States.

CONTRIBUTIONS

SEC. 512. In connection with loans made pursuant to section 503, the Secretary is authorized, on and after July 1, 1949, to make commitments for contributions aggregating not to exceed $500,000 per annum and to make additional commitments, on and after July 1 of each of the years 1950, 1951, and 1952, respectively, which shall require additional contributions aggregating not more than $1,000,000, $1,500,000, and $2,000,000 per annum, respectively.

SEC. 513. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary (a) such sums as may be necessary to meet payments on notes or other obligations issued by the Secretary under section 511 equal to (i) the aggregate of the contributions made by the Secretary in the form of credits on principal due on loans made pursuant to section 503, and (ii) the interest due on a similar sum represented by notes or other obligations issued by the Secretary; (b) an additional $2,000,000 for grants pursuant to section 504 (a) and loans pursuant to section 504 (b) on and after July 1, 1949, which amount shall be increased

by further amounts of $5,000,000, $8,000,000, and $10,000,000 on July 1 of each of the years 1950, 1951, and 1952, respectively; and (c) such further sums as may be necessary to enable the Secretary to carry out the provisions of this title.

TITLE VI—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

ADVISORY COMMITTEES

SEC. 601. The Housing and Home Finance Administrator may appoint such advisory committee or committees as he may deem necessary in carrying out his functions, powers, and duties, under this or any other Act. Service as a member of any such committee shall not constitute any form of service or employment within the provisions of sections 281, 283, or 284 of title 18 United States Code.

AMENDMENTS OF NATIONAL BANKING ACT

SEC. 602. (a) The last sentence of paragraph Seventh of section 5136 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, is amended by inserting before the colon, after the words "obligations of national mortgage associations", a comma and the following: "or such obligations of any local public agency (as defined in section 110 (h) of the Housing Act of 1949) as are secured by an agreement between the local public agency and the Housing and Home Finance Administrator in which the local public agency agrees to borrow from said Administrator, and said Administrator agrees to lend to said local public agency, prior to the maturity of such obligations (which obligations shall have a maturity of not more than eighteen months), monies in an amount which (together with any other monies irrevocably committed to the payment of interest on such obligations) will suffice to pay the principal of such obligations with interest to maturity thereon, which monies under the terms of said agreement are required to be used for the purpose of paying the principal of and the interest on such obligations at their maturity, or such obligations of a public housing agency (as defined in the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended) as are secured either (1) by an agreement between the public housing agency and the Public Housing Administration in which the public housing agency agrees to borrow from the Public Housing Administration, and the Public Housing Administration agrees to lend to the public housing agency, prior to the maturity of such obligations (which obligations shall have a maturity of not more than eighteen months), monies in an amount which (together with any other monies irrevocably committed to the payment of interest on such obligations) will suffice to pay the principal of such obligations with interest to maturity thereon, which monies under the terms of said agreement are required to be used for the purpose of paying the principal of and the interest on such obligations at their maturity, or (2) by a pledge of annual contributions under an annual contributions contract between such public housing agency and the Public Housing Administration if such contract shall contain the covenant by the Public Housing Administration which is authorized by subsection (b) of section 22 of the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, and if the maximum sum and the maximum period specified in such contract pursuant to said subsection 22 (b)

shall not be less than the annual amount and the period for payment which are requisite to provide for the payment when due of all installments of principal and interest on such obligations".

(b) Section 5200 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(11) Obligations of a local public agency (as defined in section 110 (h) of the Housing Act of 1949) or of a public housing agency (as defined in the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended) which have a maturity of not more than eighteen months shall not be subject under this section to any limitation, if such obligations are secured by an agreement between the obligor agency and the Housing and Home Finance Administrator or the Public Housing Administration in which the agency agrees to borrow from the Administrator or Administration, and the Administrator or Administration agrees to lend to the agency, prior to the maturity of such obligations, monies in an amount which (together with any other monies irrevocably committed to the payment of interest on such obligations) will suffice to pay the principal of such obligations with interest to maturity, which monies under the terms of said agreement are required to be used for that purpose.".

NATIONAL HOUSING COUNCIL

SEC. 603. The Secretary of Labor or his designee, and the Federal Security Administrator or his designee, shall hereafter be included in the membership of the National Housing Council in the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

AMENDMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS APPROPRIATION ACT, 1948, AND THE GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS APPROPRIATION ACT, 1949

SEC. 604. (a) The second proviso in the paragraph under the heading "Federal Public Housing Authority" in title I of the Government Corporations Appropriation Act, 1948, is hereby repealed as of July 1, 1947.

(b) The second proviso in the paragraph under the heading "Public Housing Administration" in title I of the Government Corporations Appropriation Act, 1949, is hereby repealed as of July 1, 1948.

(c) The first proviso in the paragraph under the subheading "Public Housing Administration" in title II of the Government Corporations Appropriation Act, 1949, is hereby repealed.

DEPUTY HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE ADMINISTRATOR

SEC. 605. The Housing and Home Finance Administrator shall appoint a Deputy Housing and Home Finance Administrator, and the basic rate of compensation of such position shall be the same as the basic rate of compensation established for the heads of the constituent agencies of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. The Deputy Administrator shall act as Administrator during the absence or disability of the Administrator or in the event of a vacancy in that office, and shall perform such other duties as the Administrator shall direct.

CONVERSION OF STATE LOW-RENT OR VETERANS' HOUSING PROJECTS

SEC. 606. Any low-rent or veterans' housing project undertaken or constructed under a program of a State or any political subdivision thereof shall be approved as a low-rent housing project under the terms of the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, if (a) a contract for State financial assistance for such project was entered into on or after January 1, 1948, and prior to January 1, 1950, (b) the project is or can become eligible for assistance by the Public Housing Administration in the form of loans and annual contributions under the provisions of the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, and (c) the public housing agency operating the project in the State makes application to the Public Housing Administration for Federal assistance for the project under the terms of the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended: *Provided*, That loans made by the Public Housing Administration for the purpose of so converting the project to a project with Federal assistance shall be deemed, for the purposes of the provisions of section 9 and other sections of the United States Housing Act of 1937, to be loans to assist the development of the project. Section 503 of the Housing Act of 1948 is hereby repealed.

CENSUS OF HOUSING

SEC. 607. (a) The Director of the Census is authorized and directed to take a census of housing in each State, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Alaska, in the year 1950 and decennially thereafter in conjunction with, at the same time, and as a part of the population inquiry of the decennial census in order to provide information concerning the number, characteristics (including utilities and equipment), and geographical distribution of dwelling units in the United States. The Director of the Census is authorized to collect such supplementary statistics (either in advance of or after the taking of such census) as are necessary to the completion thereof.

(b) All of the provisions, including penalties, of the Act providing for the fifteenth and subsequent decennial censuses, approved June 18, 1929, as amended (U. S. C., title 13, ch. 4), shall apply to the taking of the census provided for in subsection (a) of this section.

NATIONAL CAPITAL HOUSING AUTHORITY

SEC. 608. Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, the National Capital Housing Authority is hereby authorized to acquire sites within the District of Columbia for low-rent public housing projects assisted under the provisions of the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA PARTICIPATION

SEC. 609. To make available to the District of Columbia, and to authorize the appropriate agencies operating therein to accept, the benefits provided by titles I and III of this Act, the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1945 is hereby amended by renumbering sections 20, 21, and 22 thereof as sections 21, 22, and 23, respectively, and by adding after section 19 a new section to read as follows:

"SEC. 20. (a) As an alternative method of financing its authorized

operations and functions under the provisions of this Act (in addition to that provided in section 16 of this Act), the Agency is hereby authorized and empowered to accept financial assistance from the Housing and Home Finance Administrator (hereafter in this section referred to as the Administrator), in the form of advances of funds, loans, and capital grants pursuant to title I of the Housing Act of 1949, to assist the Agency in acquiring real property for redevelopment of project areas and carrying out any functions authorized under this Act for which advances of funds, loans, or capital grants may be made to a local public agency under title I of the Housing Act of 1949, and the Agency, subject to the approval of the District Commissioners and subject to such terms, covenants, and conditions as may be prescribed by the Administrator pursuant to title I of the Housing Act of 1949, may enter into such contracts and agreements as may be necessary, convenient, or desirable for such purposes.

"(b) Subject to the approval of the District Commissioners, the Agency is authorized to accept from the Administrator advances of funds for surveys and plans in preparation of a project or projects authorized by this Act which may be assisted under title I of the Housing Act of 1949, and the Agency is authorized to transfer to the Planning Commission so much of the funds so advanced as the District Commissioners shall determine to be necessary for the Planning Commission to carry out its functions under this Act with respect to the project or projects to be assisted under title I of the Housing Act of 1949.

"(c) The District Commissioners are authorized to include in their annual estimates of appropriations items for administrative expenses which, in addition to loan or other funds available therefor, are necessary for the Agency in carrying out its functions under this section.

"(d) Notwithstanding the limitation contained in the last sentence of section 110 (d) or in any other provision of title I of the Housing Act of 1949, the Administrator is authorized to allow and credit to the Agency such local grants-in-aid as are approvable pursuant to said section 110 (d) with respect to any project or projects undertaken by the Agency under a contract or contracts entered into under this section and assisted under title I of the Housing Act of 1949. In the event such local grants-in-aid as are so allowed by the Administrator are not sufficient to meet the requirements for local grants-in-aid pursuant to title I of the Housing Act of 1949, the District Commissioners are hereby authorized to enter into agreements with the Agency, upon which agreements the Administrator may rely, to make cash payments of such deficiencies from funds of the District of Columbia. The District Commissioners shall include items for such cash payments in their annual estimates of appropriations, and there are hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the amounts necessary to provide for such cash payments. Any amounts due the Administrator pursuant to any such agreements shall be paid promptly from funds appropriated for such purpose.

"(e) All receipts of the Agency in connection with any project or projects financed in accordance with this section with assistance under title I of the Housing Act of 1949, whether in the form of advances of funds, loans, or capital grants made by the Administrator to the Agency, or in the form of proceeds, rentals, or revenues derived by

the Agency from any such project or projects, shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of a special fund or funds, and all moneys in such special fund or funds are hereby made available for carrying out the purposes of this Act with respect to such project or projects, including the payment of any advances of funds or loans, together with interest thereon, made by the Administrator or by private sources to the Agency. Expenditures from such fund shall be audited, disbursed, and accounted for as are other funds of the District of Columbia.

"(f) With respect to any project or projects undertaken by the Agency which are financed in accordance with this section with assistance under title I of the Housing Act of 1949—

"(1) sections 3 (f), 3 (k), and 7 (g), and the last sentence of section 6 (b) (2) of this Act shall not be applicable to those pieces of real property which, in accordance with the approved project area redevelopment plan, are to be devoted to public housing to be undertaken under Public Law 307, Seventy-third Congress, approved June 12, 1934, as amended;

"(2) the site and use plan for the redevelopment of the area, included in the redevelopment plan of the project area pursuant to section 6 (b) (2) of this Act, shall include the approximate extent and location of any land within the area which is proposed to be used for public housing to be undertaken under Public Law 307, Seventy-third Congress, approved June 12, 1934, as amended;

"(3) notwithstanding any other provisions of this Act, the Agency, pursuant to section 7 (a) of this Act, shall have power to transfer to and shall at a practicable time or times transfer by deeds to the National Capital Housing Authority those pieces of real property which, in accordance with the approved project area redevelopment plan, are to be devoted to public housing to be undertaken under Public Law 307, Seventy-third Congress, approved June 12, 1934, as amended, and, in accordance with the requirements of section 107 of the Housing Act of 1949, the National Capital Housing Authority shall pay for the same out of any of its funds available for such acquisition.

"(g) It is the purpose and intent of this section to authorize the District Commissioners and the appropriate agencies operating within the District of Columbia to do any and all things necessary to secure financial aid under title I of the Housing Act of 1949. The District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency is hereby declared to be a local public agency for all of the purposes of title I of the Housing Act of 1949. As such a local public agency for all of the purposes of title I of the Housing Act of 1949, the Agency is also authorized to borrow money from the Administrator or from private sources as contemplated by title I of the Housing Act of 1949, to issue its obligations evidencing such loans, and to pledge as security for the payment of such loans, and the interest thereon, the property, income, revenues, and other assets acquired in connection with the project or projects financed in accordance with this section with assistance under title I of the Housing Act of 1949, but such obligations or such pledge shall not constitute a debt or obligation of either the United States or of the District of Columbia.

"(h) Nothing contained in this section or in any other section of

this Act shall relieve the Administrator of his responsibilities and duties under section 105 (c) or any other section of the Housing Act of 1949. The Administrator shall not enter into any contract of financial assistance under title I of this Act with respect to any project of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency for which a budget estimate of appropriation was transmitted pursuant to law and for which no appropriation was made by the Congress."

ACT CONTROLLING

SEC. 610. Insofar as the provisions of any other law are inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, the provisions of this Act shall be controlling.

SEPARABILITY

SEC. 611. Except as may be otherwise expressly provided in this Act, all powers and authorities conferred by this Act shall be cumulative and additional to and not in derogation of any powers and authorities otherwise existing. Notwithstanding any other evidences of the intention of Congress, it is hereby declared to be the controlling intent of Congress that if any provisions of this Act, or the application thereof to any persons or circumstances, shall be adjudged by any court of competent jurisdiction to be invalid, such judgment shall not affect, impair, or invalidate the remainder of this Act or its applications to other persons and circumstances, but shall be confined in its operation to the provisions of this Act or the application thereof to the persons and circumstances directly involved in the controversy in which such judgment shall have been rendered.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 612. No part of any appropriation, loan, fund, or expenditure authorized by or provided pursuant to this Act, shall be used directly or indirectly to pay the salary or wages of any officer or employee of the Housing and Home Finance Agency or the Department of Agriculture who engages in a strike against the Government of the United States or who is a member of an organization of Government employees that asserts the right to strike against the Government of the United States, or who advocates, or is a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence: *Provided*, That for the purposes hereof an affidavit shall be considered prima facie evidence that the officer or employee making the affidavit has not contrary to the provisions of this section engaged in a strike against the Government of the United States, is not a member of an organization of Government employees that asserts the right to strike against the Government of the United States, or that such officer or employee does not advocate, and is not a member of an organization that advocates, the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence: *Provided further*, That any person who engages in a strike against the Government of the United States or who is a member of an organization of Government employees that asserts the right to strike against the Government of the United States, or who advocates, or who is a member of an organization that advocates,

the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence and accepts an office or employment in the Housing and Home Finance Agency or the Department of Agriculture the salary or wages for which are paid from any appropriation, loan, fund, or expenditure authorized by or provided pursuant to this Act shall be guilty of a felony and, upon conviction, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both: *Provided further*, That the above penalty clause shall be in addition to, and not in substitution for, any other provisions of existing law.

Approved July 15, 1949.

THE HOUSING ACT OF 1949

Questions and Answers

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GENERAL SUMMARY

Q. What is the purpose of the Housing Act of 1949?

A. The Housing Act of 1949 establishes a comprehensive national housing policy and objective, provides Federal financial assistance for slum clearance, low-rent public housing and farm housing, and authorizes a comprehensive Federal program of housing research. Its purpose is to meet, in cooperation with local communities, housing needs which cannot be served by private enterprise, even with available Federal financing aids. It also extends temporarily certain private financing aids which expired June 30, 1949.

Q. What is the Declaration of National Housing Policy?

A. The Declaration of National Housing Policy establishes, for the first time, a statement of national housing objectives and policies to be followed in their attainment, applicable to all Federal housing activities. The basic objective is stated as the realization as soon as feasible of a decent home in a suitable environment for every American family. In the attainment of that objective, according to the statement, primary reliance shall be placed on and maximum assistance given to private enterprise, but Federal assistance is to be extended to those needs which cannot be met by reliance on private enterprise.

TITLE I - SLUM CLEARANCE

Q. What is the purpose of the slum clearance title?

A. To provide Federal financial assistance to local communities which desire to clear slums and blighted areas, in which millions of American families live under unhealthful and demoralizing conditions, and to make the land available for redevelopment in accordance with the best use of the land for the community's welfare and growth.

Q. What types of Federal assistance are made available?

A. Two types of Federal financial assistance are provided as follows:

1. Repayable loans, which may not aggregate more than $1 billion at any one time, to finance local costs of acquiring, clearing, and preparing the sites for redevelopment. The interest rate may be not less than the going rate for Federal bonds of 10 years or more maturity.

2. Grants, which may not aggregate more than $500,000,000, which may be used to absorb up to two-thirds of the loss, or net cost, which generally will be realized from the slum clearance operation.

Q. Who operates the slum clearance program?

A. Local public agencies, authorized under state law and directed generally by boards of citizens appointed by local governing officials, will have responsibility for operating slum clearance programs. Subject to the approval of local governing bodies, these agencies will acquire the sites by negotiation or condemnation, clear the land, prepare the sites, and sell or lease the land for redevelopment in accordance with local plans. The Federal government's role is limited to providing the financial assistance as authorized in the bill and to seeing that the purposes of the Act are achieved. This role is assigned to the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Q. How will a typical slum clearance project be financed under this title?

A. Let us assume a 50-acre project in a moderate-sized city. Let us assume further that the capital cost of acquisition, clearance and site preparation will be $2,500,000 and that the land is sold for a total price of $1,000,000. The loss, or net cost of the project, would thus be $1,500,000.

The expenditures of the local public agency, or any part required, could be financed with a temporary Federal loan. This loan would be retired on completion of the project from the proceeds of the sale of the land and from the Federal and local grants covering the loss.

The loss of $1,500,000 would be shared by the Federal and local grants. The Federal grant could cover up to two-thirds of the loss, or $1,000,000, and the local contribution would have to cover the remaining $500,000, or at least one-third of the loss. The local contribution could be in the form of cash or essential local public facilities (except public housing) and services provided in connection with the development or redevelopment of the area (such as utilities, street work, municipal labor or equipment).

If any part of the cleared land is leased instead of sold for redevelopment, the leased portion could be refinanced at its reuse value with long-term Federal loan, repayable in not more than 40 years.

Federal loans (but not grants) may be used also to finance the acquisition of open land (to permit the desired dispersion of population from slum areas) and to provide temporary financing for certain public facilities essential for the development of such land.

Q. May Federal funds made available under this title be used for housing construction?

A. No.

Q. What is the relationship of the slum clearance program to housing?

A. The Act clearly recognizes that the primary purpose for Federal assistance is the assurance of better living conditions for slum dwellers. The slum clearance program is therefore a part of an Act which has as one of its principal purposes the provision of decent housing for low-income families, who make up the bulk of slum dwellers. Specifically, the Act requires assurance of adequate housing for families displaced in slum clearance projects and provides preference for such families in public housing projects assisted under Title III. It also limits Federal assistance to areas which consist predominantly of residential slums (which may be redeveloped for any use or combination of uses) or to other areas if such other areas are to be redeveloped for predominantly residential use.

Q. Will the cleared slum sites be redeveloped with public housing?

A. The Act requires that in their redevelopment plans the local agencies give maximum opportunity to private enterprise. There will undoubtedly be cases where the local communities will determine that the most feasible use of some of the land will be for low-rent public housing. In such cases the public housing projects will be charged the reuse value of the land on the same basis as private redevelopers.

TITLE II - AMENDMENTS TO THE NATIONAL HOUSING ACT

Q. What is the purpose of these amendments to the National Housing Act?

A. To assure the continuing availability of certain types of loans insured by the Federal Housing Administration for the financing of housing construction and improvement, while Congress is considering, in separate legislation, longer term improvements and revisions in financing aids for private homebuilding and finance.

Specifically this Act extends to September 1, 1949, the authority of the Federal Housing Administration to insure loans financing repairs, modernization, alterations or small house construction under Title I of the National Housing Act and to insure mortgages financing the provision of rental housing under Title VI of the National Housing Act. This insurance authority had expired on June 30, 1949.

The Act also increases by $500,000,000 the amount of FHA mortgage insurance which may be outstanding under Title II of the National Housing Act to finance sales and rental housing. The previous insurance authority of $5 billion had been practically used up.

TITLE III - LOW-RENT PUBLIC HOUSING

Q. What is the purpose of the public housing title?

A. To make available Federal financial assistance to urban and rural non-farm communities desiring to provide decent housing for families which, because of their low incomes, are presently forced to live in slums and other bad housing.

Q. How much low-rent public housing may be assisted under this Act?

A. 810,000 dwelling units. These units may be started at the rate of 135,000 per year, over 6 years beginning July 1, 1949, unless the annual rate is increased or decreased by the President as authorized under the bill.

Q. Is this a new program?

A. No. The public housing title expands and amends the United States Housing Act of 1937. Under this and related acts, 191,700 dwellings have been provided in 268 localities, located in 37 states and in the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

Q. Who operates the public housing program?

A. Local housing authorities, authorized and established under state laws and governed by citizen boards appointed generally by local governing officials, have responsibility for initiating, constructing and operating the low-rent public housing projects. The local programs must be approved by local governing bodies. The Federal government's role is limited to the provision of financial assistance and seeing that the purposes of the bill are achieved. This role is assigned to the Public Housing Administration, a constituent agency of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Q. What types of Federal assistance are authorized?

A. Two types of Federal assistance are authorized, as follows:

1. $700,000,000 in repayable loans, increasing the present $800,000,000 loan authorization to $1,500,000,000 which is placed on a revolving fund basis. The interest rate may not be less than the going rate of interest on Federal bonds of 10 years or more maturity.

2. Annual contributions not in excess of $308,000,000 per year, payable for not more than 40 years.

Q. How will the capital cost of the low-rent public housing projects be financed?

A. Under the perfecting amendments of this Act, it is expected that local housing authorities will be able to obtain their capital financing through the sale of securities at low interest rates in the private bond market. Long-term bonds, amortized over not more than 40 years, may be secured by the pledge of Federal annual contributions sufficient to cover interest and payments on principal. Temporary notes financing construction may be secured by a contractual agreement of the Federal government to refinance such notes on maturity. It is to provide adequate security for such private temporary financing that the loan authorization is increased to $1,500,000,000.

Q. In what ways are the costs of the public housing limited?

A. Limitations on the capital cost include the following:

a. The requirements that the projects be of economical and unelaborate design, materials and construction, and that the Federal government approve construction contracts before they are awarded.

b. The specific limitation of average construction cost, in a project, to $1,750 per room for the dwelling facilities. This limitation may be increased to not more than $2,500 per room where necessary in certain high cost areas.

c. The limitations on annual contributions. The commitments for annual contributions may not exceed, at the current level of Federal interest rates, 4½ per cent of the total cost of a project, including all construction, land, site preparation and overhead. Thus the maximum contributions authorization of $308,000,000 per year will permit a total construction cost of not more than $6,844,000,000 ($308,000,000 capitalized at 4½ per cent). For 810,000 units the average total cost per unit may not exceed $8,450.

Q. How will low rents be achieved?

A. Through the annual Federal contributions, through local tax exemption (less payments in lieu of taxes of up to 10 per cent of annual shelter rents) and through low financing costs. On a project having a total cost of $8,450 per unit, the Federal contribution could average $31.69 per unit per month. Assuming a monthly project cost of $47.23 per month, including operating costs, payments in lieu of taxes of 10 per cent of shelter rents and debt service, the maximum contribution would permit an average shelter rent as low as $15.54 per month, or a gross rent, including utilities, of $22.54 per month. Since there will be a range in rents charged, the rents on some of the apartments in this typical project could be substantially below this average.

Q. Will the maximum contribution be paid every year?

A. No. Except in years when tenant incomes are unusually low, it is expected that the average rents will be somewhat higher than the achievable minimum. Thus, the average low income tenant in the average community will be able to pay an average of $23 per month shelter rent, instead of $15.54 as shown in the example previously cited. This will reduce the annual Federal contribution to $24.23 per unit per month, or 77 per cent of the maximum.

Q. How will the rents be determined?

A. Rents will be based on the paying ability of tenants. The bill requires that the incomes of families on admission, less an allowance of $100 annually for each child, not exceed five times the gross rent, including utilities. Thus a family with three children which has an annual income of $1,800 per year would be required to pay a gross rent of at least $300 annually ($1,800 minus $300 divided by 5), or $25 per month. This rent will be adjusted upward or downward in accordance with changes in family income as shown in periodic reexaminations.

Q. How is the eligibility of tenants determined?

A. The United States Housing Act of 1937 limits occupancy of low-rent housing projects to families living in slums and bad housing whose incomes are so low that they may not obtain decent private housing in their communities. This limitation was modified during the war to permit the housing of essential war workers. Since the war, reconversion to a strictly low-rent purpose has been largely achieved. Families admitted to low-rent projects during the first half of 1948 had a median income of $1,481 and families already residing in the projects had a median income of $1,884, despite the continued presence of over-income families whose removal had not been accomplished because of the housing shortage.

The Housing Act of 1949 contains additional provisions to assure that occupancy will be limited to low income families unable to find decent private housing. Rents on admission (which, as explained in the previous answer, limit incomes) must be at least 20 per cent below the lowest rents at which an adequate supply of decent private housing, new or used, is available in the respective communities. Thus, if the lowest rent at which decent 2-bedroom apartments or houses are generally available in the communities is $37.50 per month, including utilities, a similar low-rent public housing unit could not be offered to a new tenant at more than $30 (and the family's income at admission could not exceed $1,800 per year, plus the allowance for children).

The Act also requires that families be admitted in accordance with the urgency of their housing needs and that there be no discrimination against welfare families. This requirement is subject to stated preferences. First preference is to be given to low-income families displaced in slum clearance projects.

Among such preferred families, as well as among other low-income families, disabled veterans, families of deceased veterans and servicemen and other veterans and servicemen, shall have preference in the order named. These preferences are applicable to veterans of both World War I and II. For a period of 5 years families of veterans and servicemen do not have to come from substandard housing, as required of other families.

Local housing authorities are required to establish maximum income limits, approved by the Federal government, for admission and continued occupancy (similar to those now in effect), to reexamine incomes of tenant families periodically and to obtain the removal of those families whose incomes have passed the maximum limits set for continued occupancy. Thus a family with three children, in a typical case, might be admitted if its income is less than the established limit of $2,100 for admission and continue to reside in the project until its income exceeds the established limit of $2,400 for continued occupancy.

Q. Is the low-rent public housing program limited to large cities?

A. No. Of the 268 localities in which present low-rent public housing is located, 104 had a 1940 population of less than 25,000. In addition to specifying that aids be available for housing in both urban and rural non-farm areas, the Act specifically reserves 10 per cent of the annual contributions authorization for three years after the amounts are made available. Enabling acts in a number of the states authorize regional housing authorities for economical operation of housing scattered in various small localities.

TITLE IV - HOUSING RESEARCH

Q. What is the purpose of the Federal research program authorized in Title IV?

A. To provide a comprehensive Federal housing research program. This program is directed to the encouragement of better housing at lower costs through improved techniques, materials and methods and through improved building codes and includes the development of more adequate housing data and standards.

Q. Who will conduct the research program?

A. The Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency has responsibility for the housing research program. The Act, however, directs him to utilize to the fullest extent, available facilities elsewhere in the Federal government and authorizes him to cooperate with industry and labor, with State and local agencies and with educational institutions and other non-profit organizations.

TITLE V - FARM HOUSING

Q. What is the purpose of the farm housing program in Title V?

A. To provide Federal financial assistance, in the form of loans, subsidies and grants, for the provision and improvement of housing and other farm buildings for farm owners who are otherwise unable to finance them for themselves or their farm tenants and workers and also to provide research and adequate data on farm housing.

Q. May housing for farm workers not living on the farms be financed under this title?

A. No. Such farm workers of low income may be housed in low-rent public housing projects in rural areas provided under Title III of this Act.

Q. Who operates the farm housing program?

A. The Secretary of Agriculture who shall utilize, in the case of financial aids, the Farmers Home Administration. The Secretary is authorized to utilize and to compensate local committees of farmers for the examination of applications and the submission of recommendations.

Q. What types of financial aid for farm housing will be available?

A. The financial aids will be available as follows:

a. Loans for Adequate Farms — A farm owner whose income is considered sufficient to carry the payments but who is unable to obtain credit elsewhere may be eligible to receive a 33-year loan at 4 per cent interest to finance the provision of housing or other farm buildings for himself and his farm workers. The loan will be secured by the farmer's equity in the farm, or other such security as the Secretary of Agriculture may require, and thus will not impair the security of existing mortgage indebtedness on the farm.

b. Loans and Subsidies for Potentially Adequate Farms -- A farmer whose income is insufficient to carry a loan as described above, but whose income could be sufficiently increased within five years through a program of farm improvement or enlargement may be eligible to receive, in addition to the previously described loan, annual subsidies for not more than 5 years covering the amount of the inadequacies but not exceeding the annual payments of interest and half the annual payments of principal on the loan.

c. Loans and Grants for Inadequate Farms -- In such cases loans and grants will be available only to finance minimum improvements on the owner's property, such as a new roof, privy, or screens, which are essential to health and safety. The total amount available to any individual may not exceed $1,000 of which not more than $500 may be a grant.

d. Loans to finance the enlargement or development of farms in order that the incomes of the farmers may become sufficient to support adequate housing and other farm buildings.

To finance these aids the Act authorizes Congress to make available to the Secretary of Agriculture first, $250,000,000 in loan funds for the purposes described in (a), (b) and (c) above; second, appropriations for annual contributions as described in (b), for which commitments may not exceed $5,000,000 per year; and third, up to $25,000,000 for grants as described in (c) and for loans as described in (d).

# # # #

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Farmers Home Administration

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON RURAL HOUSING

SECTION OF HOUSING ACT OF 1949

Q-1 What does the legislation provide?

A-1 It has six titles. Title V provides loans and grants and other assistance to improve farm housing and buildings. The other five titles deal with the improvement of urban housing.

Q-2 How great is the need for rural housing?

A-2 The most recent complete survey was prepared in 1945 by the Department of Agriculture Interbureau Committee on Post-War Programs and submitted to the Senate Special Committee in Post-War Economic Policy and Planning. Much of the information contained in it is based on 1940 census data which show the following selected characteristics:

ITEM	Rural Percentage	Urban
Overcrowding (more than 1.5 persons per room)	16%	6%
Having electric lighting	32%	96%
Having running water	18%	94%
Private flush toilet	11%	83%
Private bath	12%	78%

According to the census data about 2.5 to 3 million farm houses did not meet the Housing Act standard of "decent, safe, and sanitary" housing. The report goes on to say "An important reason for inadequate farm housing has been the lack of sufficiently remunerative employment to pay for better structures. For the country as a whole it appears reasonable to assume that unless a family was able to produce at least $1,500 gross farm income per year under 1939 conditions, it was not able to finance an acceptable dwelling from farm income". One clue to the present need for farm housing is the fact that nearly three million farm families grossed less than $1,500 farm income by 1945 census data; and the number would be even greater if we converted the 1945 income to 1939 purchasing power. A second reason for the continued need for improved farm housing has been the inability to obtain materials, labor, or equipment for such construction during the war and immediate post-war years, so that existing bad housing has continued to deteriorate.

Q-3 Has there been any improvement in rural housing since the 1940 census?

A-3 Yes. Sample surveys made by the BAE in 1947 indicated that new houses were under construction on 240,000 of the Nation's six million farms and 23 percent of the farmers interviewed reported some form of construction or repair to their dwellings. However, 67.3 percent of the rural farm dwellings still lacked running water, 80 percent lacked a bath and flush toilet, 40 percent lacked electric lights, and 10 percent were overcrowded.

Q-4 Will this gradual improvement solve the problem?

A-4 No. The figures do not show that construction is taking place on the farms of those who would be helped most by the housing legislation--those who are unable to obtain private financing.

Q-5 Why was it necessary to deal with rural housing separately in the legislation?

A-5 While assistance to families of low income in rural areas formerly was authorized under provisions of the United States Housing Act of 1937, the special and different problems of farm housing require special provisions. In the Housing Act of 1949 it is recognized that an intimate relationship exists between farm housing and the entire farm economy--that the farm house and buildings are really a part of the farm.

Q-6 How is this done?

A-6 By authorizing the Department of Agriculture rather than the Housing and Home Finance Agency to provide assistance to farm owners so that they may acquire adequate farm buildings. This makes possible an integrated farm program which provides adequate housing as part of the total farm economy.

Q-7 What rural housing loans will the Department of Agriculture be able to provide under the Act?

A-7 Section 501 authorizes the Secretary to provide loans to farm owners (in the United States, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands) to enable them to provide decent farm dwellings and buildings for themselves, their tenants, lessees, sharecroppers or laborers.

Q-8 May a tenant obtain this financial aid to erect needed housing on a farm which he is operating under lease?

A-8 No. The financial aid provisions are applicable only to owners of farms but an owner may get a loan to improve buildings occupied by a tenant.

Q-9 And may all farm owners participate in the provisions of this Act?

A-9 No. The law explicity limits such financial assistance to those owners who are without sufficient resources to provide the necessary housing on their own account and who are unable to secure credit necessary for such housing from other sources on terms and conditions which they could reasonably expect to fill.

Q-10 How large must a farm be to qualify an applicant for assistance?

A-10 For the purpose of this title, a farm is considered to mean a parcel or parcels of land operated as a single unit for the production of one or more agricultural commodities for sale or home use which have an annual gross value equivalent to at least $400 computed on 1944 commodity prices.

Q-11 What loan limits are set up in the bill?

A-11 There are no dollar limits specified in the Act. A farmer who has income sufficient to support a high cost house will be able to get his financing elsewhere.

Q-12 What are the terms of such financial assistance?

A-12 Section 502 authorizes loans for periods not in excess of 33 years, bearing interest at no more than 4 percent per year.

Q-13 What security must be given to obtain such loans?

A-13 The unpaid balance of the loan is secured by the owner's equity in his farm, and such additional security or collateral as may be necessary to reasonably assure repayment of the loan.

Q-14 Does that mean that a borrower may take the entire 33 years to repay his loan?

A-14 Not necessarily. The Act provides that the borrower shall refinance his indebtedness through cooperative or private credit sources whenever he is able to do so.

Q-15 Is a farmer eligible for assistance even though the present anticipated income from his farm and other sources would not repay the loan in the scheduled period?

A-15 Under certain conditions this is possible. Section 503 provides for aid to farm owners over and above the long-term low-interest credit provided in Section 502. If the farm enterprise is capable of being improved or enlarged or if farm practices can be adopted to bring the unit up to

adequate level of production within a reasonable period of time (not to exceed 5 years) loan assistance provided under Section 502 may be supplemented by annual contributions. All such contributions shall take the form of credits against the installments of interest and principal due for the period, and may be no larger than the total annual interest plus half the annual principal installment due. Such contributions shall be made only if the owner is unable to make the full amortized annual payment, and if he is pursuing the plan of farm reorganization with due diligence.

Q-16 If the owner sells the farm before the repayment in full of the loan, what is the status of these "contributions" by the Department?

A-16 This agreement with respect to credits or principal and interest upon the borrower's indebtedness shall not be assignable nor accrue to the benefit of any third party without the written consent of the Secretary. The Secretary shall have the right, at his option, to cancel the agreement upon the sale of the farm or the execution of any lien given to the Secretary; or he may refuse to release the lien given the Secretary except on the payment of all original principal plus accrued interest if he determines that a release of the lien would benefit a person not eligible to receive such benefits.

Q-17 Can loans be made for the purchase or development of land?

A-17 Yes, when the land is needed to enlarge a farm or development such as clearing, draining, fencing or terracing is needed to enable the family to repay their housing loan.

Q-18 Is there any assistance available to the owner whose unit is not now an economic unit, and which seems unlikely to permit suitable development within the 5-year maximum allowable period?

A-18 Yes. Section 504 (a) provides for assistance in the form of special loans and grants to owner occupants for farm dwelling and building improvements in order to make his dwelling safe and sanitary and remove hazards to the health of the occupant, his family, or the community, and that repairs should be made to farm buildings in order to remove hazards and make such buildings safe.

Q-19 For what purposes can such loans and grants be made?

A-19 Loans and grants can be made to make roof repairs, provide toilet facilities, arrange for a sanitary water supply, provide structural supports, or make similar repairs.

Q-20 How large may such loans and grants be?

A-20 Such assistance is limited to a maximum of $1,000 to any one person of which no more than $500 may be in the form of grants.

Q-21 Does the research sections of Title IV include provisions for research in farm housing?

A-21 A separate section (506) has been set up under Title V to provide for farm research and technical services. This is to further permit the Secretary of Agriculture to have overall supervision of the entire rural phases of this housing bill. Section 506 authorizes the Secretary to furnish, without charge, or at such charges as he may determine, technical services such as building plans, specifications, construction supervision and inspection, and any necessary advice or information on rural dwellings or other farm buildings.

Q-22 Do veterans have preference for the services under this Act?

A-22 Yes, section 507 provides for preference to veterans and families of deceased servicemen. The Title defines a veteran as one who served in the military or naval services during any war between the United States and any other Nation, and received a discharge other than dishonorable. "Deceased servicemen" are defined as persons who died in service prior to the end of the war.

Q-23 What use is made of county committees in administration of the Act?

A-23 The committees certify as to the eligibility of the applicants and the adequacy and reasonable value of the farms. The county committees already active in the Farmers Home Administration program will perform this service.

Q-24 What further powers are given the Secretary under this Act?

A-24 The Secretary shall within the limitations set up in the Act itself, determine and prescribe the standards of adequate farm housing, individually and by localities. He shall take into consideration such factors as the best type of housing to provide decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings; the type and character of the farming operations; and the size and earning capacity of the land. Further, the Secretary may require the borrower to agree that any improvements so provided shall not be used as justification for increasing the cost of rent or otherwise changing terms of any lease he may have with tenant or sharecropper residing therein, to the disadvantage of the resident, without prior approval of the Secretary's office.

Q-25 List the appropriations which may be made under this Act.

A-25 The Secretary may issue notes and other obligations for purchase by the Secretary of Treasury in such sums as Congress may, from time to time, determine to be used for making loans under this Act. This sum shall not be in excess of $25 million on or after the first day of July, 1949,

an additional $50,000,000 on or after July 1, 1950; an additional $75,000,000 on or after the first day of July 1951, and an additional $100,000,000 on or after July 1, 1952. In connection with loans made pursuant to Section 503, the Secretary is authorized to make commitments for contributions not to exceed $500,000 per annum for five years on or after July 1, 1949; and this amount shall be progressively increased on July 1, 1950, 1951, and 1952 to $1 million, $1.5 million and $2 million respectively, or a total of $25,000,000. Further, there is authorized to be appropriated sufficient funds to make payments on notes issued by the Secretary covering contributions made pursuant to Section 503, and an additional amount for loans and grants made pursuant to Section 504 which shall be no more than $2 million, $5 million, $8 million, $10 million respectively for the years 1949, 1950, 1951, and 1952; plus such further sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Title.

Q-26 Who will do the work under the proposed legislation?

A-26 The bill authorizes the Secretary to extend financial assistance through the Farmers Home Administration. Economic research in farm housing is to be handled by BAE. Technical assistance and advice in farm housing will be provided by Extension Service. Technical research studies will be made by ARA.

Q-27 How will Farmers Home Administration perform its functions under the Act?

A-27 The loan and grant program will be handled at the county level by Farmers Home Administration committees and Farmers Home Administration county supervisors. It will operate in conjunction with the regular loaning programs, and the staff at the county level will be increased only to the extent necessary to handle the increased work load. All present personnel in the county office would be used to handle loan making and servicing. In the 40 Farmers Home Administration State Offices, additional construction engineers and farm appraisers would be added to provide such needed service on a state-wide basis, while in the National office a small staff of engineers and rural housing specialists would be formed. Additional employees in the four Area Finance offices would be necessary to handle the additional loan vouchers and accounting.

Q-28 What protection is given the borrower against losing his farm if he cannot meet payments on the housing loan?

A-28 If the farmer cannot meet his payments because of circumstances beyond his control, the Secretary may grant a moratorium for as long as necessary. In cases of extreme hardship, interest may be cancelled during the moratorium.

Q-29 When will provisions of the rural housing section of the Act become effective?

A-29 The financial and other services authorized in the rural housing section of the Act will become available shortly after funds are appropriated. All applications for financial assistance will be filed at the county offices of the Farmers Home Administration.

July, 1949

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

TITLE IV -- HOUSING RESEARCH

HOUSING ACT OF 1949

I. The Problem

II. The Scope of the Program

III. How It Is To Be Carried Out

IV. First Steps Under the Program

Housing and Home Finance Agency
Office of the Administrator
Washington 25, D. C.

July, 1949

Title IV - Housing Research

The Problem

For many years the chief obstacle to housing progress has been the rising cost of housing in relation to the purchasing power of most home-seekers. The problem of housing costs is complex and difficult, and has resisted the effect of most of the advances toward larger production and lower unit costs that have generally characterized the rest of our modern economy.

Almost everyone in the nation has a stake in an expanding housing market. First and most obvious is the consumer, seeking to better his housing within his financial means. Then there is the housing industry. Production and marketing of housing for rent and sale is one of our basic industries. A sustained large volume of housing production at moderate prices would not only provide an answer to the problem of a decent home for more of our families, but would also help to stabilize the entire economy. Workers would be assured of steadier work at good wages more weeks in the year, contractors a continuing market instead of past ups and downs, materials producers a stable market for their products, and mortgage lenders a protection against the wild fluctuations of past building booms and breaks.

The rise in the cost of housing in relation to the ability of most people to pay underlies the entire housing problem. This disparity has been recognized throughout Congressional studies and hearings on housing and has become particularly pronounced since the war.

The Joint Congressional Committee on Housing in its report on March 15, 1948, said: "This long-continued rise in costs reflects a lag in the productivity of our housing industry which makes it compare unfavorably with most other industries. . . In a relative sense our residential building technology has fallen behind. A vicious circle is created by this lag, in which the high costs resulting from an obsolescent technology make it harder and harder to give the public as much for its money in housing as in other commodities. . ."

The Committee in recommending a Federally coordinated program of housing research further said: "The progressive reduction of housing costs and expansion of the private housing market appear to lie in a coordinated program of technical research . . . Private industry cannot be expected to organize or carry out the comprehensive program of technical housing research that is needed, although many parts of what industry can and is doing in the general field can be fitted into such a program."

These statements, in brief, give the analysis of the housing cost problem on which the housing research program is authorized in the Housing Act of 1949 is based. The Act specifically includes in its statement of policy the following as national housing objectives:

1. The production of housing of sound standards of design, construction, livability, and size for adequate family life.

2. The reduction of the costs of housing without sacrifice of such sound standards.

3. The use of new designs, materials, techniques, and methods in residential construction, the use of standardized dimensions and methods of assembly of homebuilding materials and equipment, and the increase of efficiency in residential construction and maintenance.

4. The development of well-planned, integrated, residential neighborhoods and the development and redevelopment of communities.

5. The stabilization of the housing industry at a high annual volume residential construction.

The New Approach

Title IV of the Housing Act of 1949 authorizes for the first time a comprehensive and coordinated housing research program. It directs the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to carry out a program of research and studies concerned with housing economics and other housing market data and with the development, demonstration, and promotion of the acceptance of and application of new and improved building materials, methods, and techniques, directed toward increased and sustained production and lower costs.

The Scope of the Research Program

The Act authorizes economic and technical research in the housing field on a broad front. The scope of the program contemplated by the Act is indicated by the following fields of investigation and research that it specifically points out as being of appropriate concern:

Improved and standardized building codes and regulations and their more uniform administration.

Standardized dimensions and methods for the assembly of homebuilding materials and equipment.

Improved residential design and construction.

New and improved types of housing components, building materials and equipment, and methods of production, distribution, assembly, and construction.

Sound techniques for the testing of materials and types of construction and for the determination of adequate performance standards.

Appraisal, credit, and other housing market data.

Housing needs, demand and supply, finance and investment.

Land costs, use and improvement, site planning and utilities.

Zoning and other laws, codes, and regulations as they apply to housing.

How the Research Program Will Be Carried Out

The Act augments the Housing and Home Finance Administrator's existing administrative authority to enable him to carry out the broad research program authorized by the Housing Act of 1949.

Title IV provides that the HHFA Administrator shall make use as far as feasible of existing facilities of the Federal Government adapted to technical research. It also requires the Administrator to consult with and make recommendations to other Federal agencies engaged in the collection of housing data with respect to action necessary or desirable to overcome existing gaps and deficiencies in such data or in available collection facilities.

The Act authorizes the Administrator to enter into contracts on a negotiated basis (that is, without advertising for bids) with public, educational and other nonprofit organizations for carrying out projects under the Housing and Home Finance research program with Federal funds through their laboratories and technical facilities. Such contracts may extend for periods up to four years.

The Administrator is also authorized to undertake studies and research cooperatively with industry and labor, state and local governments, and educational institutions, and other nonprofit organizations.

While much of the research and study authorized will be carried out by the Administrator through the Agency's own staff and facilities, for projects requiring such special facilities as laboratories, the Housing and Home Finance Agency will, to the extent feasible, utilize facilities already available, such as those operated by the Federal Government or by state universities or various nonprofit foundations or institutions that are suitable for technical research and testing work in the housing field.

The Housing and Home Finance Agency will also seek to serve as a central coordinating point for research that is already being done and to fill in the gaps with studies and projects which it undertakes. It will make use of existing techniques wherever possible. For example, data collected for mortgage insurance purposes by the Federal Housing Administration on typical costs of building materials can be valuable in analyzing housing costs; techniques and methods developed for many years by the Bureau of the Census in their population and family income surveys can be profitably employed in housing market analyses for developing local housing market analysis.

The Administrator is also directed to disseminate the results of research and studies in such form as may be most useful to the industry and general public, and information developed under the Government's research contracts is to be made available to the public through dedication, assignment to the Government, or other means.

Other Functions Authorized

In addition to the direction to undertake and conduct a program of research and studies, the Title provides:

1. The Housing and Home Finance Administrator shall submit to the President and to the Congress national estimates of urban and rural nonfarm housing needs and report on progress being made toward meeting them, and to correlate and recommend proposals for executive action or legislation to further the objective and policy established by the Housing Act of 1949. (A similar requirement is made of the Secretary of Agriculture with respect to farm housing in Title V.)

2. He shall encourage localities to make studies of their own housing needs and markets and surveys and plans for housing, urban land use, and related community development, and, where requested, to assist them with technical advice and guidance.

Operation of the Program

The Act provides that the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency shall appoint a Director to have charge of the housing research program under the Administrator's direction and supervision. The Director will have such policy, programming, and operating staff as the operations require. In addition, under authority contained in Title IV of the Act, advisory committees may be named, as needed, from representatives of industry, labor, finance, consumer, and Government groups, as well as such professional groups as architects. Experts on special subjects and problems in the technical and economic field will be called in as consultants when their assistance is needed.

First Steps Under the Program

The Housing Act of 1949 authorizes appropriations to carry out the program and the extent of the initial year's program, as well as that of any succeeding year, will be determined by the Congress through the appropriations it makes available on the basis of recommendations submitted by the President and documented by the Agency.

Housing research, however, does not start entirely from scratch. The Housing Act of 1948 directed the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to undertake and conduct technical research and studies with reference to the improvement and standardization of building codes and regulations and their administration, and standardized dimensions and methods for the assembly of housing materials and equipment (known as modular coordination). In addition, certain technical studies have been conducted incident to the regular operating and administrative needs of the Agency in past years.

The first year's operations under the program are expected to be generally of four kinds:

1. Projects under way that are to be carried to completion: These include work already launched on building codes and standardized dimensions, including the development of an interim model code for construction on which considerable work has already been done, and longer-range work on establishing the foundation for a complete model code based on performance standards.

2. Studies and research that can be started where past work or present knowledge has shown the need and the goal: Possible projects in this field include a needed study of the elements of housing costs to determine how they can be most effectively attacked to produce worth-while results; practical demonstrations of new construction techniques or materials to determine their value for general use; and developing means for filling in the more vital "missing links" in housing information and data needed by both Government and industry to provide a sound basis for a high, continuing level of production at lower costs.

3. Organization of the considerable body of existing knowledge and research that needs to be assembled, appraised, related, and disseminated for practical use.

4. A survey of existing housing research being carried on and an inventory of available research facilities: This is necessary to determine what are the most important gaps needed to be undertaken through the Federal Government.

Obviously, such a comprehensive program as the Act calls for is a long-range undertaking. It cannot all be accomplished overnight--nor over-week or over-year. The research program would not be aimed at a single miracle solution that would scrap all known and used methods of homebuilding, but rather at progressive and cumulative results, large and small, than can be put to practical day-to-day use as they become available to lower housing costs and increase production.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON
TITLE I - SLUM CLEARANCE AND URBAN REDEVELOPMENT
HOUSING ACT OF 1949

I. The Problem and Purpose

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IV. How a Slum Clearance and Redevelopment Program Works

A Theoretical Example

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
Office of the Administrator
Washington 25, D. C.

July, 1949

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON
TITLE I - SLUM CLEARANCE AND URBAN REDEVELOPMENT
HOUSING ACT OF 1949

Problem

Practically every city in the United States, both large and small, contains slum and other blighted or deteriorated areas which are major civic liabilities, unsound both economically and socially.

One of the main obstacles to clearance of slums and blighted areas is cost. Generally, the cost of acquiring an existing slum area at its current market value, and of clearing and preparing it for redevelopment is greater than the value of the land when redeveloped for its most appropriate uses. Furthermore, the large amounts of capital needed to finance large scale clearance and redevelopment of slums and other blighted areas are generally unavailable either through city resources or private investment.

Chiefly because of this cost neither private enterprise, nor local communities with their limited sources of revenue, have been able to make much headway in effective slum clearance.

Another major obstacle is the problem of providing adequate rehousing for families displaced when slums are cleared. Lack of adequate housing for these displaced families to live in has made it impossible for most cities to clear slums and blighted areas on any large scale.

* * *

The Purpose of Slum Clearance

The Housing Act of 1949 recognizes slums as a national problem. A person who becomes a juvenile delinquent or a tuberculosis case because of slum conditions is no less a national than a local liability. A slum neighborhood that requires more than its proportionate share of health and welfare services is a drain on national as well as local resources, and seriously affects the development of good citizenship and confidence in the values of democracy.

Here, briefly, is the principle behind Title I of the Housing Act of 1949: from any angle--citizenship, health, appearance, taxes, or property protection--it is better to pay now for the cost of clearing slums and thereby get rid of them than to continue paying the mounting costs of slums and suffer their destructive effects upon human lives and property indefinitely.

The Housing Act makes possible, for the first time in our history, a comprehensive attack upon slums and blighted areas by local communities. It provides the leverage that cities have long needed to get their redevelopment programs going. First, it attacks the obstacles of large capital outlays and high write-down costs for preparing slum lands for reuse by authorizing the Federal government to make loans for acquiring, clearing, and preparing the area and to make Federal grants to pay up to two-thirds of the net cost incurred.

Second, the Housing Act of 1949 helps remove the road-block of rehousing. It requires cities applying for Federal loans and grants to prepare solid plans for temporary accommodations, where needed, and permanent relocation in decent quarters of people who have to leave slum areas because of clearance operations. Under Title III it provides financial assistance to localities for 810,000 units of public housing in which priority must be given to eligible low-income families displaced by slum clearance projects. Under Title I it offers loans to acquire open land which is to be developed for primarily residential purposes, thus opening up space to assist construction to provide rehousing for those having to leave slum clearance sites, and helping to relieve the pressure of overcrowding in present and soon-to-be-torn-down slums.

It should be noted that Federal financial aid is used only to acquire, clear, and prepare the land. It is not available for rebuilding an area. However, in the case of projects on open or predominantly open land, loans can be made to municipalities and other public bodies for schools and other public facilities necessary to support the new uses of the land. The reconstruction of the area is undertaken by private and public interests that acquire the property for its proposed new uses, since the price to be paid will be consistent with its economical development for such purposes.

Achieving Broad Redevelopment

Throughout the Housing Act of 1949, and particularly in title I, continual strong emphasis is placed on the elimination of unsafe, insanitary and inadequate existing housing and stimulation of provision of decent, safe, and sanitary new housing. The reason for this emphasis is simple: The Housing Act of 1949 sets forth as a national objective of a comprehensive housing program the realization of a decent home in a good living environment for every American family as soon as feasible. This objective cannot be achieved without a comprehensive, soundly-planned slum clearance and redevelopment program.

The slum clearance program aims not only to eliminate present slums, but also to prevent their recurrence. That is why a redevelopment plan must conform to a general local plan as a requirement for Federal loan and grant assistance. Such planning is necessary to insure orderly community growth, prevent the recurrence of slums, and to stabilize and protect property values and investments in the future. If good new housing is to stay good, it must have readily available the necessary public facilities, such as parks, playgrounds, schools, and streets; convenient access to commercial and industrial areas; and assurance that its new use will be related to future as well as present development and needs.

WHAT TITLE I OF THE HOUSING ACT PROVIDES

Types of Projects: Federal assistance is available for four types of projects. Such projects, to qualify for Federal assistance under the Act, must be predominantly residential either before or after their redevelopment.

1. Residential slum or blighted areas: Any slum area or any deteriorating or deteriorated areas which, prior to redevelopment, is predominantly residential in character. Federal assistance is available in such case without restriction or limitation as to the types or categories of uses for which such an area is to be redeveloped. Thus such an area may be redeveloped for any locally approved use or combination of uses. Both loans and grants are available for this type of project. Typical of this classification are the familiar slum areas, with their overcrowded tenement and ramshackle old dwellings and other structures, that are found in virtually every city.

2. Non-residential blighted areas: Any deteriorated or deteriorating area which, prior to redevelopment, is not predominantly residential in character. Federal assistance is available in such cases only if the area is to be redeveloped for predominantly residential uses. Both loans and grants are available for this type of project. Examples are run-down areas that ring the centers of many cities, with commercial plants and shops that could more suitably be located elsewhere and be replaced by good houses and apartments for people who prefer or need to live close to the center of the city.

3. Predominantly open areas: Any land which is predominantly open and which because of obsolete platting, diversity of ownership, deterioration of structures or of site improvements, or otherwise, substantially impairs or arrests the sound growth of the community. Federal assistance is available in such case only if the land is to be developed for predominantly residential uses. Both loans and grants are available for this type of project, but it is expected that both the acquisition and write-down costs for this type of project will usually be much less than for a built-up slum area. Typical of such land are the optimistic subdivisions of the 1920's, where crumbling sidewalks and tax-delinquent, weed-grown lots are choking city growth, although they already have streets and utilities and if redeveloped and replanned, may lend themselves to redevelopment as good residential tax payers.

4. Open areas: Any open land—land inside or outside the corporate limits on which there has been virtually no urban development necessary for sound community growth. Federal assistance is available in such case only if the land is to be developed for predominantly residential uses. Loans are available for this type of project, but grants are not available. Such development may be needed to provide more living space for those now crowded in slums and blighted areas and who will have to leave clearance areas.

Types of Assistance: Three types of financial assistance are available.

1. Advance of funds. Advances of funds may be made to local public agencies for surveys and plans in preparation of projects which may be assisted under Title I of the Act. A condition of such advances will be that projects planned are consistent with all requirements of Title I. Such advances must be repaid, with interest, out of any moneys which become available to such agency for the project or projects involved.

2. Loans.

Amount. A total of $1,000,000,000 to become available over a period of five years--$25,000,000 as of July 1, 1949, $225,000,000 on July 1, 1950, and $250,000,000 for each of the three following fiscal years. The President has authority to increase the authorization in any one year by $250,000,000, but the total authorization of $1,000,000,000 remains the same.

Temporary loans may be made to local public agencies to finance the initial costs of planning a project, assembling, clearing and preparing the land for sale or lease, and selling and leasing the land.

In the case of any project on land which is open or predominantly open, temporary loans may be made to municipalities or other public bodies for the provision of schools or other public facilities necessary to serve or support the new uses of the land. Such loans must be repaid in not to exceed 10 years.

Long-term loans are also authorized. Such loans would in all probability be used only in cases where all or part of the land acquired in a project area is leased for redevelopment, since, if the land were sold, the proceeds received from the sale thereof plus the capital grants paid would be used to repay the temporary loans. The long-term loans must be repaid in not to exceed 40 years.

3. Capital Grants.

Amount: The Act authorizes $500,000,000 for capital grants for slum clearance and redevelopment projects, becoming available at the rate of $100,000,000 per year for five years. The President has authority to increase the amount authorized in any one year by $100,000,000, but the $500,000,000 total remains the same.

Federal capital grants are available for assisting local public agencies to finance the "net project cost"--the difference between necessary costs of acquiring, clearing, and making slum land available for new uses consistent with sound planning and good living standards and the capital proceeds received from the sale or lease of land when it is disposed of. Cities obtaining Federal capital grants must pay at least one-third of the total net project cost of all projects undertaken with Federal assistance, either in cash or in certain donations of land, improvements, and services that can be substituted by the city for cash. Federal grants may be obtained for paying the balance.

Not more than 10 percent of the funds authorized for either Federal loans or Federal grants can be expended in any one State.

Rate of Interest. Advances of funds and temporary and long term loans bear interest at not less than the "going Federal rate" defined as the annual rate of interest specified in the most recently issued bonds of the Federal government having a maturity of 10 years or more. Currently, the going Federal rate is 2½ per cent a year.

What the Community Must Do: Slum clearance and redevelopment projects must be local undertakings, locally planned, approved, and managed, and designed to serve local needs.

To qualify for Federal assistance, there are certain statutory requirements which the community must meet, among which are:

1. A local public agency established under State law and fully authorized to undertake the project.

2. A detailed plan, approved by the governing body of the locality in which the project is situated, for the redevelopment of the project area which conforms to the general plan for the development of the locality.

3. A general plan for the development of the locality as a whole.

4. Findings by the local governing body that the Federal assistance is necessary to enable the project area to be redeveloped in accordance with the locally approved plan.

5. Maximum opportunity, consistent with the sound needs of the locality, for the redevelopment of the project areas by private enterprise.

6. A public hearing, prior to the acquisition of the land, after notice of the date, time, place, and purpose of such hearing.

7. Ability to furnish the required amount of local grants-in-aid.

8. A feasible method for the temporary relocation of families displaced from the project area.

9. Assurance that there is or will be permanent housing at rents or prices within the financial means of the families displaced from the project area equal to the number of and available to such displaced families, and in areas not generally less desirable in regard to public utilities and facilities and reasonably accessible to their places of employment.

Rehousing the People: Families living in an area to be cleared must be assured both of temporary housing during the clearance period and of permanent housing after it is completed. Some may be rehoused in the rebuilt area, though others may be permanently housed elsewhere, either because they prefer to live elsewhere or they cannot be accommodated in the area under its new uses. The city, however, must assure that decent, safe, and sanitary permanent housing within the financial means of such families exists or is being provided in time to meet the need. Private housing may be available for this purpose. Also, the community, if authorized by State public housing laws, may obtain Federal aid under Title III of the act to provide public housing for low-income families displaced from slum clearance projects. Under the Housing Act of 1949, such families have first preference in public housing projects assisted under the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended.

The Act also provides that demolition of housing in project areas may not begin before July 1, 1950 if the local governing body finds that such demolition would result in undue housing hardship in the community.

What Happens After the Area is Cleared: After the area has been acquired, cleared, and prepared for redevelopment, the land may be sold, leased, or transferred for uses consistent with approved redevelopment plans; such as, housing, industrial, business or commercial use, parks, schools, public housing projects. When the area is disposed of at its new-use value, the temporary loans will be repaid from the proceeds of sale received plus the Federal capital grants and the local grants-in-aid, together with the proceeds of permanent loans made to cover any long-term leases of land in the project area.

Ready for Participation: Before a community can participate in the benefits of the slum clearance program under Title I, it must have a duly authorized local agency with the necessary powers under state or local law to carry out the functions and fulfill the obligations of a slum clearance and redevelopment program as provided for under the Housing Act of 1949.

Twenty-seven states, plus the District of Columbia, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, do have some type of specific slum clearance and urban redevelopment enabling legislation. However, existing laws, such as public housing legislation, in some of the remaining 21 states, may also confer the part or all of the necessary authority on local communities to participate in the Title I program. Full information on these existing laws is not yet available. Furthermore, local communities in states having enabling legislation may still have to take some type of local action, in addition to that required by the Federal Act, to complete their authority to initiate a slum clearance program.

States: The thirty political jurisdictions that have some type of specific slum clearance and urban redevelopment enabling legislation are:

Arkansas	Kansas	New York
California	Kentucky	Ohio
Colorado	Louisiana	Oregon
Connecticut	Maryland	Pennsylvania
District of Columbia	Massachusetts	Puerto Rico
Florida	Michigan	Rhode Island
Georgia	Minnesota	South Carolina
Hawaii	Missouri	Tennessee
Illinois	New Hampshire	Virginia
Indiana	New Jersey	Wisconsin

However, in three of these States--Indiana, Missouri, and New York--the slum clearance laws themselves do not specifically authorize borrowing of Federal funds or acceptance of Federal grants, and Kansas and Kentucky slum clearance laws authorize redevelopment by private corporations only. The remaining 25 jurisdictions specifically permit participation in the Title I program, with 8 authorizing development by specially

created local redevelopment agencies, 4 authorizing the cities to undertake it directly, and 13 designating local housing authorities as their redevelopment agencies. Adjustments of an administrative nature and in some cases possibly further legislative action may be necessary in some of these States to conform State authorizations to specific Federal requirements as contained in the Housing Act of 1949.

Cities: On the basis of recent information available to the Housing and Home Finance Agency, several cities have redevelopment plans and projects ready to go and should be in a position to apply, if they so desire, for Federal loans and grants within the coming year. They include: Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, Norfolk, Philadelphia, Providence, Miami.

About 70 cities have made considerable progress with redevelopment planning and are apparently at the stage where they could qualify for advances to get started on planning for specific clearance projects. These cities include Los Angeles, San Francisco, Pontiac, Little Rock, Ark., Augusta and Columbus, Ga., and Duluth, Minn.

While the above information on readiness of cities to participate in the Federal loan and grant program is the best currently available, it is not comprehensive, and should be used in connection with more detailed and current local information. The actual decision to participate, however, is a local matter, and requires official local action.

How A Slum Clearance and Redevelopment Program Works: Following is a hypothetical example of a slum clearance and redevelopment program as it might operate under Title I. Figures used are not to be taken literally since they do not represent costs of any actual project, but are given for illustrative purposes only.

Suppose Central City decides it wants to get rid of an undesirable slum area, but is unable to finance the undertaking without Federal assistance. Since the Housing Act of 1949 states that loans and grants will be made to a local public agency which is authorized to carry on slum clearance work (this may be a public housing authority, a special redevelopment agency, or a department of the city government), Central City has chosen to create a redevelopment agency as authorized by the urban redevelopment laws of its state.

In addition, Central City meets Federal loan and grant assistance requirements by having a general city plan for the development of the locality as a whole, and land use, health, and sanitary codes for halting or preventing further growth of slums and has taken steps to encourage the reduction of housing costs through modernization of its building code. In short, Central City and its redevelopment agency mean business-slum clearance business. What the community needs at this time is an advance of funds of about $20,000 to finance surveys of its slum area and the preparation of a specific project. On the basis of the agency's application for these funds meeting with Federal

approval, it receives a $20,000 advance, to be repaid when a project is approved and aided by Federal loans and grants.

Some months later the agency is ready for a temporary loan to carry out a specific project. By now it can show in black-and-white estimates of how much money it needs to undertake the project, including a complete breakdown of costs and anticipated returns. It has definite plans both for the work to be done in the project and for its future development; it has official city approval of the project; and it has a plan for rehousing families that will be displaced by clearance operations. In addition, Central City has agreed to contribute about $350,000 in donations of land, services, such as demolition work, and such site improvements as streets and utilities, and other public improvements that will serve the project - schools, playgrounds, etc.

The agency estimates that the project will call for $1,650,000, in addition to the $350,000 in local contributions, to acquire, clear, and prepare the project area for redevelopment. The agency's application is approved by the Federal government and it enters into a contract to receive a Federal loan to finance the project expenditures to be made by the agency, and a commitment for a Federal grant to meet up up to two-thirds of the loss the agency incurs when the cleared land is sold or leased for redevelopment.

The slum area is bought, cleared, and readied for redevelopment by the agency. The gross cost, including the $20,000 advance for planning, the $350,000 contributed by Central City in land, services and improvements, and the $1,650,000 spent by the redevelopment agency, totals $2,020,000. The land in the area is sold for $820,000, leaving the project $1,200,000 in the red.

Towards this loss the city can count on $800,000 from the Federal government in the form of capital grants, since the contract with the redevelopment agency states that the government will meet up to two-thirds of the deficit incurred by an agency in buying, clearing, and preparing slum lands and disposing of them for redevelopment. The $400,000 balance must be made up by Central City. However, the $350,000 that Central City has already contributed in land, services, and improvements for the project are applied against the balance, so that the city needs to pay $50,000 in cash.

If the agency has decided to lease rather than sell certain portions of the cleared land in the project, it could have refinanced the leased portions at their reuse value with a Federal loan that could run as long as 40 years, bearing interest at the going Federal rate. The amount of this loan would have appeared in the proceeds just as though the land had been sold.

# # #

12 QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
ABOUT THE PUBLIC LOW-RENT HOUSING PROGRAM

1. Why is public housing necessary?

Food, clothing and shelter are the essentials of life. Most American families -- even those well down on the income scale -- can obtain enough good food and decent clothing to sustain life and health.

With shelter, it's different. Although most Americans can meet their housing needs without help, families at the bottom of the scale can't afford to buy or rent good homes. They can take care of their food and clothing needs. But good housing is beyond their reach. Economic necessity sends them to live in the slums. Slum housing is neither decent, safe, nor sanitary. It is a hazard to its occupants and to the community.

Public housing uses a subsidy to put decent, safe and sanitary housing within the reach of these low income families from the slums. It is the only method yet devised for providing good housing to rent at prices that families in the lowest income groups can afford.

2. What's new about this program?

The size, but not the idea. The Federal government has been helping localities to build and operate low-rent public housing since 1937. The U. S. Housing Act of 1937 provided capital loans to get such housing built and annual contributions (subsidies) to keep rents low. A total of 191,700 dwelling units in 268 localities are being operated under that program.

The Housing Act of 1949 simply extends this program by amendments to the 1937 Act. It raises available loan funds to $1,500,000,000, and authorizes as much as $308,000,000 to be spent for subsidy each year for 40 years. With these aids, an additional 810,000 public housing units may be put under construction in the next six years.

3. Are there any differences -- other than size -- between the old program and the new?

Yes, there are several. Most of them are refinements drawn from the 12 years' experience that has gone before. Some merely write into law policies and practices already in effect.

For instance: The new law requires that a substantial gap be left between the bottom of the market served by private housing and the top of the market served by public housing. It also requires local housing authorities to set dollar income limits for tenants to make sure that only low income families are housed in the projects. Both of these things have been done by administrative practice for years. Now they are a matter of law.

One important change is in the statutory limit on how much public housing can cost. Under the 1937 Act, the cost to build and equip public housing could be no more than $1,000 a room, or $1,250 in cities of more than half a million population. That was reasonable 12 years ago.

But fireproof, apartment-type projects can't be built for that today. So the 1949 Act sets the maximum cost at $1,750 per room. An extra $750 may be allowed in some high-cost areas. That brings the law into line with today's construction costs.

The original act also contained a per dwelling cost limit. The new limit is on a per room basis only. This change was made to permit construction of larger units for big families. Many low income families are larger than average.

Big families get another break in the new law. When their incomes are examined to see if they are eligible for public housing, they are allowed a $100 exemption for each child. This consideration recognizes that it costs big families more to live than small families.

There are also a number of technical changes designed to make securities issued by local housing authorities more attractive to private investors. This will result in lower interest rates and, in the end, save the government money.

4. Who can get these loans and subsidies?

They go only to local housing authorities. These are local public bodies established under state statutes. Forty-two states, the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands already have the necessary laws authorizing creation of such authorities. Nearly 500 authorities now exist and have experience with public housing programs. The only states which have not yet adopted such laws are Iowa, Kansas, Utah, Wyoming, Oklahoma and South Dakota.

5. How does a local authority get into the program?

When a local housing authority finds there is a need in its locality for low-rent housing for low income families that is not being met by private housing, it may make an application to the Public Housing Administration for a "program reservation." This application must be accompanied by pertinent data proving the existence and extent of the need for public housing. The program reservation merely sets aside a certain number of units for the community from the quota available for allocation at the time.

Then the authority may get a small preliminary loan to pay for planning its project. The city council must approve the local authority's application for this loan.

When the project is planned and approved, PHA will contract with the authority for the necessary loans and agree to pay the annual contributions required to keep rents low. This contract for assistance will be conditioned, of course, on the authority's agreement to house only low income families, to maintain the gap between public housing and private housing, to stay within the cost limits and otherwise abide by the purposes and requirements of the program. With these contracts and agreements made, the local authority can go ahead with building the project and putting it into operation.

6. How fast will the program move?

The law permits PHA to authorize construction of 135,000 units a year for six years. The President can step up the rate to 200,000 units a year or slow it down to 50,000 units a year if economic conditions warrant. Much will depend, of course, on how quickly the localities undertake their programs, complete plans, acquire sites and get construction underway. It is expected that about 50,000 units will get under construction in the next 12 months.

7. Who lives in public housing?

Only low income families are eligible to be admitted and to live in low-rent public housing projects. Each locality will establish income limits for admission and continued occupancy to make sure that tenant families fall within the low income group. Other factors also figure in determining eligibility. These include requirements of citizenship, residence in substandard housing and preferences for veterans and persons displaced by public slum clearance, and urban redevelopment projects.

8. Will public housing compete with private housing?

Not with standard housing -- just with slum housing. The system of income limits and the gap between public and private housing insure that public housing will serve only those families who cannot afford the cheapest of the adequate housing provided by private enterprise. Since the tenants of public housing will be families who can't afford standard housing, they are not part of the market that private housing serves.

9. What does private business get out of the program?

All construction is done by private contractors who get the work by competitive bidding. This means business for private architects, engineers, materials manufacturers and suppliers, too. Since the project will be financed in large part by private borrowings, this means business for bankers and investors. Other business in the community stands to gain because the tenants of public housing, paying rents commensurate with their incomes, will have enough money left over for such essentials as food and clothing.

10. Is public housing "low cost" housing?

It is "low cost" to the tenant. That is why "low rent housing" is a more precise name for it.

Every possible economy consistent with minimum standards, long life and low upkeep is made in building and operating the projects. But public housing has no magic formula for cutting costs. The costs of building public housing are the costs of private construction. The projects are built by private contractors, paying prevailing wages and using materials bought in the same way as though the job were being done for a private owner.

In the prewar program, the average total cost was $4,649 a dwelling. This compares favorably with the costs of comparable housing built for private owners. If the full authorizations in the new program are used, the maximum cost per unit would average $8,450.

11. Will public housing clear slums?

In urban areas, the law requires that substantially the same number of slum dwellings be eliminated as the number of public housing units built in the locality. This may be done by demolishing, closing, or rehabilitating existing substandard housing within five years after the public housing project is completed. The slum elimination may be deferred in places where there is an acute shortage of adequate housing for low income families and is not required if a public housing project is built on a slum site cleared since the Housing Act of 1949 was enacted.

Title I of the Housing Act of 1949 -- the slum clearance and urban redevelopment program -- establishes a broader attack on the slums. Public housing is closely related to urban redevelopment and essential to it because slums cannot be cleared unless other housing is available for the people who live in them. For the most part, these are families in the lowest income group who can be adequately housed only through public housing.

12. How much will the program cost?

The $1,500,000,000 in loan funds for the public housing program is not an out-of-pocket cost. All loans will be repaid in full, with interest. The only out-of-pocket cost to the Federal government is for annual contributions. These may go no higher than $308,000,000 a year for 40 years, a total of $12,320,000,000. However, the subsidy is paid only to the extent needed each year. In the past, the public housing program has actually used only 58.5 percent of the maximum subsidy available. For the new program, it is estimated that the actual expenditure for subsidies over the full span of the program will amount to between $7,000,000,000 and $8,000,000,000.

7-27-49

BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE HOUSING ACT OF 1949

Short Title and Declaration of National Housing Policy

The short title of the Act is the "Housing Act of 1949".

Section 2 of the Act establishes national housing objectives and the policies to be followed in attaining them. The declaration states that --

> "the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require housing production and related community development sufficient to remedy the serious housing shortage, the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, thus contributing to the development and redevelopment of communities and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation."

The Act provides that private housing enterprise shall be encouraged to serve as large a part of the total need as it can; that local public bodies shall be encouraged to undertake positive programs to assist the development of well-planned, residential neighborhoods, the development and redevelopment of communities, and the production, at lower costs, of housing of sound standards of design, construction, livability, and size for adequate family life; and that governmental assistance shall be given to eliminate substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, to provide adequate housing needed for urban and rural nonfarm families of low incomes where such need is not being met through reliance solely upon private enterprise, and to provide decent, safe and sanitary farm dwellings and related facilities where the farm owner demonstrates that he lacks sufficient resources and credit to provide such housing.

The Act requires the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and any other departments or agencies of the Federal Government having functions with respect to housing to exercise their functions consistently with these national housing objectives and policies and in such manner as will encourage and assist (1) the production of housing of sound standards of design, construction, livability, and size for adequate family life; (2) the reduction of the costs of housing without sacrifice of such sound standards; (3) the use of new designs, materials, techniques, and methods in residential construction and the increase of efficiency in residential construction and maintenance; (4) the development of well-planned, residential neighborhoods and the development and redevelopment of communities; and (5) the stabilization of the housing industry at a high annual volume of residential construction.

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Title I - Slum Clearance and Community Development and Redevelopment

This title authorizes the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to make loans and grants to localities to assist locally initiated, locally planned, and locally managed slum-clearance and urban redevelopment undertakings. A local public agency would, after public hearing, acquire (through purchase or condemnation) a slum or blighted or deteriorating area selected in accordance with a general city plan for the development of the locality as a whole. The local public agency would then clear the land and make it available, by sale, or lease, for private or public redevelopment or development in accordance with a predetermined local redevelopment plan for the area.

The Act authorizes $1,000,000,000 in loans over a five-year period. Advances of funds would be available to finance the planning of local projects, and temporary loans for the acquisition and clearance of land, and the preparation of the land for reuse; these loans would be repayable when the land is sold or leased for redevelopment. Long-term Federal loans would be available to refinance the portions of the sites which are leased and would be secured by the rentals from the leased land.

The Act also authorizes $500,000,000 in Federal capital grants over a five-year period, in order to help meet the loss involved in connection with slum clearance operations. This loss would be shared on a 2-to-1 basis - the Federal Government making up two-thirds of the loss and the local government making up one-third. Thus the Federal capital grants may not exceed two-thirds of the losses on all clearance projects undertaken in any one locality. The local public agencies may provide their share either in cash or through the provision of parks or schools or other public facilities necessary to serve or support the new uses of land in the project areas, the installation of streets, utilities, and other site improvements, or the use of municipal labor and equipment to clear a project area. While Federal loan assistance is available for projects involving open land, no capital grants may be made for such projects.

Federal assistance would be available to defray the costs of acquisition and clearance of slum areas and the preparation of the sites for redevelopment; none of the funds would be available for building construction on the cleared sites, except that, in connection with the development of open or predominantly open areas, provision is made for temporary loans (repayable in not to exceed 10 years) for schools or other public facilities necessary to serve or support the new uses of land in the area.

As a further condition to Federal aid there must be a feasible method for the temporary relocation of families displaced from the project area and the permanent provision of decent, safe and sanitary dwellings at prices

and rents within the financial means of such families. (First preference to such displaced families of low income is required in public housing projects provided under title III of the Act). The demolition of residential structures in connection with slum clearance projects is prohibited until July 1, 1951, if the local governing body determines that it would create undue housing hardship in the locality.

Not more than 10 per centum of the funds provided for loans or grants may be expended in any one State.

Title II - Amendments to National Housing Act

This title (pending further action by the Congress) provides for temporary extensions (through August 31, 1949) of FHA's title I and section 608 mortgage insurance operations; also for a $500 million increase in its title II insurance authorization. The extensions under title I relate to small loans for alteration and improvement and new construction and under section 608 to rental housing. The increase in insurance authorization applies to all types of housing under title II, owner-occupied, small and large scale rental and sale housing, including cooperative housing.

Title III - Low-Rent Public Housing

This title amends the United States Housing Act of 1937 by authorizing Federal contributions and loans for local programs involving not to exceed 810,000 additional units of low-rent public housing over a six-year period. The Public Housing Administration may authorize local authorities to commence construction of 135,000 units each year. The President, however, is authorized to accelerate the program to not more than 200,000 units per year or to retard the program to not less than 50,000 units per year, subject to the total authorization of 810,000 units, if he determines, after advice from the Council of Economic Advisers, that such action is in the public interest.

Federal annual contributions may not exceed the amounts which, with the required local tax exemption, are necessary to make up the difference between the rents which the low-income families can afford to pay and the annual costs incurred in the operation of the projects, including interest and amortization of all capital borrowings. In no event may they exceed the aggregate annual contributions authorization, reaching a maximum rate of $308,000,000 per year after the total program is in operation.

The Act reduces the maximum period for loans and annual contributions from 60 to 40 years and adjusts the basis for Federal contributions in accordance with the increased annual amortization requirements.

Provisions in this title strengthen the statutory safeguards to assure that occupancy of projects is limited to low-income families in need of adequate housing. As in the past, annual incomes of families on admission may not exceed five times the rent, including utilities, but the Act recognizes the needs of larger families by exempting from income $100 per year for each minor dependent. The title further requires local authorities (1) to establish upper rental limits for admission to projects at least 20 percent below the lowest rents at which private enterprise unaided by public subsidy is providing an adequate supply of decent housing in the respective localities, (2) to provide maximum income limits for admission and continued occupancy, (3) to require the removal of families found to be ineligible as the result of periodic reexaminations of tenant incomes, (4) not to discriminate against welfare cases, and (5) subject to specific preferences stated below, to give preference to families having the most urgent needs. In determining the eligibility of families for continued occupancy, the local housing authorities may exempt $100 for each minor or any part of the income received by minor members of the families (since such income normally will be available to the tenant families only for a short period).

Families who are otherwise eligible and who are displaced or are about to be displaced by public slum clearance, redevelopment or low-rent housing projects will be given a first preference for admission to low-rent housing. Among such displaced families, veterans with service-connected disabilities have first preference, families of deceased veterans and servicemen whose death was service-connected have second preference, and other veterans or servicemen have a third preference. As among families who have not been displaced by slum clearance, preference shall be extended to veterans and servicemen and among such families of veterans with service-connected disabilities have first preference and families of deceased veterans and servicemen whose death was service-connected have second preference. These preferences are extended to veterans and servicemen of World War I and World War II.

The Act fixes the limitation on the cost of construction and equipment of dwelling facilities to $1,750 per room. An increase in this cost limitation of not more than $750 per room is authorized in areas where it would not be feasible without such increase to construct sound housing. In no event may a project be undertaken which is of elaborate or extravagant design or materials.

The Act repeals existing equivalent elimination requirements, but substitutes a requirement that no financial assistance (other than preliminary loans) shall be made available for any low-rent housing project unless the governing body of the locality involved agrees that there will be eliminated within 5 years after completion of the project unsafe or insanitary dwellings substantially equal in number to the number of newly constructed dwelling units provided in the project. Under the old requirement only one unsafe

or insanitary dwelling unit could be counted, even though it may have accommodated several families. But under the new formula, if more than one family is living in an unsafe or insanitary dwelling unit the elimination of such unit shall count as the elimination of units equal to the number of families accommodated. The elimination requirement does not apply to rural nonfarm housing projects or to any public housing projects located on a slum site that has been cleared for urban redevelopment under title I of the Act. The Public Housing Administration may defer beyond 5 years the required elimination in any locality or metropolitan area where there is an acute shortage of decent, safe, or sanitary housing available to families of low income.

Title IV - Housing Research

This title authorizes the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to undertake and conduct technical research and studies which will promote reduction in housing construction and maintenance costs and stimulate the increased production of housing.

The research may also be concerned with improved building codes; standardized dimensions and methods for the assembly of home building materials and equipment; improved residential design and construction; new types of materials, equipment and construction; and may relate to appraisal, credit, housing needs, demand and supply, land costs, use and improvement, and related technical and economic research. The Administrator shall also prepare estimates of national housing needs and encourage and assist localities to make studies of their own housing needs and markets and plans for housing and community development.

The Administrator shall utilize to the fullest extent feasible the available facilities of other Federal agencies and is authorized to undertake research and studies cooperatively with industry and labor and with State or local governments, educational institutions and other nonprofit organizations.

Title V - Farm Housing

The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to extend financial assistance to farm owners to enable them to construct, improve, or repair farm housing or other farm buildings as follows:

1. Loans up to 33 years at not to exceed 4 per centum interest, to owners of self-sustaining farms who are otherwise unable to finance adequate housing or other needed building improvements for themselves or others working on the farms.

2. Similar loans, supplemented by annual contributions, to owners whose farms are not presently self-sustaining but which may be brought up to a self-sustaining level through a satisfactory program of enlargement,

improvement, or adjusted farm practices. The subsidies, applied as a partial credit on interest and principal payments, could not be made available to an owner for more than 5 years and, in the aggregate, could not exceed $5,000,000 annually after the third year of the program; lesser amounts would be authorized for the earlier years.

3. Loans and grants for minor improvements and minimum repairs to farm dwellings and buildings on farms which cannot be made self-sustaining. The amount available would be limited to $1,000 for any one farm or dwelling or building owned by one individual, and the grant portion with respect to any one dwelling or building could not exceed $500.

4. Loans to encourage adequate family size farms where a farm needs enlargement or development in order to provide income sufficient to support decent, safe, and sanitary housing and other farm buildings.

This title authorizes loans aggregating $250,000,000, contributions for a period of 5 years not exceeding $5,000,000 per year, and loans and grants for a period of 5 years totalling $25,000,000 for minor improvements and land purchases.

Title VI - Miscellaneous Provisions - Housing Census

Among the miscellaneous provisions in the bill, the Director of the Census is directed to take a census of housing in 1950 and decennially thereafter.

This title amends and supersedes existing provisions for the conversion of eligible State-aided low-rent or veterans' housing projects to low-rent housing assisted under the United States Housing Act of 1937.

The National Banking Act is liberalized with respect to the authority of national banks and State member banks of the Federal Reserve System to purchase or underwrite certain obligations of local public housing and slum clearance agencies.

This title also restores the right of the National Capital Housing Authority (which is the low-rent public housing agency for the District of Columbia) to acquire sites within the District of Columbia for low-rent public housing projects.

The District of Columbia is also authorized, to participate, on the same basis as other authorized localities, in the slum clearance and urban redevelopment benefits authorized in Title I of the Act, but no loans or grants under Title I may be extended for the District of Columbia, with respect to any project for which Congress, after being presented with a budget estimate to make an appropriation under provisions of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act, makes no funds available.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
Office of the Administrator
Washington 25, D. C.

July, 1949

16 Housing

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

December 2, 1949

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Secretary
Christian Social Relations and
Local Church Activities
Women's Society of Christian Services
Southeastern Jurisdiction of the
Methodist Church
1013 Highland View, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

It is a great pleasure for us to be able to advise you concerning an important step which the Federal Housing Administration is taking in connection with racial restrictive covenants. The enclosed statement will supply you with the details of the action.

Sincerely yours,

Franklin D. Richards

Franklin D. Richards
Commissioner
Federal Housing Administration

I Raymond M Foley

Raymond M. Foley
Administrator
Housing and Home Finance Agency

Enclosure

Not to be released before
1:30 P. M., Friday,
December 2nd, 1949

STATEMENT BY SOLICITOR GENERAL PHILIP B. PERLMAN
AT LUNCHEON SESSION OF STATE-WIDE CONFERENCE OF
NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE ON DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
HOTEL MARTINIQUE, 32ND STREET, BROADWAY,
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1949 AT 1 P. M.

President Truman and Housing and Home Finance Administrator Foley have authorized Attorney General McGrath, for whom I speak today, to tell you that the Federal Housing Administration is amending its rules so as to refuse to aid the financing of any properties the occupancy or use of which is restricted on the basis of race or creed or color.

Under the amendments to be issued no property will be eligible for FHA mortgage insurance if, after a date to be specified in the amendments and before the FHA insured mortgage is recorded, there has been recorded a covenant racially restricting the use or occupancy of the property.

Because of the important questions of law and public policy involved, the decision of FHA Commissioner Richards was reached after consultations held at the White House and the Department of Justice with the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, of which FHA is a constituent agency, and with the legal representatives of both agencies. Consultations have also been held with Veterans Administrator Gray who has authorized the statement that he is taking action to amend G. I. regulations along lines parallel to those of the FHA.

In addition to the basic rule on the ineligibility of racially restricted properties in the future, the amendments will require the mortgagor to certify that until the insured mortgage is paid in full or the contract of insurance otherwise terminated, he will not file for record any restriction upon the sale or occupancy of the mortgaged property on the basis of race, creed or color or execute any agreement, lease or conveyance which imposes any such restriction upon its sale or occupancy. The amendments will also require the insured mortgage to contain a covenant to the same effect which in the event of violation will give the mortgagee the right at its option to declare the unpaid balance of the mortgage immediately due and payable.

The new rules will not affect mortgage insurance already in force and will apply only to properties where the covenant in question and the insured mortgage are recorded after the date to be specified.

These actions are designed to bring the mortgage insurance operations of the Federal Housing Administration fully into line with the policy underlying the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the covenants cases to the effect that, although individuals may be free to impose or comply with restrictive racial covenants, governmental support of such covenants is contrary to the public policy of the United States and cannot be enforced by State or Federal Courts.

These actions also extend the existing FHA policies ~~to which~~ already eliminate type of occupancy based on race, creed or color as a deter-

mining factor in the approval of mortgages for FHA insurance. They will extend the policy by making future loans on properties that may be subject to private agreement to restrict occupancy by reason of race, creed or color ineligible for Government assistance through mortgage insurance if such a restrictive covenant is filed for record after the specified date.

Regulations putting the action into effect have already been prepared by the FHA and will be issued as soon as the new FHA forms of mortgages and commitments required by the changed regulations can be printed.

The amendments to the FHA regulations will apply to all types of mortgage insurance under Titles II, VI and VIII of the National Housing Act, and also the guaranty of yield on investments in rental housing projects under Title VII of the Act.

These amendments of the FHA rules and regulations give effect to the public policy expressed on so many occasions by the President; and they also implement the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the covenants cases. The Government participated in those cases, and argued for the decision which paved the way for such action as is now to become a permanent part of the Government's operations in guaranteeing or insuring loans for private housing.

President Truman has been working on this matter for some time, and is most happy over the result of his efforts.

Administrator Foley, in connection with this announcement, said: "I consider the FHA's action to be in full conformance with the public policy of the United States and essential to the public interest. The housing problem has its most acute and critical manifestations in the area of minority housing. There is growing realization of this in the housing industry itself and more is being done than ever before, though still far too little, toward making good housing available to the minorities, particularly Negroes.

"We have no greater challenge ahead of us than to achieve a more democratic distribution of our expanding housing supply. The action the FHA, in line with the Supreme Court decision, is now taking is a positive step in that direction."

Commissioner Richards said: "The FHA has laid much emphasis on the need for more adequate housing for Negroes with increasingly greater results and it will always, as in this matter, adjust its policies in any legitimate way that promises to make its services more effective to all American families."

Attorney General McGrath had hoped to be able to make this announcement personally. He regrets he was not able to accept your invitation to be with you on this occasion, so that he could tell you that he believes the action announced today marks an important and far-reaching gain in the effort to eliminate discriminations based on race or creed or color from American life.

Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment

The What and Why of Title I Housing Act of 1949

Housing and Home Finance Agency
Office of the Administrator
Division of
Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment
November 1950

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government
Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. - Price 10 cents
GPO: 1951—O 915901

"The Congress hereby declares that the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require . . . the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, thus contributing to the development and redevelopment of communities and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation. . . .

"The policy to be followed . . . shall be (1) private enterprise shall be encouraged to serve as large a part of the total need as it can; (2) governmental assistance shall be utilized where feasible to enable private enterprise to serve more of the total need; (3) appropriate local public bodies shall be encouraged and assisted to undertake positive programs of encouraging and assisting the development of well-planned, integrated residential neighborhoods, the development and redevelopment of communities, and the production, at lower costs, of housing of sound standards of design, construction, livability, and size for adequate family life; (4) governmental assistance to eliminate substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas . . ."

—Declaration of National Housing Policy, Housing Act of 1949

Why a Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment Program?

Practically every large city and many smaller localities contain slums. In fact, one-fifth of our urban families—somewhere between 10 and 15 million people who live in cities and towns—live in slums and blighted areas. For years these areas have been recognized as major civic liabilities . . . unsound both economically and socially.

And for years communities and private groups have tried to get rid of these undesirable places, but with very little success. First, the cost has been too great—usually the expense involved in acquiring slum land at its market value, clearing it, and getting it ready for redevelopment has been more than communities or private developers could afford.

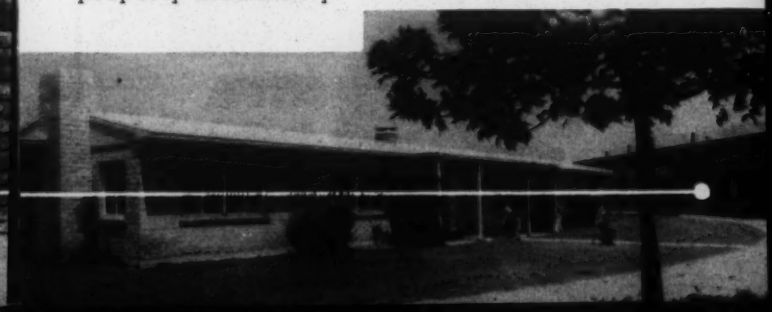
Second, when slums are cleared, people are displaced and must have other living quarters. The shortage of good housing for these people has blocked most slum clearance plans.

Housing Act of 1949:
A Start Towards a Solution

The Housing Act of 1949 is designed to help localities solve their slum problem. It authorizes the Federal Government to make loans up to $1 billion outstanding at any one time and capital grants totaling $500 million to localities to enable them to overcome the high cost of clearing and making slum areas available for redevelopment. Further, it requires cities undertaking slum clearance projects with Federal assistance to see that decent housing is provided for families displaced by clearance operations. A considerable part of the rehousing obstacle will be eliminated through additional new units of low-rent public housing authorized by Title III of the act in which priority must be given to eligible low-income families displaced by redevelopment projects.

It Is Better To Pay Now . . .

The Housing Act of 1949 recognizes slums as a national problem and responsibility. Behind Title I—the slum clearance and urban redevelopment section of the act—is the principle that, from any angle—citizenship, health, appearance, taxes, or property values—it is better to pay now for the cost of clearing slums and thereby get rid of them than to continue paying the evermounting costs of slums and suffer their destructive effects upon human lives and property indefinitely.



"Locally Planned, Locally Approved, Locally Executed"

Title I is a national program only because it helps each community do a job that it cannot do by itself. Under the law, all projects must be local undertakings—they must be started by the community, approved by the community, and carried out by the community. The community decides what areas it wants to clear and for what purposes it wants to redevelop them. The Federal Government's job is to review plans developed by the community to see that they conform with the requirements and objectives that Congress has laid down for Federal assistance, and to make sure that they will result in the removal of slums and blight today and in the future.

AREAS ELIGIBLE FOR FEDERAL AID

The key to the Housing Act of 1949 is improvement of housing and living conditions. Therefore, all slum clearance projects undertaken with Federal assistance must be areas consisting mainly of housing either before or after redevelopment. Either way, the community will obtain better housing conditions.

Four types of projects are eligible for Federal aid:

Residential slums or blighted areas. Federal aid is authorized to acquire, clear, and prepare these areas for any kind of redevelopment—housing, commercial, industrial, or public uses.

Nonresidential slums or blighted areas. Federal assistance is available only if the area is to be redeveloped for predominantly residential uses.

Predominantly open areas. Any land which is predominantly open and which, because of obsolete platting, diversity of ownership, deterioration of site improvements, or otherwise, substantially impairs or arrests sound growth of the community. Redevelopment—primarily for residential uses.

Open areas. Federal loans—but not grants—are available only if the land is needed for sound community growth and is to be redeveloped for residential purposes to facilitate the general redevelopment program. (Prime purpose for such open areas is to provide more living space in the community so that sufficient housing can be built to enable displaced families to find decent homes elsewhere.)

TITLE I IN OPERATION

Briefly, here is how the program operates:

The local community must decide on its own initiative that it wants to undertake slum clearance with Federal help. To participate, it must first obtain a capital grant reservation—an earmarking of funds for expected slum clearance projects. After it has set up an administrative organization with the necessary powers under State and local laws it may then obtain loans to map out slum areas that it wants to clear, make plans for rehousing and redevelopment, buy the slum properties, clear them, and get them ready for rebuilding or redevelopment.

Where the project involves clearance of a residential slum, the land may be made available for any purposes for which the locality wants to redevelop it, provided, of course, that those uses are in line with the approved redevelopment plan of the area and the locality. They may be housing, industrial, commercial, schools, low-rent public housing projects, or any other uses needed and approved by the community.

After the land is sold or leased, the community can get Federal grants to pay up to two-thirds of the deficit between what it cost to get the slums ready for redevelopment and what the city obtains for the land through sale or lease. The community pays the balance, either in cash, donations of land, or in improvements—parks, schools, sewers, streets, playgrounds, and other facilities—that will serve the new uses of the area.

Maximum Opportunity For Private Enterprise

The redevelopment of a cleared area will depend upon the locality's plan for its future use. The Housing Act of 1949 says, however, that private enterprise must be given maximum opportunity, consistent with the sound needs of the locality as a whole, to take part in the redevelopment. Congress, in passing that act, recognized that in general large-scale slum clearance cannot be undertaken unless a large part of the job is carried out by private enterprise.

That does not mean that public uses, such as parks, schools, and low-rent public housing for low-income families may not properly be a part of redevelopment. However, if the redevelopment plan for any project area includes such public uses for any or all of the project area, the local public agency will have to show that there are compelling reasons for these uses and that they conform to the development plan of the area and the community.

Federal slum clearance and urban redevelopment assistance will benefit private enterprise, among other ways, by enabling private developers to buy cleared slum lands—many of them in desirable close-in locations and already served by public transportation and utilities—at fair value for their intended new use. This should encourage private builders to construct not only housing at various prices and rentals, but also other types of needed construction.

Community Responsibilities

Federal assistance under this program is not just a blank check. The local community assumes certain responsibilities that must be carried out during the undertaking of a project. Localities must have necessary authority under state and local laws. They must have a general plan so that project redevelopment will be related to the locality as a whole. They must be giving serious attention to modernizing and improvement of building, housing, and zoning regulations to reduce housing costs and to prevent further growth of slums. As previously noted, communities must provide at least one-third of the net cost of their slum clearance programs in cash, land, work or facilities. Perhaps most important of all, they must see that the people displaced by the slum clearance operations are assured of decent, adequate housing, either in the cleared area or elsewhere.

Rehousing the People

Many slum clearance operations will hinge on this rehousing requirement. It was made a key part of the Housing Act of 1949 because if slums are torn down and families forced to live in other slums the whole purpose of the act—betterment of housing and living conditions—will be defeated. A good many of these people can and should be rehoused in private housing. But many slum dwellers of low-income are unable to afford decent private housing. For them, in most cases, low-rent public housing is the only practical answer. That is why the Housing Act of 1949 in a separate title provided Federal aid to localities to build public housing, and gave priority in that housing to families displaced from slums being cleared.

Relationship Between Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment and Low Rent Public Housing

The Housing Act of 1949 sets up two separate but related programs aimed to improve housing and environmental conditions: Title I, for clearing slums and blight, and Title III, the low-rent public housing program, through which the Federal Government furnishes financial assistance to communities so that they can provide decent housing for low-income families who form such a large proportion of the families living in slums.

Both programs are under the supervision of the Housing and Home Finance Administrator. The Federal responsibilities for slum clearance are administered through the Division of Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment in the Office of the HHFA Administrator, and those for low-rent public housing through the Public Housing Administration, a constituent agency of the HHFA.

Under the Housing Act of 1949, low-rent public housing is one of several tools that can be used in a broad attack upon slums and blight. It can do the best job for the community only when fitted into a broad approach in which not only public housing, but also private housing and community development as well are used in a joint effort to remove slums and to replan and rebuild these areas.

"A Decent Home and A Suitable Living Environment..."

During the past two decades various types of Federal assistance have been developed to meet varying needs and situations, with most of them designed to get better housing for more people through Federal aids to private enterprise. The Housing Act of 1949, in its Declaration of Policy, for the first time set up a common objective for all these Federal housing activities and for any others that might be developed.

It establishes as a national goal "the realization as soon as feasible . . . a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." Slum clearance and urban redevelopment is a vital aid in reaching that goal, for to many Americans a "suitable living environment" means not so much a vine-covered cottage out in the country, as a house or apartment in an urban or suburban area, convenient to their places of work and recreation.

Federal assistance for slum clearance can be used only when the people in a community decide they want to make use of it. Further, it can provide only a start toward cleaning up all our areas of slum and blight. But it can be a powerful aid in making our cities better places in which to work and live if the people of a community—local government, local organizations, private industry, labor, and citizens—use it as a springboard for a general attack upon their whole slum problem. In doing so, they will be contributing, as the Congress of the United States declared in the Housing Act of 1949, "to the development and redevelopment of communities and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation."

RESEARCH: THE IMPACT OF NEGRO POPULATION MOVEMENT ON PROPERTY VALUES IN A SELECTED AREA IN DETROIT.

DATE: January 16, 1950.

BY: Richard Marks, Information and Research Assistant
City of Detroit Mayor's Interracial Committee.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We wanted to find out if there was any reality in the belief that "Negroes devalue property" because (1) the belief is closely related to the system of racial restrictions, and (2) the belief is one which people "act in terms of" whether it be by moving or through hostility patterns. We raised some doubts about the possibilities of finding a definition of "true property value," and decided that for our purposes the final arbiter of value is what people will pay.

Since we needed something to equate price with, we used property assessments to create an index which would reflect property demand and inflatory conditions over a period of four years. A city-wide ratio for types of property for the years 1945-47 was used as a measure to hold inflatory conditions constant and also as a measure of the importance of the data that was collected for two sample areas: Area A, an area of high Jewish occupancy with in-migration of Negro families currently taking place; and Area B, an all-white area not religiously identified. These two areas were equated with each other (in so far as possible) except that Negro families were living in one area and not in the other. We were not very concerned about whether or not a white home owner felt that the "area in which Negroes were also living was less desirable"; our purpose was to see what happened to property and why. We found:

Sales

1. That property in the racially mixed area was sold more and was bought more.

Price

2. That the average price which was paid for two-family flats and single homes in the area into which Negroes were moving went up from what it sold for on the average in 1946, and that it has come down only slightly.

3. That the two types of property in the all-white area during the study period also went up, but

   a. in the case of two-family flats, came down to the 1946 level; and

   b. the single homes dropped well below 1946 average prices.

Index of Property Value

4. That while the ratio between sales price and assessed value has fluctuated a good deal over the four-year period for both areas, the most marked fluctuation appears in the all-white area.

5. That there is every indication of factors other than race determining the fluctuation of the average ratio in the two areas for the four-year period.

6. That when the ratios for the area into which Negroes were moving was specifically compared with that for the all-white area and the city-wide ratio (during the two years, 1946 and 1947, for which we have data on all three), we find

   a. that the ratio for single homes and two-family flats in Area A was lower (in other words, the price of the home was higher in terms of its constant, taxable value) than the city-wide ratio for single homes and two-family flats during 1946 and 1947;

   b. that the ratio for single homes and two-family flats in Area A was lower than the ratio for these types of property in Area B in 1946 and the same as that ratio in 1947; and

   c. that the ratio for Area B for both single homes and two-family flats was higher than the ratio for these types of property in the city-wide ratio in 1946, and lower than that ratio in 1947.

THUS, we find that the belief that "Negroes devalue property" to be completely unsubstantiated by the data of this study.

7. That the analysis of the significant individual case data for Area A points rather definitely to the role of the real estate operator in relation to the creation of housing supply, favorable market conditions, and high availability, and the tapping of existing high demand among Negro buyers.

8. That population movement can take place for a multitude of reasons--prejudice against an immigrant group being only one of many factors. In Area A, however, the movement of both Jewish families out, and Negro families in, had the appearance of "caste" movement, while "class" movement was more obvious in Area B.

   In addition, other factors--such as personal definitions of value and desirability; other alternatives, age or newness of home, site and location, amount of space and housing needs, family growth cycle, desire to get away from factories or to new schools--were operative on the individual home owner as a rational base for action.

FROM THE DESK OF

Alex Miller

Housing

TO Dr. George Mitchell

For your information...

RECEIVED
FEB 10 1950
Southern Regional Council

JOINT MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

To: AJC Chapters, ADL Regional and CRC Offices

From: Sol Rabkin and Alexander Brooks

Date: January 11, 1950

Subject: Restrictive Covenant Decision in Missouri

Since 1948, when the United States Supreme Court declared the judicial enforcement of racial restrictive covenants unconstitutional in Shelley v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1, opponents of that decision have argued that, whether there still exists a right to money damages for the breach of such agreements is an open question. In a recent decision of interest in the field of civil rights, the Supreme Court of Missouri has held that damages can be recovered for the breach of a racial restrictive covenant, even though "specific performance" is no longer available.

In Weiss et al. v. Lewis et al. the defendants were white persons who were about to sell to Negroes a lot in Kansas City, Missouri which was subject to a racial restrictive agreement. The plaintiffs owned adjacent lots and were parties to the restrictive covenant. Originally they sued both the white sellers and the Negro buyers in an attempt to enforce their coventant. They asked for an injunction against the sale, a cancellation of any deed which might have effectuated it, and an injunction against occupation of the property by the Negroes.

The trial court dismissed their petition on the basis of Shelley v. Kraemer, which had declared that, although a racial restrictive covenant is not an illegal instrument, the enforcement of it by a state court is an act of state discrimination in volation of the Fourteenth Amendment. The trail court also rejected the plaintiff's petition for damages for breach of the restrictive covenant.

The plaintiffs appealed to the Supreme Court of Missouri, which ruled that the tiral court's refusal to enforce the covenant by injunctive measures was proper. But the Missouri Supreme Court held that a suit for monetary damages for breach of the agreement was not foreclosed by the United States Supreme Court ruling in the Shelley case. The judgment of the trial court dismissing the suit for damages, was, therefore, reversed, and the matter remanded for trial of the damage issue.

The Supreme Court of Missouri has seen fit to interpret the Shelley case in an extremely narrow fashion. In doing so, the Court accepts the doctrine of the Shelley case that "enforcement" by a state court of a racial restrictive covenant is a violation of the "equal protection of the laws" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. But it rules that all that the United States Supreme Court

meant by "enforcement" was to compel specific performance of the covenant by the use of equitable injunctive powers, and no more. Said the Missouri court,

> "The fact that another remedy, specific performances, is ruled out because of constitutional reasons, need not necessarily effect the remedy by way of damages unless it, too, is unconstitutional under the circumstances."

But the United States Supreme Court obviously intended to give a much broader significance to the scope of the Fourteenth Amendment, and to the meaning of the term "enforcement."

The rationale of the Shelley case was that the state cannot give effect to a racial restrictive covenant through any of its organs, including its courts. As the United States Supreme Court pointed out in the restrictive covenant cases, by implementing the restrictive covenants, the states "made available the full coercive power of government to deny to petitioners, on the grounds of race or color, the enjoyment of property rights in premises which petitioners are willing and financially able to acquire and which the grantors are willing to sell."

Under this reasoning, if a state compels payment of money damages to a plaintiff suing for disregard of a restrictive agreement it is giving effect to the covenant as forcefully as if it grants an order compelling specific performance. As the United States Supreme Court stated,

> "State action, as that phrase is understood for the purposes of the Fourteenth Amendment, refers to exertions of state power in all forms. And when the effect of that action is to deny rights subject to the protection of the Fourteenth Amendment, it is the obligation of this Court to enforce the constitutional commands."

The decision of the Missouri Supreme Court might, in practical effect, nullify for Missourians the gains derived from the Shelley case in the campaign against restrictive covenants. For if the covenant were enforceable in an action at law for monetary damages, it would become as effective a deterrent to would-be sellers as the threat of an injunction was prior to the Shelley case. What could not be secured by injunction might be obtained through a suit for damages. It seems unlikely that the United States Supreme Court will uphold such an interpretation, should this case reach it on appeal.

SR:hn

JOINT MEMORANDUM

American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Ave.
New York 18, N. Y.

Anti-Defamation League
327 South La Salle St.
Chicago, Ill.
212 Fifth Ave.
New York, N. Y.

RECEIVED
MAR 6 1950
Southern Regional Council

TO: AJC Chapters, ADL Regional and CRC Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Alexander Brooks

DATE: January 11, 1950

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SR:hm

Housing - Pub Proj + Non Discrim

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
212 Fifth Avenue — Suite 601
New York 10, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To: ADL Regional Offices

From: Sol Rabkin

Date: March 17, 1950

Subject: Legislation Banning Discrimination in Publicly-Assisted Housing

This is to advise you that the New York State Assembly today unanimously approved the so-called Wicks-Austin bill, a bill designated to prohibit racial and religious discrimination in publicly-assisted housing erected in the State of New York on or after July 1, 1950. Publicly-assisted housing is defined in the bill as any housing which is either wholly or partially tax-exempt or which is constructed on land sold below cost by the state or any of its subdivisions in accordance with the Federal Housing Act of 1949, or which is built, in whole or in part, on property acquired or exempted by the state or any of its subdivisions through the use of the power of condemnation or otherwise, or which received funds or other financial assistance from the state or any of its subdivisions in connection with its acquisition, construction, repair, or maintenance. The bill grants to any person aggrieved by discrimination in violation of the Act the right to bring a suit for damages. In addition, it provides that any person aggrieved or any taxpayer may bring a suit to have discrimination in connection with any such state-assisted housing project terminated by injunction.

Since this bill has the endorsement of Governor Dewey, it is certain that it will be signed by him in the near future.

This bill is important because it is the first state legislation of this type enacted anywhere in the country, and because it sets a pattern in connection with the utilization of funds made available to states and communities throughout the country under the Federal Housing Act of 1949.

We are attaching hereto for your information a copy of the text of the bill as originally introduced in both Houses. It is our information that the bill as finally passed by both Houses is substantially identical to the form in which it was introduced.

It should be pointed out that the bill is applicable only to housing to be constructed within the state after July 1, 1950. Hence, it does not affect the Stuyvesant Town project in New York City.

S. R.

SR:hn
att.

JUSTICE MEIER STEINBRINK
National Chairman

RICHARD E. GUTSTADT
Executive Vice-Chairman

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
National Director

STATE OF NEW YORK

No. 2219 Int. 2068

IN SENATE

February 20, 1950

Introduced by Mr. WICKS - read twice and ordered printed, and when printed to be committed to the Committee on Judiciary

AN ACT

To amend the civil rights law, in relation to prohibiting discrimination and segregation because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry in housing accommodations acquired, constructed, repaired or maintained, in whole or in part, with the assistance or support of the state or any of its political subdivisions

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly do enact as follows:

Section 1. The civil rights law is hereby amended by inserting therein a a new article, to be article two-A, to read as follows:

ARTICLE 2-A

EQUAL RIGHTS TO PUBLICLY-AIDED HOUSING

Section 18-a. Findings and declarations of policy.
18-b. Definitions.
18-c. Discrimination prohibited.
18-d. Restraint of discrimination; damages for violations.
18-e. Applicability.

§ 18-a. Findings and declarations of policy. 1. This article shall be deemed an exercise of the police power of the state for the protection of the welfare, health and peace of the people of this state and the fulfillment and enforcement of the provisions of the constitution of this state concerning civil rights.

2. The practice of discrimination because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry in any publicly assisted housing accommodations is hereby declared to be against public policy.

§ 18-b. Definitions. When used in this article:

1. The term "person" includes one or more individuals, partnerships, associations, corporations, legal representatives, trustees, trustees in bankruptcy and receivers or other fiduciaries.

2. The term "housing accommodation" includes any building, structure, or portion thereof which is used or occupied or is intended, arranged or designed to be used or occupied, as the home residence or sleeping place of one or more human beings, but shall not include any accommodations operated by a religious or denominational organization as part of its religious or denominational activities.

3. The term "publicly assisted housing accommodation" includes any housing accommodation to be constructed within the state of New York

(a) which is to be exempt in whole or in part from taxes levied by the state or any of its political subdivisions;

(b) which is to be constructed on land sold below cost by the state or any of its political subdivisions or any agency thereof, pursuant to the federal housing act of nineteen hundred forty-nine;

(c) which is to be constructed in whole or in part on property acquired or assembled by the state or any of its political subdivisions or any agency thereof through the power of condemnation or otherwise for the purpose of such construction; or

(d) for the acquisition, construction, repair or maintenance of which the state or any of its political subdivisions or any agency thereof supplies funds or other financial assistance.

4. The term "owner" includes the lessee, sub-lessee, assignee, managing agent, or other person having the right of ownership or possession or the right to rent or lease housing accommodations and includes the state and any of its political subdivisions and any agency thereof.

5. The term "discriminate" includes to segregate or separate.

§18-c. Discrimination prohibited. It shall be unlawful:

1. For the owner of any publicly assisted housing accommodation to refuse to rent or lease or otherwise to deny to or withhold from any person or group of persons such housing accommodation because of the race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry of such person or persons.

2. For the owner of any publicly assisted housing accommodation to discriminate against any person because of the race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry of such person in the terms, conditions or privileges of any publicly assisted housing accommodations or in the furnishing of facilities or services in connection therewith.

3. For any person to cause to be made any written or oral inquiry concerning race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry of a person seeking to rent or lease any publicly assisted housing accommodation.

§18-d. Restraint of discrimination; damages for violations.

1. Any person aggrieved by a violation of section eighteen-c of this chapter and any person whose assessment shall amount to more than one thousand dollars and who shall be liable to pay taxes on such assessment in any county, town, village or municipal corporation in the state or who has been assessed or who has paid taxes upon any assessment of the above-named amount within one year previous to the initiation of an action under this section shall have a right of action in any court of appropriate jurisdiction for restraint of such violation and for other equitable remedies including such affirmative relief as may be necessary to undo the effects of such violation.

2. Any person aggrieved by a violation of section eighteen-c of this chapter shall in addition have a right of action in any court of appropriate jurisdiction for damages caused by such violation.

§18-e. Applicability. The provisions of this section shall not apply to privately owned housing accommodations which are not publicly assisted within the meaning of section eighteen-b (3) of this chapter.

§2. This act shall take effect July first, nineteen hundred fifty.

June 1950

DAMAGES FOR BREACH OF RESTRICTIVE RACIAL COVENANTS

The Supreme Court of Missouri recently allowed a recovery of damages for breach of a restrictive racial covenant.[1] The Missouri Court was careful to point out that the United States Supreme Court had not expressly ruled on this question in the precedent-shattering case of *Shelley v. Kraemer*[2], but whether or not the holding of the Missouri Court is in accord with the spirit of the decision of *Shelley v. Kraemer* is not free from doubt, and it is the purpose of this note to show why.

As a background to the *Shelley* case it is suggested that the reader see *Racial Residential Segregation by State Court Enforcement of Restrictive Agreements, Covenants or Conditions in Deeds is Unconstitutional,*[3] by D. O. McGovney. The practice prior to the *Shelley* case may be summarized by quoting from *American Jurisprudence:*

> "The ordinary remedy that is invoked in actions concerning restrictive covenants is the equitable remedy of injunction. An action at law for damages for a breach lies in favor of the covenantee and, according to some authorities, in favor of a subsequent holder of the property entitled to enforce the agreement."[4]

The Missouri Court appears to be the only court to have had the question before it since the *Shelley* case and various law reviews have disposed of the question in one of two ways, i. e., either by saying that the Supreme Court did not pass on the matter in the *Shelley* case or that it would be inconsistent to allow damages in view of the prohibition of state action as the term is used in the *Shelley* case. The Supreme Court stated through Chief Justice Vinson:

> "Nor is the Amendment ineffective simply because the particular pattern of discrimination, which the State has enforced, was defined initially by the terms of a private agreement. State action, as that phrase is understood for the purposes of the Fourteenth Amendment,[5] refers to exertions of the state power in all forms. And when the effect of that action is to deny rights subject to the protection of the Fourteenth Amendment, it is the obligation of this Court to enforce the constitutional commands.[6] * * * *

1. Weiss v. Leaon, 225 S. W. 2d 127 (Mo. 1949).
2. 334 U. S. 1 (1948), 3 A. L. R. 2d 441.
3. 33 CAL. L. REV. 5 (1945).
4. 14 AM. JUR. 663; also see 3 A. L. R. 2d 474.
5. AMEND. XIV, S 1, U. S. CONST.: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States".
6. See note 2, *supra*, p. 20.

> And it would appear beyond question that the power of the state to create and enforce property interests must be exercised within the boundaries defined by the Fourteenth Amendment.[7] * * * * It is clear that but for the active intervention of the state courts, supported by the full panoply of state power, petitioners would have been free to occupy the properties in question without restraint."[8]

The *Arkansas Law Review* reacted to the language of the Supreme Court by saying:

> "The concept of state action as now extended means that every private contract partakes of 'state action' the moment judicial aid is invoked to enforce it."[9]

The writer for the *George Washington Law Review* was obviously conscious of the weight of Chief Justice Vinson's word when he posed his, as yet unanswered, query:

> "If all state court judgments are 'state action' within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment, it may be wondered whether a union shop agreement is enforceable lest it discriminate against non-union labor as a class, or whether any contract of hire is enforceable, lest it discriminate against those who were not hired. Similarly, one may wonder whether a dealer-producer marketing agreement, the lease of an apartment, or any executory contract, could be enforced without an examination by the Court, to determine whether the parties had treated all outside persons with that scrupulous regard for fairness and equality which the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments demand of those who enjoy the public trust as state and federal officials."[10]

One writer, among others,[11] thinks invocation of any court action based on a restrictive covenant would be unsuccessful and also states:

> "The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the racial restrictive covenant cases may be subjected to varying interpretations but they are landmarks, admittedly, in legal and constitutional thinking. It is necessary to reconsider and revalue all the comments of judges and legal writers bearing a date prior to May 3, 1948."[12]

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7. *Id.*, p. 22.
8. *Id.*, p. 19.
9. 3 ARK. L. REV. 96 (1948).
10. 17 GEO. WASH. L. REV. 398 (1949).
11. See 48 COL. L. REV. 1241 (1948) and 21 SO. CAL. L. REV. 358 (1948).
12. 1 ALA. L. REV. 15 (1948)

Another writer asserts:

> "The Supreme Court will be reluctant to sanction the giving of legal effect to any discriminatory agreement, the enforcement of which would intensify the pressing social problem [of discrimination]."[13]

A well reasoned statement is made in the *University of Cincinnati Law Review* as follows:

> "These cases [*Shelley v. Kraemer, McGhee v. Sipes*[14]] failed to provide a specific answer to the question of whether a state court can enforce a provision incorporated in many racial covenants providing for liquidated damages for breach of the covenant. It is suggested that such a provision will be held unenforceable insofar as state court enforcement of a liquidated damage provision would be state action, and just as the covenant itself is unenforceable so surely would be one of its clauses specifying an alternative remedy. The damage provision is only an alternative method of attempting to effectuate the discrimination and has the same fatal defect of the covenant, that is, it has as its purpose the accomplishment of racial discrimination. For a state court to enforce it is for the state court to lend its aid and authority to consummate an otherwise incomplete individual act of discrimination,"[15]

The *Wisconsin Law Review* says:

> "It cannot be that Chief Justice Vinson was distinguishing between the different methods by which the covenants could be enforced so as to say the courts could enforce them by awarding damages but could not do so by fine or imprisonment arising out of an injunction. In the first place Chief Justice Vinson is talking about 'voluntary adherence'. You do not act voluntarily when to act otherwise your property would be diminished by an execution issued by a court. In the second place, such a distinguishment would be to make a mockery of the rest of his decision. * * * * Most certainly he did not mean to say that the covenant could be enforced by the obtaining of damages."[16]

In affirming the judgment of a lower court which sustained a demurrer to an action seeking to enforce restrictions against occupation

13. 61 HARV. L. REV. 1452 (1948).
14. Decided with Shelley v. Kraemer, *supra*, note 2.
15. 17 U. OF CIN. L. REV. 77 (1948), p. 82.
16. 1948 WIS. L. REV. 508.

of certain lots by non-Caucasians, the Supreme Court of California said:

> "Counsel for the respective parties have agreed that the decision of the United States Supreme Court in *Shelley v. Kraemer* * * * * holding that such restrictions cannot be enforced through court action, is controlling here. Accordingly, we do not reach the question as to whether any tenable cause of action for relief or recovery other than specific enforcement of the racial restrictions is, or could be stated."[17]

In a Texas case the plaintiff held the land under a deed executed to him by the owner of the reversion after breach of the condition in the defendant's chain of title that the land would not be sold to "persons of Mexican descent" (the defendant was such a person) and in the event of violation of the covenant "all title to the then owner and occupant shall be forfeited to the grantor, and upon demand, such property and all improvements thereon shall be surrendered to the seller". Although admitting that he could not maintain an action on the covenant in view of the *Shelley* case, the plaintiff contended that he was not precluded from relying upon the covenant as a defense to the defendant's cross-action (presumably to regain possession of the land) but the Court of Civil Appeals of Texas in affirming judgment for the defendant gave its interpretation of the holding of the *Shelley* case in clear language:

> "It is as much an enforcement of the covenant to deny to a person a legal right to which he would be entitled except for the covenant as it would be to expressly command by judicial order that the terms of the covenant be recognized and carried out. * * * * Under the decision of the Supreme Court, above referred to [*Shelley v. Kraemer*], judicial *recognition or enforcement* of the racial covenant involved here by a state court is precluded by the 'equal protection of the laws' clause of the Fourteenth Amendment."[18] (Emphasis added.)

Although it is not the writer's purpose to discuss alternative remedies for breach of restrictive racial covenants, there have been recent discussions of this problem which the reader may find informative.[19] Of particular interest to members of the bar in the South is a re-

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17. Morin v. Crane, 32 Cal, 2d 896, 197 P. 2d 162 (1948).
18. Clifton v. Puente, 218 S. W. 2d 272 (Tex. 1948).
19. See 2 VANDERBILT L. REV. 123 (1948); 37 CAL. L. REV. 493 (1949); 3 A. L. R. 2d 473.

freshing article in the *Tennessee Law Review*[20] dealing with the practical aspect of the non-enforceability of such restrictive covenants in a Southern state.

The reluctance of the Missouri Court to extend the holding of *Shelley v. Kraemer* beyond the express language of that decision can be understood if one considers the long established practice of enforcing covenants of that type. It should be remembered that the Supreme Court did not declare such covenants unconstitutional but merely unenforceable by state action and the importance of that difference has yet to be fully appreciated, for, as one writer[21] observes, has the Supreme Court held the covenants to be unconstitutional that would have been the "go" signal for Congress to enact legislation making it a crime to enter into such agreements. However, it is felt that the spirit of the Supreme Court's decision, as expressed by its all-inclusive language defining "state action" to be "exertions of state power in all forms", does not permit an alternative remedy for breach of such covenants inasmuch as it is difficult to see how one type of action would be "state action" and the other not. Heretofore when a state court felt that it would be inequitable to enforce such a covenant, because of changed conditions or for other reasons, it would leave the petitioner to his remedy at law for damages. But there should be no confusing of this practice with the holding of the *Shelley* case because the Supreme Court's decision resulted from an application of the Fourteenth Amendment and not from a weighing of the equities. The Texas court seems to have correctly interpreted the Supreme Court's decision because any recognition of such a covenant in a proceeding in any state court will constitute action by the state.

HOOVER C. BLANTON.

20. TENN. L. REV. 679 (1949).
21. 11 GA. BAR J. 88 (1948).

ADL

ATLANTA REGIONAL OFFICE
11 PRYOR ST., S. W.-ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

Harold Fleming:

You may be interested in making wide-spread use of this, possibly by including it in your "(Not so) New (you should pardon the expression) South".

Regards

Art Levin

16-Housing

This article originally appeared
in the

Minneapolis Star, July 13, 1950

- DOES NEGRO OCCUPANCY AFFECT PROPERTY VALUES? -

To the Editor: In the Star for July 1st, Richard Wentworth asked W. E. Cratic of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: "Why is it that when a Negro moves into a white district, the surrounding property value drops, yet the tax does not?"

My first interest on reading the letter was to ascertain whether property values do invariably drop under such circumstances. I telephoned a well-known sociologist at the University of Minnesota and the office of the Minneapolis Mayor's Council on Human Relations. Among other authorities, they quoted Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Harvard trained advisor on Negro affairs to the Department of the Interior. Dr. Weaver prepared the socio-economic memoranda used in arguments before the United States Supreme Court in the Shelly vs. Kaemer and Hurd vs. Hodges cases, which brought forth the recent decision that racial restrictive covenants on land are unenforceable in state or federal courts.

Weaver states that there is no one universal effect on property value of Negro occupancy, that there are many factors involved, which produce different results under different circumstances. A huge body of statistics accumulated by the United States Housing Authority and the Federal Housing Authority, from 34 states shows that Negroes and Whites of comparable incomes have practically identical records of property maintenance and prompt payment, regardless of whether they live in a mixed or in a segregated district. The very slight difference is in favor of the Negro. So, it would appear, Negroes can not be accused of running property values down by slovenliness or neglect.

Weaver states further that "it is the rapid and panic-inspired movement of whites out rather than movement of a few Negroes in that leads to a fall in the property price in areas where Negroes enter." In other words, a general unquestioning acceptance by a large number of whites residing in the area of the traditional pattern of segregation, and the natural operation of the laws of supply and demand when these whites flood the market by dumping their property, may start prices falling.

Unscrupulous real estate men have some times created panics in order to manipulate the market to their advantage. They have urged the whites to sell out quickly at low prices and have later resold the property at a sizeable profit, to Negroes, who have been accustomed to having to pay more than whites for the same kind of property. Frank Fager, executive secretary of the Mayor's Council on Human Relations, informs me there are such cases in Minneapolis right now.

Declining property values which might appear to the superficial observer to be due to entrance of a few Negroes into a community are some times due to other causes, such as the encroachment of industry.

Whether or not property values drop when a Negro moves into a white district depends largely upon how the situation is handled. Fager informs me that in Minneapolis a number of Negro families have been living quietly in various predominantly white, good residential sections of Minneapolis, some of them for many years. He read me a list of about 16 addresses where a single Negro family is completely surrounded by white neighbors. I happen to know two of these families. They are the kind of people any of us should be glad to have as neighbors---loyal, constructive, intelligent, law-abiding citizens, quiet, self-respecting people with sound ideals.

A well-known University of Minnesota professor, now retired, stopped a panic among his neighbors a few years ago when a Negro family was moving into the neighborhood, by asking, "Did you people buy your homes for speculation or to live in?" When they replied that they had bought them to live in, he pointed out that there needed to be no devaluation. If the people themselves were not prejudiced and did not begin selling homes in great numbers, the neighborhood would remain stable and practically unchanged.

Wentworth might have asked, "Why do some white people wish to move out of a neighborhood when a Negro family moves in?" The white people may never have met Negroes of their own class and may have a stereotype idea of the Negro which makes him out to be ignorant or shiftless or loud or even dangerous.

But more often it is a question of social prestige. The whites are afraid that they will be suspected of associating with people who are not acceptable to the crowd with whom they wish to associate, or they might be found living in a neighborhood which might be sized up as beneath the social standards to which they aspire. They do not realize that times are changing and that we must grow with the times, even if it costs us some personal discomfort in breaking old habits; else the social prestige we insist upon in our small local group will cost our country the prestige she needs to win the peoples of the world to the cause of democracy.

Wentworth suggests that we should "all live happily the Memphis way," which as he says, is "Negroes and whites each in their own district." But he can not have read Gunnar Myrdal's scholarly work, "The American Dilemma" or any of a number of current books, nor can he have followed the recent Supreme Court decisions or the cases now crowding the courts of the south, if he thinks that even the white people of the south are happy under their ghetto system. I, too, have lived in the south for a number of years, and I still have relatives and friends there. The southern states are making progress, but they have serious and difficult problems.

That Minneapolis and St. Paul are working out a much better system than the "Memphis way" is demonstrated by the fact that they were presented in February 1949 with a national award, honoring them as the cities in the United States which had made the greatest progress in the field of human relations.

Minneapolis - Mrs. John W. Gruner

16- Housing

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
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TO: CRC and ADL Regional Offices and AJC Chapters

FROM: Arnold Forster and Edwin J. Lukas

DATE: October 9, 1950

SUBJECT: Suit for Damages Based on Breach of Racial Restrictive Covenants

Set out below is the complete text of a decision handed down by Judge Holtzoff in the United States District Court of the District of Columbia on October 5, 1950, in the case of Roberts v. Curtis, an action for damages for breach of a restrictive covenant banning sale of residential property to Negroes. The action was brought by a group of white covenantors against a white seller who had transferred his real estate to a Negro in defiance of a racial restrictive covenant. This decision is noteworthy because it is the first by a court of record contrary to the decision of the Missouri Supreme Court in Weiss v. Leaon, which had held, despite Shelley v. Kraemer, that even though a court could not entertain an injunction suit to enforce a racial restrictive covenant, it could entertain a suit for damages for breach of such a covenant.

The text of Judge Holtzoff's decision is as follows:

"This is an action for damages for breach of a restrictive covenant not to sell to members of the colored race. For a great many years covenants of this type were regarded as valid and were enforcible by the courts. However, in the case of Hurd v. Hodge and Shelley v. Kraemer, the Supreme Court reversed and overruled the prior rules of law applicable to these covenants. The Supreme Court held that such agreements are not invalid so long as their purposes are achieved by voluntary adherence to the terms of the agreements. The Supreme Court further held that it was contrary to the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution and contrary to public policy to aid in the enforcement of such covenants by judicial proceedings. True, the actions involved in Shelley v. Kraemer and Hurd v. Hodge were actions for injunctive relief, but the ruling is broad enough to cover actions in damages as well. I construe the holdings of the Supreme Court as withholding any judicial assistance for enforcement of such restrictive covenants. These rulings are obviously binding on this court and in view of these considerations and line of reasoning which is inescapable, the motion to dismiss must be granted."

Also attached hereto is a copy of the motion for leave to file a brief amicus in the case, and the brief amicus submitted in connection with that motion by our agencies.

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

MALCOLM I. ROBERTS, et al,	)	
Plaintiffs	)	
vs.	)	Civil Action No.
EDWARD R. CURTIS, et al,	)	2192-50
Defendants	)	

MOTION FOR LEAVE TO FILE BRIEF AND BRIEF OF ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH AND AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE AS AMICI CURIAE

The undersigned, as counsel for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee and on their behalf, respectfully move this Court for leave to file a brief in this case as amici curiae.

Each of these organizations has among its fundamental tenets the preservation of the rights guaranteed every citizen by our Federal Constitution. Each has recognized that any invasion of the democratic right of any individual or group undermines the foundation of our democratic system.

The American Jewish Committee is a corporation created by an Act of the Legislature of the State of New York in 1906. Its charter states:

> "The object of this corporation shall be to prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews, in any part of the world; to render all lawful assistance and to take appropriate remedial action in the event of threatened or actual invasion or restriction of such rights, or of unfavorable discrimination with respect thereto..."

B'nai B'rith, founded in 1843, is the oldest civic organization of American Jews. It represents a membership of 300,000 men and women and their families. The Anti-Defamation League was organized in 1913, as a section of the parent organization, in order to cope with racial and religious prejudice in the United States. The program developed by the League is designed to achieve the following objectives: to eliminate and counteract defamation and discrimination against the various racial, religious and ethnic groups which comprise our American people; to counteract un-American and anti-democratic activity; to advance goodwill and mutual understanding among American groups; to encourage and translate into greater effectiveness the ideals of American democracy.

Organizations dedicated to the defense of American democracy cannot stand by silently while the residential areas of our cities and towns are overrun by a spreading flood of restrictive covenants banning occupancy by members of specific racial or religious groups. The dangers to our democratic way of life arising from racial residential segregation are obvious. Organizations such as those sponsoring this brief cannot acquiesce in the application in America of discriminatory practices to so vital an aspect of our economy as housing.

For these reasons, when the precedent-making cases on restrictive covenants were before the Supreme Court in 1947, we filed a brief amici curiae urging that Court to outlaw judicial enforcement of racial covenants. For the same reasons, we deem it important to submit our legal views of this case to the Court. The present racial restrictive covenants case is one with which we are deeply concerned. In our judgment, plaintiffs' action, if successful, would have the effect of undermining the Supreme Court's decision in Shelley v. Kraemer and Hurd v. Hodge, and would restore direct government sanction for ghettoized housing.

For these reasons, we respectfully move the Court for leave to file the attached brief amici curiae.

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American Jewish Committee

Certificate of Mailing

I certify that copies of the foregoing motion and attached brief were, on October 3, 1950, mailed, postage prepaid to John H. Connaughton, Esq., and Harry W. Goldberg, Esq., Attorneys for Plaintiff and Defendant, Respectively.

William P. Bernton

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

MALCOLM I. ROBERTS, et al,	)	
Plaintiffs	)	
vs.	)	Civil Action No.
EDWARD R. CURTIS, et al,	)	2192-50
Defendants	)	

BRIEF OF ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH AND AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE AS AMICI CURIAE

STATEMENT OF FACTS

This is an action for damages for alleged breach of restrictive covenants against sale to Negroes.

Plaintiffs are the owners of certain real property in the 4000 block of Fifth Street, Northwest. The original developers of the tract in which this property is located, recorded and placed in all deeds to purchasers a covenant providing that "said property shall never be rented, leased, sold, transferred, or conveyed unto or in trust for any Negro or colored person or any person of Negro extraction under a penalty of $2,000.00 which shall be a lien against said property." Thereafter, plaintiffs (or their grantors) executed and recorded an agreement in 1946 reciting that they "hereby mutually covenant, promise and agree ... that no part of the land now owned by the parties hereto ... shall ever be used or occupied by, or sold, conveyed, leased, rented, given to or held in trust for Negroes or any person or persons of the Negro race or blood." The agreement further provided that "this covenant shall run with the land and bind the respective heirs and assigns of the parties hereto for the period of fifty (50) years from and after the date of these presents."

The defendants acquired title to the property involved in this proceeding from one of the signers of the 1946 agreement. In April 1950, defendants conveyed their property to one Hightower and his wife, both Negroes.

This action was instituted by the plaintiffs to recover from the defendants damages for alleged breach of both the 1946 agreement and the original covenant. As a first cause of action, plaintiffs each ask for damages in the amount of $5,000 for breach of the 1946 agreement. As a second cause of action, each plaintiff seeks $2,000 for breach of the original covenant.

This brief is limited to consideration of the single issue: is judicial enforcement of a racial restrictive covenant in an action for money damages contrary to the public policy of the United States and in violation of the Civil Rights Act? It does not consider the question (a) whether the covenants are void as unreasonable restraints on alienation, (b) whether the amount of damages which the plaintiffs may recover, if any, is limited to the amount named in the original covenant, (c) whether the penalty named in the original covenant is for the benefit of the plaintiffs individually or whether it represents the extent of the liability of the defendants to all the plaintiffs as a class, or (d) whether the original covenant is still in force or whether it has been superseded by the 1946 agreement so that the plaintiffs are restricted solely to an action on the 1946 agreement. These questions are covered in the principal brief submitted by the defendants.

I

Judicial enforcement of racial restrictive covenants, including money judgments for breach of such covenants, is barred by the Civil Rights Act and the public policy of the United States.

The main issue presented for determination by this Court is whether an action for damages for breach of a racial restrictive covenant has been outlawed by the decisions of the Supreme Court in Shelley v. Kraemer and McGhee v. Sipes, 334 U.S.1 (1948), and the companion cases of Hurd v. Hodge and Urciolo v. Hodge, 334 U.S.24 (1948). It is a question which must be answered in the affirmative because the reasoning of the Supreme Court makes it abundantly clear that a suit for damages for breach of a racial restrictive covenant, like a complaint for injunctive relief, is now barred in the states by the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, and in the District of Columbia by the Civil Rights Act, Section 1978 Revised Statutes (8 U.S.C., Sec. 42) and the public policy of the United States. While both the Shelley and Hurd cases concerned complaints for injunctive relief, the scope of the ruling in those cases is not limited to complaints for injunctive relief but is equally applicable to any judicial action to enforce the discriminatory covenant. The logical application of the court's doctrine precludes any sound distinction based on the nature of the judicial relief sought.

The Supreme Court has made it clear that enforcement by state courts of racial restrictive covenants constitutes state action prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment (Shelley v. Kraemer, McGhee v. Sipes), and that enforcement by federal courts of such covenants is governmental action proscribed by the Civil Rights Act and contrary to the public policy of the United States. Hurd v. Hodge and Urciolo v. Hodge. These decisions make such covenants unenforceable - irrespective of the form of action involved or the character of the judicial relief sought. What is determinative is not the method or the procedure by which the agreement is sought to be enforced, but that an agency of government is participating in the enforcement of the discriminatory restrictions. The decisions of the Supreme Court are directed at judicial intervention in support of the discriminatory acts of private persons. The parties are free to contract but resort to the courts to enforce the discriminatory objectives of the agreement is barred. "The major thrust of the court's decisions is aimed at the prohibition of judicial participation in the maintenance of residential segregation." Ming, Racial Restriction and the Fourteenth Amendment: The Restrictive Covenant Cases, 16 U of Chi. L. Rev. 203, 216 (1949).

It is fundamental that a contract is merely an agreement judicially enforceable either by an action at law for damages or by a suit in equity for specific performance. Specific performance is the exceptional remedy - applied only where damages for the breach are inadequate. The usual, and frequently the sole, remedy for a breach of contract is an action for damages, the object of which is to put the injured plaintiff in as good a position as he would have been had the contract been fully performed. Damages are merely "the judicial method of satisfying the contract." Campbell Building Co. v. State Road Commission, 70 P(2d) 857, 862 (1937); Horn v. Matagorda County, 213 S.W. 934, 935 (1919). Plainly, therefore, actions for damages and specific performance are the judicial techniques designed to secure for a party injured as a consequence of a breach of contract precisely what he bargained for or a money equivalent so that he will "be placed in the same situation ... as if the contract had been performed." Robinson v. Harmon, 1 Ex. 850, 154 Eng.Rep. 363 (1848).

This action to enforce the penalty provision in the original covenant and to collect damages for breach of the 1946 agreement, like an action for injunctive relief, is intended to enforce and to maintain a pattern of racial residential segregation. It is manifest that a threat of legal liability will compel a party to a covenant to obey its terms. As Justice Holmes said in his dissenting opinion in Bailey v. Alabama, 219 U.S. 219, 246 (1911) "Any legal liability for breach of a contract is a disagreeable consequence which tends to make the contractor do as he said he would. Liability to an action for damages has that tendency as well as a fine." It is evident that if an action for damages can be maintained, property owners will refrain from selling to members of the excluded class. For if a property owner who is disposed to sell in disregard of racial restrictions is to be judicially compelled to respond in an action at law for damages, he will be deterred from selling. If he obeys the condition in order to avoid being sued, clearly his compliance is not voluntary but the result of judicial compulsion. What could not be attained through the injunctive process, could thus be accomplished as effectively through the medium of an action for damages. It would indeed be anomalous for this Court to hold that courts which are forbidden to prevent willing vendors from selling to Negroes may nevertheless do so by the threat of a money judgment. This Court would thus be accomplishing by indirection that

which it has been barred from doing directly although it is a maxim that "what the state may not do directly, it may not do indirectly." Bailey v. Alabama, 219 U.S. 219, 244 (1911). A decision by this Court that an action for damages is not banned equally with a suit for injunctive relief would thus break down "the broad barrier to segregation by judicial decree" (Ming, supra, pg. 216) erected by the Supreme Court in the Shelley and Hurd cases, and would resurrect and restore the effectiveness of the restrictive covenant as a major device for ghettoizing racial and religious minorities and denying them the opportunity to obtain adequate housing.

That judicial action is governmental action is no longer in dispute. Clearly, it is no less a direct exercise of state power when property is seized and sold by a sheriff to satisfy a judgment for damages than when a person is held in contempt for refusal to obey the command of an injunction. It is obvious, therefore, whether the restriction is enforced either in a suit for injunctive relief or in an action for damages for breach of the covenant, "the full panoply" of governmental power is being made available to those who, like the plaintiffs, are seeking to enforce the restriction and perpetuate the discrimination.

In Buchanan v. Warley, 234 U.S.60 (1917) and Harmon v. Tyler, 273 U.S.668 (1927), the Supreme Court acknowledged "the right of white sellers to dispose of their properties free from restrictions as to potential purchasers based on consideration of race or color," Shelley v. Kraemer, supra pg. 9. If this Court should now hold defendants liable in damages for selling to Negro purchasers, it would clearly be impairing their right to sell their property free from such improper restrictions. It would be creating and enforcing a duty not to sell to colored purchasers and it is immaterial whether that duty is enforced by the threat of imposing a liability to pay money damages for a violation thereof or by enjoining a threatened violation.

In Buchanan v. Warley, the Supreme Court held that the state could not, consistent with the due process clause, deny a white owner of property the right to sell that property solely because of the color of the prospective purchaser. In Harmon v. Tyler the Supreme Court in a per curiam opinion, on the authority of Buchanan v. Warley, held invalid an ordinance forbidding a Negro from residing in a predominantly white area or any white person from establishing a home in a predominantly Negro area without the consent of a majority of the residents. The Ordinance was invalidated at the instance of a white property owner in a suit brought against him by another white owner who sought to restrain him from renting a home to a Negro without obtaining the necessary consents. In Urciolo v. Hodge, a companion case to Hurd v. Hodge, the petitioner, Urciolo, a white real estate dealer, had sold three restricted properties to Negroes who were then occupying them, and still owned three other lots subject to the covenants. The District Court enjoined the petitioner, Urciolo, from selling any of the lots to any Negro or colored person. The Supreme Court in reversing the judgment held that the action of the District Court directed against the white seller as well as the Negro purchasers denied rights intended by Congress to be protected by the Civil Rights Act. In thus protecting the petitioner, Urciolo, the court was merely relying on its earlier decision in the Buchanan case where the ordinance was invalidated on complaint of the white property owner.

Just as the action of the municipal legislature in seeking to prevent a white property owner from selling to Negroes was held in Buchanan v. Warley to be an unconstitutional interference with his right to sell freely to Negroes, so, too, if this Court should now hold the defendants liable in damages for breaching the covenant and selling to Negroes, its action would impair the right of the defendants to sell their property to any purchaser free from any restriction based on color or race. Without the intervention of this Court, defendants would be free to dispose of their property without being penalized on account of the color of their purchasers.

The only court which has thus far considered the question has concluded that an action for damages for breach of a racial restrictive covenant may still be maintained. Weiss et al v. Leaon, 225 S.W.(2d) 127 (Mo. 1950). The court was of opinion that an action for damages was not outlawed by the decisions of the Supreme Court in the Shelley and Hurd cases. It is submitted that the Missouri court has narrowly and erroneously interpreted the import of the Supreme Court decisions. Law review writers have uniformly rejected the Missouri decision as unsound, 30 Bost.U.L.Sev. 273 (Apr. 1950); 18 Geo. Wash. L.Rev. 417 (Apr. 1950); 38 Geo.L.J. 678 (May 1950); 63 Harv.L.Rev. 1062 (Apr. 1950); 98 U.ofPa.L.Rev. 588 (Mar. 1950); 18 J.B.A. Kans. 359 (May 1950)

just as earlier writers in commenting upon the Shelley and Hurd cases generally agreed that a logical application of the principle of those cases would require the dismissal of an action for damages just as it precludes a suit for injunctive relief, 48 Col. L.Rev. 1241, 1244 (1948); Scanlon, Racial Restrictions in Real Estate - Property Values vs. Human Values, 24 Notre Dame Lawyer, 157, 182 (1949), Ming, supra 203, 216. At least one court has already held that the scope of those decisions is not restricted to complaints for injunctive relief but extends to any type of judicial action which seeks to enforce and give effect to the restriction. In Clifton v. Puente, 218 S.W.(2d) 273 (Tex. Civ. App. 1948) the court held that a breach of the covenant could not be relied upon as a defense to an action in trespass to take possession of restricted property brought by a member of the proscribed group.

The Missouri court itself recognized that the remedy by way of damages like the remedy of specific performance might be outlawed constitutionally. But it concluded -- with a diffidence and lack of conviction apparent on its face -- that the ruling of the Supreme Court did not necessarily extend to actions for damages, or at least since the Court had not expressly ruled on this precise question, it was free to conclude subject to review by the Supreme Court that an action for damages was not barred by the Court's decisions. In so doing, the Missouri court ignored these decisions of the Supreme Court holding that legislative and judicial action restricting the right of a white property owner to sell to colored purchasers imposed an unconstitutional restraint on the white property owner's freedom to dispose of his property. In holding that the white property owner who sold his property to a member of the excluded class could be sued in an action for damages, the Missouri court clearly infringed on his constitutional right to dispose of his property free from any restraint based on the color of his purchaser.

A decision by this Court that a suit for damages may be lawfully maintained, would clearly establish a substantive rule of law. The fact that the rule would be judicial rather than legislative in origin would make it no less an expression of governmental action. And if an otherwise willing vendor subsequently refused to sell covenanted property to a Negro in order to avoid being sued, the prospective Negro purchaser could properly claim that the judicially formulated rule deprived him of rights protected by the Civil Rights Act and was contrary to public policy - or, in the case of a rule adopted by a state court, in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Clearly it would be a vain and purposeless gesture and a futile exercise of judicial power to prescribe a rule of law which could thereafter be promptly and successfully challenged as being constitutionally or otherwise unenforceable.

In both Shelley v. Kraemer and Hurd v. Hodge, the Supreme Court recognized that restrictive covenants are not interdicted "so long as the purposes of those agreements are achieved by the parties through voluntary adherence to the terms," without the support or sanction of governmental authority. In the instant case, there has been no voluntary compliance with the terms of the restrictive agreement. On the contrary, defendants refused to observe the agreement and sold their property to Negroes, and plaintiffs are now calling upon this court for its aid and for the exercise of its coercive power to enforce the agreement through an award of damages. Such judicial enforcement is, however, clearly foreclosed by the decisions of the Supreme Court. If Congress were to enact a statute authorizing the relief the plaintiffs are now seeking from this Court -- the levy of damages against an owner of property for selling to a Negro -- it is clear that the statute would be held to violate the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment. The fact that the rule of law is judge-made rather than statutory is not material. In either case the property owner would be penalized because of the color of the purchaser. A ruling by this Court allowing an action for damages would result in the formulation of a substantive rule of law which by its very terms would make race or color relevant in its application. Such a rule of law would violate the Civil Rights Act and be clearly inconsistent with and contrary to the public policy of the United States as expressed in the Hurd case. "Where the enforcement of private agreements would be violative of (public) policy, it is the obligation of the courts to refrain from such exertion of judicial power." Hurd v. Hodge. The public policy of the United States against enforcement of racial restrictive covenants imposes on this court no lesser obligation to dismiss this action for damages than to dismiss a complaint for injunctive relief.

CONCLUSION

For the reasons herein stated, it is respectfully requested that the motion of the defendant to dismiss the complaint be granted.

Respectfully submitted

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OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS IN DILAPIDATED CONDITION
1 9 5 0
Percentage Distribution

State	White	Negro
Alabama	15	45
Arkansas	18	43
Florida	7	38
Georgia	13	46
Kentucky	15	36
Louisiana	11	41
Mississippi	16	47
North Carolina	11	37
Oklahoma	11	35
South Carolina	12	43
Tennessee	15	40
Texas	11	35
Virginia	8	34

Source: 1950 Census of Housing

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Arnold Forster and Edwin J. Lukas

DATE: February 19, 1951

SUBJECT: Phillips v. Knaff

On January 30, 1951, the Circuit Court of Wayne County, Michigan, handed down a decision in the case of Phillips v. Knaff, in which it threw out a suit brought to collect damages for breach of a racial restrictive covenant.

The restrictive covenant in the case was directed against occupancy and use by persons other than "a white person of the Caucasian race". The plaintiffs and the defendants were owners of adjoining lots subject to the restrictive covenant. The defendants sold their property to Negroes in disregard of the covenant. The plaintiffs then brought an action for damages based on the claim that the defendant's sale to Negroes had damaged plaintiffs' property to the extent of $5,000. The defendants asked the dismissal of the complaint on the ground that it did not state a cause of action.

The Wayne County Circuit Court dismissed the complaint. It pointed out that the parties believed, when they entered into the racial restrictive covenant, that it was enforcible in the courts by an injunction, and that therefore, they had made no provision in the contract for alternative remedies such as a damage suit in case of breach of the covenant. At the time the parties signed the covenant, it could be enforced in the courts of Michigan by injunction. Thereafter, in 1948, the United States Supreme Court, in its decision in Shelley v. Kraemer, ruled that such covenants could not be enforced by state courts. The court then cited a number of cases holding that, where two persons enter into a contract based on certain assumptions as to their legal rights and are mistaken in their assumptions, the contract is void, and will be set aside upon application to the courts. After stating that the restrictive covenant is a contract the court applied the rule described above, and held that the racial restrictive covenant upon which the suit was based was void and that, therefore, the suit must be dismissed.

In discussing the impact of the decision in Shelley v. Kraemer, on the case before it, the court said: "Since it is the policy of the courts of this state, under the law of this state, not to take direct action in enforcing adherence to racial covenants, it

should be the policy of the state not to do indirectly what it is forbidden to do directly in the courts of this state, and the court should deny plaintiffs a right of action for damages." It should be noted, however, that the court based its decision, not on the foregoing language, but on the rule of law that "if the parties entered into a contract which they believed could be enforced in a court of equity, under the decisions of this state at the time of its making, and later the courts of this state held that they would not enforce the contract, said contract is void and unenforcible."

Joint Memorandum

16-Housing

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TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Regional Offices

RECEIVED
MAR 19 1951
Southern Regional Council

FROM: Frances Levenson and Sol Rabkin

DATE: March 15, 1951

SUBJECT: New York City Ordinance Prohibiting Discrimination in All Publicly-Assisted Housing Projects

Victory at last has been achieved in the long struggle to obtain an ordinance barring discrimination in the vast Stuyvesant Town housing development in New York City. On March 14 Mayor Vincent Impellitteri signed into law the Brown-Isaacs ordinance which makes it a misdemeanor for any housing project constructed with any direct or indirect financial aid from the city to discriminate in the selection of tenants on the basis of race, color, or ancestry. A fine of $500 for each violation is provided and any aggrieved person may seek injunctive relief.

Stuyvesant Town, built pursuant to a contract with the City entered into in 1943, was one of the first post-war projects to be constructed under an urban redevelopment statute. It consists of 18 square city blocks and houses a population of approximately 25,000. The City condemned all the land on which the development is located and granted partial tax exemption on the improvements for 25 years. Since 1943 when the contract between New York City and Metropolitan was entered into, Metropolitan consistently stated that its policy was not to rent to Negroes.

In 1944, in order to prevent a repetition of the Stuyvesant Town pattern, New York City enacted a city ordinance outlawing discrimination in publicly-assisted developments built after that date. In 1950 New York State legislature passed the history-making Austin-Wicks law which bars discrimination and segregation in all public and publicly-assisted developments throughout the State constructed after July 1950. Thus, while all new projects built with any government aid were prohibited from selecting tenants on the basis of race, Stuyvesant Town, the largest such development in the State, was free to continue to discriminate.

The highest court in New York in a 4-to-3 decision upheld Stuyvesant Town's legal right to select its tenants on any basis whatsoever, and the United States Supreme Court refused to review the case. In August 1950 Metropolitan admitted "some qualified Negroes" to Stuyvesant Town but reiterated that it did not contemplate any change in its basic policy.

Stuyvesant Town had become a national symbol of discrimination, and community organizations, led by the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing, united in a drive to enact a law applicable to Stuyvesant Town. The Brown-Isaacs ordinance is such a law.

* * *

11-51

Housing

PRINCIPLES OF LAW AND PUBLIC POLICY AND OTHER STATEMENTS
SIGNIFICANTLY RELEVANT TO CURRENT RACIAL CONSIDERATIONS
IN HOUSING AND LAND USE

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Legal Principles

§1978 U. S. Code:

"All citizens of the United States shall have the same rights, in every State and Territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property."

Shelley v. Kraemer, Nos. 72 and 87 - October Term, 1947, U. S. Supreme Court:

"We hold that in granting judicial enforcement of the restrictive agreements in these cases, the States have denied petitioners the equal protection of the laws and that, therefore, the action of the state courts cannot stand. We have noted that freedom from discrimination by the States in the enjoyment of property rights was among the basic objectives sought to be effectuated by the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment. That such discrimination has occurred in these cases is clear. Because of the race or color of these petitioners they have been denied rights of ownership or occupancy enjoyed as a matter of course by other citizens of different race or color."

Brief for the United States as Amicus Curiae in the case of Shelley v. Kraemer, No. 72, Supreme Court of the U. S., October Term, 1947:

"The Government is of the view that judicial enforcement of racial restrictive covenants on real property is incompatible with the spirit and letter of the Constitution and laws of the United States. It is fundamental that no agency of government should participate in any action which will result in depriving any person of essential rights because of race or color or creed."

Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U. S. 60. November 5, 1917. U. S. Supreme Court:

The Court held that "the police power, broad as it is, cannot justify the passage of a law or ordinance which runs counter to the limitations of the Federal Constitution" on the power of government to deny "those fundamental rights in property which it was intended to secure upon the same terms to citizens of every race and color."

Declaration of National Housing Policy

Public Law 171 - 81st Congress, Section 2.

"The Congress hereby declares that the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require housing production and related community development sufficient to remedy the serious housing shortage, the elimination of sub-standard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, thus contributing to the development and redevelopment of communities and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation."

Public Housing

Public Law 171 - 81st Congress, Section 301 (8)(c).

". . . In initially selecting families for admission to dwellings of given sizes and at specified rents the public housing agency shall give preference to families having the most urgent housing needs, and thereafter, in selecting families for admission to such dwellings, shall give due consideration to the urgency of the families' housing needs."

Public Law 171 - 81st Congress, Section 302 (10)(g).

The public housing agency, as among low-income families eligible for occupancy, shall extend the first preference". . . to families which are to be displaced by any low-rent housing project or by any public slum-clearance or redevelopment project initiated after January 1, 1947, or which were so displaced within three years prior to making application to such public housing agency for admission to any low-rent housing . . ."

(Among the various categories of families eligible for low-income housing, families of disabled veterans and veterans have priority.)

Low-Rent Housing Manual, Section 102.1, February 21, 1951.

Racial Policy

The following general statement of racial policy shall be applicable to all low-rent housing projects developed and operated under the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended:

1. Programs for the development of low-rent housing, in order to be eligible for PHA assistance, must reflect equitable provision for eligible families of all races determined on the approximate volume and urgency of their respective needs for such housing.

2. While the selection of tenants and the assigning of dwelling units are primarily matters for local determination, urgency of need and the preferences prescribed in the Housing Act of 1949 are the basic statutory standards for the selection of tenants.

Low-Rent Housing Manual, Section 102.2, May 29, 1951.

Racial Equity in Communities with Small Minority Population

In urban communities of small minority group population, where there are inflexible patterns of racial occupancy, there is the possibility that, because of the size of the group, it may be inadvertently overlooked in planning Development Programs for low-rent housing. Special measures are prescribed below to assure compliance with PHA policy requiring equitable provision of low-rent public housing for eligible families of all races, determined by the urgency of their respective needs for such housing.

1. No Development Program shall be approved unless the Local Authority agrees that, whenever an analysis of survey data reveals existence of an eligible market among families in the minority group in the

locality, dwelling units will be constructed for such minority group families at the same market ratio which is being used for the majority group families in the locality, if the application of such ratio will produce a market among families of the minority group of two or more units.

2. In every case where survey findings fail to show a sufficient effective market among families of minority groups, the Field Office Racial Relations Officer, in order to protect the Local Authority and the PHA from possible later charges of discrimination, shall make a field investigation.

3. If no eligible market of minority families is found at the time of the Racial Relations Officer's investigation, but one subsequently develops, the PHA and the Local Authority must

(a) if the program is at a stage where this is practical, revise the Development Program to provide housing for eligible minority families; or

(b) if the Development Program has progressed beyond the stage where revision is practical, include in any subsequent program for this locality equitable provisions for eligible racial minority families.

Low-Rent Housing Manual, Section 213.2, May 15, 1951.

Relocation and Site Occupants

1. Introduction

If a Local Authority proposes to use a slum site, in order that displacement of site occupants will not result in undue hardship to such occupants, the Local Authority shall:

(1) As a condition to preliminary approval of the site demonstrate to the satisfaction of the PHA that relocation of site occupants is feasible;

(2) As a condition to approval of the Development Program establish a plan satisfactory to the PHA for relocating site occupants; and

(3) In the Annual Contributions Contract agree to carry out the relocation plans set forth in the Development Program.

Proposals for use of slum sites involving the displacement of minority groups will be subject to careful scrutiny by the PHA, because such groups are often seriously restricted as to the neighborhoods in which they can find other dwellings.

2. Demonstration of Feasibility

To demonstrate the feasibility of relocation the Local Authority must show:

(1) A reasonably sound estimate of the number of families to be displaced from the site, including appropriate data as to income and race;

(2) The approximate time of displacement, particularly when demolition and rebuilding is to be carried out in stages;

(3) With respect to families apparently eligible for public low-rent housing, that such families can be offered dwellings in low-rent housing projects at the time of displacement or that they can reasonably be expected to find temporary dwelling accommodations of some kind and later be accommodated in low-rent housing projects;

(4) With respect to families not eligible for public low-rent housing, that they can reasonably be expected to find dwelling accommodations no worse than those on the site and at rents within their financial means.

The demonstration of feasibility must recognize any restrictions in the supply of housing for minority group families.

The demonstration must recognize the demands of any other relocation which will take place in the community, particularly any slum clearance assisted under Title I of the Housing Act of 1949.

* * *

Slum Clearance
(Law)

Public Law 171 - 81st Congress. Section 105(c).

"Contracts for financial aid shall be made only with a duly authorized local public agency and shall require that--. . . There be a feasible method for the temporary relocation of families displaced from the project area, and that there are or are being provided, in the project area or in other areas not generally less desirable in regard to public utilities and public and commercial facilities and at rents or prices within the financial means of the families displaced from the project area, decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings equal in number to the number of and available to such displaced families and reasonably accessible to their places of employment. . . ."

Section 105(d).

"No land for any project to be assisted under this title shall be acquired by the local public agency except after public hearing following notice of the date, time, place, and purpose of such hearing."

(Policy)

A Guide to Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment (Revised April, 1950) Office of the Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, p. 24.

"Every contract for financial assistance . . . will require that the local public agency (a) shall cause to be removed or abrogated any covenant or other provision in any agreement, lease, conveyance or other instrument restricting, upon the basis of race, creed or color, the sale, lease or occupancy of any land which it acquires as part of a project; and (b) shall adopt effective measures to assure that no covenant, agreement, lease, conveyance or other instrument may be validly executed by the local public agency, the redevelopers or his successors in interest, restricting the sale, lease or occupancy of any real estate in the project areas upon the basis of race, creed or color."

Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment Program, Local Public Agency Manual, Part 2, Chapter 6, Section 2.

Rehousing

In order that the rehousing requirements (other than temporary relocation) be met, the Local Public Agency must assure that:

a. Dwellings provided or to be provided are at least equal in number to the aggregate of the number of families being displaced and are available to such families. The relocation requirements will not be fulfilled if the housing needs of any family or any group of families cannot be satisfied from the supply of acceptable accommodations, existing or projected. The availability factor is particularly significant in meeting the needs of displaced minority group families.

b. Such dwellings are available ". . . at rents or prices within the financial means of families displaced from the project area . . ." Gross rents, including utilities, generally should not exceed 25 per cent of gross family income and sales prices generally should not exceed two and one half times annual income, subject to variances owing to family sizes and income categories.

c. Dwellings located off the project site are ". . . not generally less desirable in regard to public utilities and public and commercial facilities . . ." and are in a location reasonably accessible to the places of employment of working members of the displaced families.

d. Dwellings are "decent, safe, and sanitary."

Private Housing

Letter from Commissioner, Federal Housing Administration to Directors and Chief Underwriters of all Field Offices, February 18, 1949.

"No application for mortgage insurance shall be rejected solely on the grounds that the subject property or the type of occupancy might affect the market attitude toward other properties in the immediate neighborhood. . . .

. . . mortgage insurance shall not be precluded (1) because of a different type of occupancy regardless of whether or not it is in violation of a restrictive covenant, (2) nor shall such insurance be precluded on the ground that the introduction of a different occupancy type may affect the values of other properties in the area."

Amendments to Underwriting Manual, Federal Housing Administration, December 16, 1949.

Section 242. "Underwriting considerations shall recognize the right to equality of opportunity to receive the benefits of the mortgage insurance system in obtaining adequate housing accommodations irrespective of race, color, creed or national origin. Underwriting considerations and conclusions are never based on discriminatory attitudes or prejudice."

Section 303. "Requirements and standards applying to real estate pertain to characteristics of the property and neighborhood in which the real estate is located, and are technical in character. They do not pertain to the user groups, because homogeneity or heterogeneity of neighborhoods as to race, creed, color, or nationality is not a consideration in establishing eligibility."

Amendments to Administrative Rules, Federal Housing Administration, December 16, 1949.

"A mortgagor must certify that until the mortgage has been paid in full, or the contract of insurance otherwise terminated, he will not file for record any restriction upon the sale or occupancy of the mortgaged property on the basis of race, color, or creed or execute any agreement, lease, or conveyance affecting the mortgaged property which imposes any such restriction upon its sale or occupancy."

National Association of Real Estate Boards News Service. (Release for June 14, 1949.)

"The National Association of Real Estate Boards, representing the organized real estate industry, announced that it is recommending to local real estate boards throughout the nation that they undertake to provide better housing for Negro families. . . . Reluctance of financial institutions to purchase mortgages on Negro property must be gradually overcome. Such facts as we now have in hand indicate that the Negro is a good economic risk. . . . Responsible builders should be encouraged to undertake the construction of Negro housing, both in areas now available and

in the form of new neighborhood projects . . . Management of Negro rental properties should be of a kind and character which is on a parity with that given to other types of property. We believe that it will be found that Negroes will respond if given opportunity to avail themselves of facilities and services of modern character."

The Mortgage Banker (December 1949, p. 9).

"It is the policy of the Mortgage Bankers Association of America to make loans available to all people without distinction as to race, color or creed, within the limitations of sound lending practices."

NAHB Correlator, March 1950. (Memorandum to members of National Association of Home Builders from Frank Cortright, President.)

"Housing for minority groups and lower income families comprises a vast new market for home builders.... In order to encourage more construction of sale and rental housing for the lower income groups...regardless of race, color or creed... we are now advocating a new insuring device to be used exclusively for financing minimum housing projects in Federally subsidized slum-cleared land. This is our NEW frontier in housing construction.... Supplying homes...for rent and for sale...for minority groups and families farther and farther down the income scale...is a challenge to the ingenuity and capacity of our industry."

One of the chief keys to the local application of the above principles is participation by minority groups themselves in the planning, development and administration of local slum clearance and housing programs. This means membership on and consultation with such local agencies as: the local housing authority, the local land or redevelopment agency, city planning commission, real estate board, home builders association, savings and loan, mortgage bankers, or other lending institutions.

The resources of the racial relations advisers in Washington and field offices of the various Federal housing agencies should be fully utilized. Field advisers are located in all of the Public Housing Administration area offices and in each of the Federal Housing Administration zones. Information concerning these services may be secured by addressing the Public Housing Administration or the Federal Housing Administration, Washington 25, D. C. Their services are available upon request in any community. If in doubt as to the program involved, address requests to: Office of the Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1626 K Street, N.W., Washington 25, D. C.

See also: "Selected References on Housing of Minorities" - Housing and Home Finance Agency, Racial Relations Service, Washington 25, D. C.

"Non-Discrimination Clauses in Regard to Public Housing and Urban Redevelopment Undertakings" - Housing and Home Finance Agency, Racial Relations Service, Washington 25, D. C.

—Excerpts by the Racial Relations Service,
Housing and Home Finance Agency
November 1951

Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination

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Founded in 1943 as a non-profit organization to coordinate efforts to eliminate inter-group tensions by education, legislation, and direct action.

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WAITSTILL H. SHARP, *Director*

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Housing

THE CICERO RIOTS OF 1951

Compiled by Dr. Homer A. Jack

Introduction

On July 10-12th, 1951, mob violence in Cicero broke out over the prospective occupancy of an apartment by a Negro veteran and his family. Law and order broke down so completely that Cook County Sheriff Babb requested Governor Adlai Stevenson to call in the national guard. This was done and it was the first time in almost three decades that troops were used in the Chicago area to quell racial disturbances.

This description of the events the riots and the events leading up to them is prepared for use by the organizations affiliated with the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination.

Cicero

Cicero is a separate, incorporated municipality located west of Chicago. It begins at 4600 West and runs to 6200 West, extending from 39th Street on the South (bordering Chicago and Stickney) to 12th Street on the North (bordering Chicago and Oak Park). Its 70,000 residents comprise more than 22 nationality groups, with a predominance of persons of Czechoslovak lineage, with many of Polish, Lithuanian, Italian, and German parentage. There are nine large Roman Catholic churches and eleven small Protestant churches. There is no synagogue, although there are approximately 900 Jewish adults living in the city. It is said that no Negroes live within the limits of Cicero.

A large proportion of Cicero's wage-earners work for the Western Electric Company. The second largest industry is Hurley Manufacturing (Hot Point). Cicero has had a reputation of being Al Capone's town, although it is said that he never lived there, but had large gambling and beer supply interests there. The municipality is governed by a 7-man board of trustees, with Henry Sandusky as town president. He was first elected in 1944. The chief of police, Ervin Konovsky, was appointed by the town president in 1944.

June 8th to July 10th

Some years ago the 20-apartment building at 6132-42 W. 19th Street on the northwestern section of Cicero was purchased by Miss Camille De Rose. She increased rents and was harassed by tenants. In March, 1951, she leased the apartment in the building in which she was living to Mr. and Mrs. Harvey E. Clark, Jr., a Negro veteran and his wife. They did not attempt to move in immediately. On March 31st, Miss De Rose found police stationed outside her apartment because they felt a Negro family would move in. Later Cicero City Attorney, Nicholas Berkos, told her that they would not and could not afford to permit Negroes to be in the neighborhood because it would cause bloodshed and they would not be responsible for their safety. Later two police officers

visited her in her apartment and she said they told her that if she attempted to rent it to a Negro, she would not be able to get away with it. (Miss De Rose's interest in the trust owning the whole apartment has been transferred to Jewel Young, 4757 S. Parkway).

On June 8th, Charles S. Edwards, the rental agent, went to the apartment with Mrs. George C. Adams. At 2:30 p.m. a moving van with Mr. and Mrs. Clark drove to the building. Two plainclothesmen stopped the truck and said the furniture could not be moved into the building without a permit. The two women went into the apartment. Mr. Edwards was later ordered to go into the building and bring the women out. Mr. Edwards said he was followed by a policeman with a drawn revolver who said, "All of you get out of here right away -- we are all going out." They left the building with the officer following with a drawn revolver. The attorney checked with Cicero authorities and was told that no permit to move furniture was ever required. Following is an affidavit from Charles S. Edwards describing subsequent events:

> "About 6 p.m. the Chief of Police of Cicero rushed out of the alley nearby followed by about 20 men and rushed up and grabbed my arm. The police in the cars out front got out of their cars and rushed up toward us. The chief said to me, 'You should know better -- get going -- get out of here fast. There will be no moving into this building. I'm not going to endanger the lives of 19 families for the likes of you.' During these statements, the chief held my left arm with his strong left hand and he kept hitting me in the back with his right fist, especially at my right shoulder and on my right side below the shoulder. He hit me about eight times while he was pushing me ahead of him toward my car which was parked across the street. I was trying to walk, but he was trying to make me move faster. When we reached my car, I opened the door and the chief shoved me inside and said, 'Get out of Cicero and don't come back in town or you'll get a bullet through you.' There were 3-4 officers with the Chief . . . I have not been back to Cicero since and my clients the Clarks have not been allowed to move into the apartment which is theirs."

Mr. Edwards and Mr. Clark brought this matter to the attention of the NAACP and other defense agencies. It was decided to bring criminal prosecution against the civic authorities of Cicero under the United States code -- the civil rights statutes -- for conspiring to deprive citizens of their right of freedom of movement by force and violence and under authority. They also filed a $200,000 damage suit against the town.

On June 26th, United States District Judge, John P. Barnes heard the appeal for a preliminary injunction restraining the town of Cicero from stopping Mr. Clark and family from moving into the apartment. Cicero Attorney Nicholas Berkos, representing Cicero Police Chief Ervin Konovsky, argued that all the accusations were denied by town officials. Judge Barnes issued the temporary injunction warning, "If you don't obey the order, you're going to be in serious trouble. I'll tell you what you are going to do. You are going to exercise the same diligence in seeing that these people move in as you did in trying to keep them out." When Joseph Lustfield, attorney for the town trustees, interrupted to say that there had been "some trouble" about the ownership of the building, Judge Barnes said, "You don't need to worry about who the owners are. From now on you are going to treat these people like anybody else." The order restrains the town, its president, its chief of police, and other officials and agents from "shooting, beating and otherwise harassing" Mr. Clark and his family. Judge Barnes set September 11th for a hearing on the permanent injunction and the $200,000 damage claim. He refused to order hearings by a mastery in chancery and said, "I want to hear this case myself." Later the Clarks appeared before U. S. Attorney Otto Kerner for questioning to determine if the case should be presented to a federal grand jury for possible action under the 1870 civil rights law, originally an anti-Ku Klux Klan measure.

With this temporary injunction, the Clarks prepared to move into the apartment, with the date kept a secret. The Illinois Interracial Commission, the Chicago Council Against Discrimination, and other groups tried to do what they could to prepare the community for the move-in. For example, on June 28th, The

Church Federation of Greater Chicago sent a communication to all Protestant ministers in Cicero and Berwyn, asking them to make a statement from their pulpits on July first to help maintain peace and order. They enclosed a statement written by a pastor in a similar disturbed area in Chicago.

The Clarks moved their furniture into the apartment building on Tuesday, June 10th. Although the date of move-in was a closely-guarded secret, observers on the scene on June 10th heard neighbors discuss that the family was moving-in that day. Their furniture was moved into the apartment, although they did not stay that night. A crowd gathered, and the windows of the Clark apartment were broken.

Wednesday, July 11th

The nineteen other families in the building moved out most of their furniture and put it in storage during the day.

An observer from the American Civil Liberties Union made this report of what he saw that evening: "When I arrived at 7:30 p.m., a crowd of 800-900 people were gathering. By dusk it had grown to 4000-5000 people. There were people of all ages, many women and children. The most active were teen-agers, some in gangs. Police did nothing to break up the gangs. There was a large pile of stones in lot near apartment and later in evening police watched women pass stones from a rockpile back to throwers in the crowd and they made no effort to stop this. The police for the most part were in a jovial mood, cracked jokes with the crowd, and some made Jim Crow remarks. By dark the ropes were cut by the gangs and the crowd came close to the apartment. Stones were thrown in the windows on all three floors, with increasing intensity on the South side of the building. There was one feeble effort by the County Police to re-rope the area, but this was soon abandoned. Firecrackers were thrown and one man, said to be a plainclothesman, went up to the group of kids and was heard to say, 'Cut out the firecrackers. In case you're searched, don't have any on you. We don't care how many stones you throw, but get rid of the firecrackers.'

"By 10:30 p.m., the frames of windows were being knocked out. Then a gang climbed into the apartment building from first-floor windows and kicked out sections of the windows. They went upstairs and vandalized apartments and turned on water and gas. One came out saying, 'get back, maybe there'll be an explosion.' They threw furniture out of the window and this was burned by others below. By 11:30 p.m., the gang was in the basement tearing up the plumbing. Then one boy rushed outside and said that they were being held downstairs. A large gang then moved into the basement and police used tear gas, which seemed to be effective for ten minutes. Later a loud speaker announced that Mr. Clark said he would not return to the apartment."

A similar first-hand account of Wednesday night appears in the Friday Chicago Sun-Times, written by reporter David Anderson. It was estimated that 30 Cicero policemen and 20 of the Sheriff's deputy policemen were on the scene. One policeman was hit in the head with a brick and hospitalized. Sheriff Babb said he was "disappointed at the degree of cooperation received from Cicero." His deputies asked the Cicero firemen to connect hoses and keep the crowd back, but they wouldn't do it except with an order from their lieutenant and he couldn't be found. The chief of police of Cicero was reportedly unavailable both on Tuesday and Wednesday evening. The president of the town council was out of town on Wednesday evening, summering at Antioch, Illinois.

Sheriff Babb was on the scene on Wednesday evening and talked to the crowd in an effort to disperse them. There are conflicting reports of just what he told them. Early in the morning on Thursday, young men even pulled down a half dozen 25-foot high poplar trees in front of the apartments. As each tree ripped, there was a crackle -- and cheers. Although late in the evening it was announced by police loudspeaker, that the Clark family agreed not to return to the apartment, this report was labeled false by the NAACP. Clark's attorney on Thursday said, "He (Clark) doesn't believe Cicero residents can afford to deny him his civil rights after he made such a sacrifice and helped to win the war and to establish the safety of those who live in Cicero."

Community Reaction

The press gave much more coverage to these disorders than any previous similar situation in the Chicago area for several years. Thursday morning papers had moderate stories of what happened on Wednesday night. As soon as it was revealed that the National Guard was called, the story was on the front pages of all the Chicago newspapers. The Chicago Sun-Times had an especially fine editorial on July 13th and also a column on the affair written by Clifton Utley (a reprint of his television broadcast on Thursday evening). The Chicago Daily News also ran a good editorial on Friday afternoon. There was full coverage by radio, both local and by national hook-ups.

Civic groups met on Thursday to discuss the situation. Organizations affiliated with the Chicago Council Against Discrimination met on Thursday afternoon to discuss several important measures and the Chicago Division of the American Civil Liberties Union also discussed the legal implications on Thursday. At a meeting of the Chicago Branch of the NAACP, it was announced that a mass meeting would be held within two weeks to collect money to reimburse the Clark family for damage they suffered.

Thursday, July 12th

Sheriff Babb, as chief law enforcement officer of Cook County, talked by telephone to Governor Stevenson at 12:30 p.m., at the instigation of Alderman Archibald Carey and others. The Governor was at first reluctant to call out the National Guard without a request from the Mayor of Cicero. Babb replied, "If you can find the Mayor, let me know." (Elsewhere he was reported as having said that Cicero authorities turned their backs on the disorders). Then Babb said although the Mayor was at his summer place near Antioch, Illinois, he wanted the National Guard called immediately, as chief law enforcement officer of the county. Gov. Stevenson then sent the following telegram to Sheriff Babb: "Proceeding in accordance with our understanding. Please confirm formally by wire your official request for National Guard forces to maintain law and order in Cicero." Sheriff Babb immediately replied, "Confirming my telephone conversation, I hereby notify you that the police forces available to me are unable to preserve the peace in Cicero, Cook County, Ill., and I therefore call upon you to dispatch necessary military forces to me in Cook County for the purpose of preserving the peace." Gov. Stevenson then issued this statement: "The Sheriff of Cook County has informed me that it is impossible to maintain law and order in Cicero and has formally requested assistance from the Illinois National Guard. The state's attorney of Cook County, acting through his first assistant, has made the same representations and the same request. Accordingly, I have ordered units of the Illinois National Guard into Cicero to assist the local police and the sheriff's police to maintain order."

Since the Chicago division of the National Guard was still at summer maneuvers at Camp Grayling, Michigan -- several hundred miles north -- Maj. Gen. Leo M. Boyle, Illinois Adjutant-General, dispatched five companies within a 40-mile radius: Company A of Woodstock, C of Elgin, D of Waukegan, G of Joliet, and H of Aurora. Gen. Boyle notified Col. Clifford Hodgin, commanding officer of the 129th Infantry at Peoria, to proceed to Cicero. First units arrived at the temporary Guard headquarters at the Cicero Town Hall at 4932 W. 25th Place, between 7:30 and 8:00 p.m. Sheriff Babb was then informed that he had to issue a written directive to the commanding officer and this did not arrive until 9:42 p.m.

In the meantime, Sheriff Babb tried to mobilize the maximum number of Sheriff'. deputies to protect the building. Of the 118 officers and men under his command for the whole of Cook County, he mobilized 60, asking the police of other Cook County towns to respond to county police calls. Also at the scene were many of the 80 police of Cicero. They formed a cordon at all intersections within two blocks of the apartment building in all directions. This was complicated by the fact that the city of Cicero ends a block west of the apartment, and Berwyn begins, but many Berwyn police were on duty just within Berwyn. While large crowds gathered at the periphery -- estimated to number almost 10,000 persons -- none were able to get within two blocks of the building. At 9:30 p.m., however, the

police line two blocks west of the apartment broke and a crowd of 2000-3000 persons surged to within 300 feet of the west end of the building. The police lines in the other three directions held.

When the police lines were broken, a call was made for the troops and they arrived in vehicles from the Cicero City Hall at 10:20 p.m. For more than an hour they made a shoulder-to-shoulder line to keep the crowd back of the western end of the building, but for more than an hour they did not push the crowd back. Young men, aged 16-20, about 300 feet from the apartment and about 100 feet inside the crowd from the National Guard, began throwing stones and bricks at the apartment building. No attempt was made to push the crowd back beyond the reach of stones or to arrest the vandals. In fact, the spotlight of one police car (M-5000) surrounded by the crowd in the field was used by the boys to illuminate the windows of the building as a target for the rocks. Every time a window was hit or borken, great cheers went up from the crowd. Also some firecrackers and flares were thrown toward the apartment.

Beginning at 11:30 p.m., the National Guard slowly pushed the crowd gathered west of the apartment back 600 or more feet from the apartment. In the meantime, the crowd was focusing attention on the north side of the apartment and surged to only 50 feet from it. They threw in flares, bricks, and finally burning torches. Several fires were started within the apartment. The fire trucks, standing in the vicinity, rushed to the building and threw water on the apartment and put out the fire. Fire-hoses were used to wet the south side of the building to prevent flares from burning and, earlier in the day, the whole building was purposely soaked by firemen to prevent fire.

By 12:15 a.m., the National Guard had pushed the crowd away from the northwest corner of the building. In the melee, one police-car was overturned. It was reported that three other police-cars were overturned during the evening and an attempt was made to burn one vehicle. During the evening and early morning, 19 persons were reported injured, 13 being treated at MacNeal Memorial Hospital in Berwyn before being released. Among those injured were four National Guardsmen, four police officers, and nine civilians (including four; three men and one woman bayoneted by Guardsmen).

Approximately 70 persons were arrested and are scheduled to appear before the Police Magistrate in the Cicero Town Hall on the afternoon of Monday, July 16th. Four were charged with unlawful assembly and destruction of public property and bond was set at $50 for each charge. Ten were charged with unlawful assembly and assault to kill and bond was set at $100 for each charge. Fifty-six persons were charged with unlawful assembly and their bonds were set at $50 each. One of the rioters pointed out to police by National Guardsmen as especially troublesome was a GI home from Korea on 30-day leave. Police escorted him from the area and released him. Those arrested for participating in assaults were taken to the Bureau of Identification at the Chicago police headquarters for fingerprinting and to have their pictures taken.

Lt. Jack Johnson of the Bedford Park sheriff's office stated that he would ask for a sweeping U. S. investigation of the clashes.

Henry J. Sandusky, town president, in a belated statement said, "I deeply regret this incident which has made it necessary to call upon the militia to reestablish law and order in this particular area. Our officers, limited in number, coped valiantly with the problem, but it became evident by Wednesday night's disorders that outsiders had invaded our town, stormed our police lines and damaged the homes and properties of innocent citizens. Therefore to cope with these vandals, Sheriff Babb and I have felt it necessary to call for aid."

Col. Hodgin declared the area bounded by Highland Avenue on the West (Berwyn), and Austin Blvd. on the East, between 16th Street and Cermak Road (22nd) to be under martial law. In imposing this, Col. Hodgin said, "We're here to maintain law and order. We will cooperate with local authorities. All persons living in the half-mile square area and those having places of business there will be required to show credentials before they enter the region and upon leaving it. The martial law will be in force until the troops are released from duty there."

The mob was under control by 12:45 a.m. early Friday morning and by 3:00 a.m. only a sprinkling of the crowd remained. A full company of Guardsmen remained on duty at the scene, while others went to nearby restaurants.

Who is Harvey E. Clark, Jr.?

Mr. Clark, who so far has been prevented from moving into his apartment, is 29 years old. He was born in Mississippi. After finishing high school, he entered Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, where he majored in political science. While there he married a fellow student, Johnette, now 26 years old. They were married nine years ago and have two children, Michelle, aged 8, and Harvey III, aged 6. Clark left Fisk to join the army air force in 1942 and was assigned as an aviation instructor at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. He served there and in two other southern fields until he was discharged in 1945. He returned to Fisk and finished his education under the GI bill of rights. While there he played baseball and was a member of the university debating team.

In 1949, Clark graduated from Fisk and brought his family to Chicago. He first got a job as an insurance agent. A year ago he began work as a bus driver for CTA. He lived for a while at 6725 St. Lawrence, but is now living temporarily at 921 E. 44th Street in a one-room apartment.

What You and Your Organization Can Do*

1. Stay away from the area. It is dangerous to become involved in any continuing gathering under martial law. Tell your friends to keep away.

2. Commend Gov. Stevenson (Executive Office, Springfield) and Sheriff Babb (County Building, Chicago) for calling out the militia so rapidly - law enforcement authorities in several similar situations in other states have tended to act slowly in similar situations.

3. Write letters to newspapers and radio stations. Commend their handling of the story - when it has been commendable. Watch for editorials and write letters to the editor.

4. Watch for signs of racial violence elsewhere. The disturbances in Cicero might well touch off smouldering situations in other suburbs or in tension areas in Chicago. For disturbances outside Chicago, notify immediately the Illinois Interracial Commission (RAndolph 6-0072). For disturbances within Chicago, notify immediately the Commission on Human Relations (WHitehall 4-4483).

5. Help mobilize constructive citizen action in Cicero and Berwyn. If you and your organization have contacts with democratically-minded individuals or organizations in these two suburbs, give their names immediately to the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination (RAndolph 6-0593). The main role of citizens' organizations is to mobilize public opinion within the area of the disturbances to turn public opinion against the violence and discrimination.

*As recommended at an emergency meeting of Affiliates of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, Friday, July 13, 1951.

3-52 Housing

VALUES IN TRANSITION AREAS: SOME NEW CONCEPTS

BELDEN MORGAN, *South Pasadena, California*

The author is an independent appraiser, and was formerly deputy chief appraiser of the FHA's Los Angeles office. A Senior member of the Society, he is a past president of both the Chicago and Los Angeles Chapters. This challenging article was developed from the subject matter of his recent talk before the Los Angeles Chapter.

A STUDY of the current impact of Negro population movements on property values reveals the truth of the statement that real estate economics are not only exceedingly complex, but are of an evolutionary character as well. It is well known that real estate appraising is a fluid art. Conclusions true one year are apt to be false in another year. Generalizations valid in one instance are invalid under different circumstances. Even our most widely accepted laws and theories are but statements of probabilities that are subject to change as the premises of the arguments shift with varying conditions. As Dr. Richard T. Ely so aptly stated years ago, "There is no system of economics applicable unchanged to all times."

Right now a change is taking place in appraisal thought with respect to the opinion held on the effect of the "infiltration" or "invasion" of minority groups on white neighborhoods. In discussing the implications of this change, no cause is to be espoused. This is an objective analysis. Nothing is to be advocated except a strong appeal to make every appraisal an honest report of the facts as they are found to exist without prejudice, bias or a preconceived notion that might be false.

To approach this problem without prejudice is difficult indeed. Over the years we have been brought up with deeply ingrained emotional feelings that we cannot shake off with ease simply by saying we will. Inevitably, some reservation of prejudice will be retained, and we probably will not be free of it for several generations.

Most appraisal texts treat the problem from the viewpoint of 20 years ago when it was commonly believed by nearly all that the presence of Negroes or other minorities in a neighborhood was a serious value-destroying influence. Appraisers were considered remiss in their duty if they failed to discover and report the presence of any minority member anywhere in the neighborhood of the subject property. Some appraisers kept maps outlining all the neighborhoods occupied by minorities for ready reference. This type of thinking is undergoing a change. There are many locations where such generalizations are no longer true.

ILLEGAL

On May 3, 1948, the United States Supreme Court rendered its historic decision that restrictive covenants were contrary to public policy and unenforceable by court action. This focused the attention of nearly everyone on a problem which had become increasingly acute for many years.

During World War II, when the population of Los Angeles increased by 30%, the non-white population increased by more than 100%. This was typical of the influx of the minorities into many of our large metropolitan centers where thousands crowded in to join the shipbuilding and aircraft trades and other war-born industries. The rapid increase of Negroes in American cities is a twentieth century phenomenon which was accelerated by war, but which will probably continue until the Negro population is more evenly dispersed.

The residential areas to which the Negro had been habitually confined literally bulged and broke at the seams. The housing conditions within those

areas were unbelievably bad and a disgrace to the country. The problem of housing accommodations for Negroes was a complex one of low income, neighborhood restrictions which confined them to small areas plus a housing shortage within those areas. This resulted in over-crowding, congestion and blight; slums were created or accentuated. The advancing age of the structures coupled with the lack of maintenance by indifferent and greedy absentee owners, who knew it was not necessary to maintain the properties to hold tenants when the shortage was so acute, was the primary cause of the slum condition—the dwellers were not.

Whites observing Negroes living under those conditions are prone to blame the Negro for that condition, whereas the Negro was the victim—not the cause. (Blaming Negroes for the slums is akin to blaming the prisoners for the existence of the concentration camps of Russia.)

PROJECTS FILLED

The FHA annually makes a survey of all the large scale rental housing projects financed with FHA mortgages which reveals the vacancies, rent levels, turnover, etc., in each of these rental properties. The reports from the Negro projects in the Los Angeles area disclosed that there were fewer vacancies, higher rents and smaller turnover in those units than in comparable units in white neighborhoods. A typical remark by the owner of a 12-unit apartment in a neighborhood on the southwest side of Los Angeles which is in transition from white to non-white was, "Our building has 100% Negro occupancy. Rent payments are prompt and we have a waiting list of prospective tenants." A look at the rents makes this statement even more startling. The one-bedroom units were rented at $85 and the two-bedroom apartments at $110 per month, which was considerably higher than the rents for comparable units in white neighborhoods.

During the war certain priority allotments were issued to builders for the sole purpose of providing housing for Negro war workers. Several thousand residential units in tract developments that were built in Los Angeles under this program have been most successful. Foreclosures have been very few—less percentagewise than for the area as a whole—and there have been no mortgage losses sustained in any of these tracts. The resale market has been excellent. This favorable loan experience has attracted the attention of many mortgage lenders, and more and more of them are becoming interested in this type of security.

VALUES UPHELD

It has been apparent that Negro families have responded readily to the standards of good neighborhood living. A report by the FHA on one neighborhood stated, "The infiltration of Negro owner-occupants has tended to appreciate property values and neighborhood stability in contrast to its depreciating use by white families as a rental area."

Appraising properties in neighborhoods which are in transition from one type of occupancy to another or in a neighborhood which is already predominantly occupied by minority races really tests the skill of the appraiser. His huge stock of sales data is probably based on an entirely different market for an entirely different user group. He is going to have to start at the very beginning and find out what Negroes are paying for housing comparable to the subject property. That is the only type of sales data that will support a conclusion on property in a Negro neighborhood.

PRACTICAL TEST

Most appraisers through many years of experience can look at a house and approximate the rental and probable sales price obtainable. But this is not so with housing for Negroes. It is necessary to investigate and find out what Negroes can and do pay for housing.

Not long ago an application was received for a mortgage on a proposed duplex to be built in the heart of a

BELDEN MORGAN gives reasons why recent comparable sales data are the only support for valuations in Negro or mixed neighborhoods—

1. **Because of increasing movements of minorities into previously un-mixed neighborhoods, properties must be judged by their probable marketability to the potential user group, not according to what they were worth to former owners and renters.**
2. **The demand for housing by minority groups is so strong that rentals and sales prices may be much higher than warranted by the condition and type of property.**
3. **Improved employment conditions have raised the incomes of Negroes, so that they will be able to maintain higher values.**

Negro neighborhood. The location was surrounded by 40-year old and older frame rooming houses, apartments and single-family residences. It was not a slum district. Twenty years ago it was a well regarded white neighborhood in the upper medium price range. From the point of view of a Negro it was a very desirable residential neighborhood. Negroes of a relatively high economic level predominated in the area. Most of the occupants were civil service employees, public utility workers and professional people. Inasmuch as this would be the only new house for miles around, the application ordinarily would have been rejected because the value found would be substantially below replacement cost. The opinion would have been formed that the adverse effect of the environment would greatly restrict the marketability and rentability of this new property. An investigation revealed, however, that the demand from Negroes for rentals in this neighborhood was so great that they would pay higher rents than the casual observer would think possible. It was also found that a real market existed for the purchase of properties of this type by proposed owner-occupants who would live in one unit and rent the other. The conclusion was ultimately reached that the risk on this property was less than the risk on many new duplexes which were being built in new neighborhoods. This one had virtually no competition. It would be in strong demand for a long time. It was capable of earning more rent than similar structures in white neighborhoods. As a result it was appraised at its full cost of replacement.

The point is that properties in minority neighborhoods must be appraised, rated and judged from the viewpoint of their desirability, marketability and rentability to the user group involved. The old test of marketability must be applied to these properties.

What is meant by marketability? Marketability means the ability of a property to be sold and resold again and again. It means a property possessing the characteristics to attract many purchasers to it. Appraisers don't care what the race, creed or color of those purchasers might be, just so there are enough of them with the ability to pay to create a really strong and sustaining demand. Marketability is linked to desirability. As it varies, so does marketability. But in weighing desirability it must be thought of from the viewpoint of the potential users of the property, uninfluenced and unbiased by personal prejudices.

No attempt is being made to build up a case for *all* minority housing, for *all* Negroes or *all* minorities. There are

many sub-standard properties. There are many sub-standard locations. Large masses of these groups of people lack the necessary financial ability to meet the obligations of home ownership; these present unacceptable mortgage risks by any standard. On the other hand there are many acceptable risks to be found in this field which shouldn't be overlooked because of blind prejudice.

RISK LESSENED

The continued financial ability to meet the obligation is the requirement that raises many doubts. It is apparent that a sizeable segment of the minority population have unstable incomes and are employed in low wage occupations. Percentagewise very few of these people earn over $40 per week. Obviously not many of this group can afford home ownership at today's high costs. But an increasing number of Negroes belong to another group. Today, the civil service employee, the public utility worker and the professional man earn as much as their white co-workers and enjoy equal economic stability. *Conditions have changed.* This was not true 20 years ago —20 years ago was a whole generation ago. Those of the current generation through compulsory education and the changed attitudes of government and large employers, sparked by the civil rights program, are infinitely better off than their fathers. Their span of available occupations covers the range formerly open only to whites. The Negro population will never again suffer the tremendous labor cutbacks of both wages and opportunities which occurred in the past. There is a large segment of the minority group which presents no additional risk because of its race. Consequently value changes in the future in the better Negro sections will be much the same as in predominantly white sections. (*Editor's Note*: See the report of the Greater Detroit Chapter's October meeting in THE REVIEW, December, 1951, for another view of the same subject.)

Now, what happens when Negroes enter a heretofore all white neighborhood? Sometimes, but not always, because whites are generally uninformed regarding the effect of Negro "invasions" on property values, the whites become panic stricken and desert the neighborhood "en masse" when Negro families first move into the neighborhood. The story of the "invasion" spreads, and occasionally the hysteria of the whites leaps beyond control. The insistent, desperate drive of the Negroes for self-betterment results in violence and bloodshed. Often the word spreads that property values will be wiped out when the neighborhood becomes predominantly Negro. Then everybody tries to sell in a hurry while they can still get a price, and offer their properties for a little less than their neighbors so as to sell first and get out first. This hysteria of course depresses prices, giving proof to the statement that prices fall with a Negro "invasion." But it is the mass exodus that temporarily gluts the market with offerings that depresses prices—not the influx. It is like a bank run engendered by fear. The fears produce an unwarranted condition that could be avoided if people would stay put.

STRONG MARKET

After the first hysterical selling phase passes prices become stabilized, then gradually increase under the pressure of Negro bidding. Whites who hold on to their property are often able to sell at prices substantially higher than prevailed prior to the "invasion." The old law of supply and demand asserts itself. The limited property available to Negroes coupled with the desperate need by the Negroes for adequate housing and their intense desire to better themselves exerts a pressure on the price structure that doesn't exist in older white neighborhoods.

People are learning this. Many districts today go through a transitional period in occupancy without any signs of hysteria and without any collapse in prices. The only effect from an economic viewpoint is a broadening and strength-

ening of the market by virtue of the increased demand. This is true in some areas, but not all. Whether prices rise or fall depends upon the ability of the newcomers to bid up prices.

RAPID TURNOVER

It usually will be found that sales activity is greater in racially mixed areas, especially in the low and moderate price ranges, and that the high effective demand among Negro buyers not only sustains price levels but often increases them.

Actually whether prices rise or fall depends upon the extent of the demand and the ability of the market to bid up prices, and has nothing to do whatsoever with racial characteristics. Generally speaking the Negro home owner pays higher prices than his white prototype because his color restricts his field of operations.

More Negroes have more money than ever before. They enjoy greater stability of employment than ever before, but still there are relatively few who are able to buy in the higher price ranges. When a few of these Negroes in the upper income brackets move into a neighborhood of high priced homes, some depression in prices and a restriction in market activity is usually observed. Some white prospective purchasers lose interest in that neighborhood and there are not enough Negro purchasers in that price range to take their place.

EXCEPTION

This condition prevails in at least two neighborhoods in the Los Angeles area which were investigated by the writer. In one, a $20,000 to $30,000 neighborhood on the southwest side of Los Angeles, the first Negro family moved in about two years ago. Today there are only nine Negro families among the several hundred white families in this area. Sales are very slow, and prices are down 10% to 15% below former levels in contrast to a general price increase throughout the area.

In contrast to this, the adjoining neighborhood which is a little older and in the $10,000 to $15,000 price range has had an entirely different experience. Prior to 1948 this was a restricted white neighborhood. The first Negro family didn't move in until the spring of 1950. Now the neighborhood is about 20% nonwhite. Actual sales histories on a number of typical properties in this area were obtained through brokers and verified by present owners. But changes in sales prices in themselves are meaningless unless related to the trend of market prices generally. In the Los Angeles area for the past ten years the Los Angeles Residential Research Committee has maintained an accurate index of residential market prices. Each sale obtained in this neighborhood was related to the curve of fluctuating market prices for the whole area to obtain a true picture of the effect of the minority "invasion" on the price structure in this neighborhood.

CASE HISTORIES

Property A sold in 1948 at $12,500 when the market price index was at 265. In 1950 a Negro moved next door. There was a subsequent sale in 1950 to a white at $13,500 which was an 8% increase and represented 287 on the index scale. But the market price index for the whole metropolitan area moved down in those two years to 230, a decline of 13%. Now the same property is listed for sale at $16,500 which is 300 on the market price scale and 32% higher than the 1948 scale, whereas the levels generally as revealed by the RRC index are about the same as in 1948 with an index level of 262. Evidently this owner doesn't think property values are being destroyed by the change in occupancy which is taking place.

Property B sold in December, 1949 for $15,000 when the index was at 232. It resold to a Negro in August, 1951 for $23,000, an increase of 53% during the period when market prices on an average were advancing only 13% to an index level of 262.

Property C sold in October, 1949 for $11,500 when the index was at 232. It

resold to another white in May, 1951, a year after the "invasion" started when there were several minorities in the same block, for $12,500. This 9% rise represents about the same increase as market prices generally, which had advanced 11% to a level of 257. Then the property sold again in October, 1951, this time to a Negro at $13,500 which was 17% higher than the "pre-invasion" sale and slightly higher than the market price index which advanced only 13% to 262 during the same period.

These cases are typical for this neighborhood. There are many others and they all tell the same story. Prices have advanced more here than in neighborhoods unaffected by population movements. Furthermore, this advance was evidenced during all three stages of the change—in the period of threatening "invasion," during the early stages of transition and in the later stages of mutation.

There is an old motto of the Society of Residential Appraisers which says "We have no moral right to decide on the basis of opinion that which may be determined as a matter of fact." For the purpose of this article that motto should be paraphrased into, "We have no moral right to decide on the basis of *prejudice* that which may be determined as a matter of fact."

The *facts* must be ascertained before rendering an appraisal report in a neighborhood affected by minority population movements. Things may not be what they seem. Prejudiced belief or hearsay information cannot be trusted. An honest report of the facts is the only solution.

Reprinted from THE REVIEW of the Society of Residential Appraisers, 221 No. LaSalle Street, Chicago 1, Illinois.

Housing - Restrictive Covenants

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
327 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILL.
212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Frances Levenson and Sol Rabkin

DATE: April 15, 1952

Digest:

Supreme Court of Michigan bars a suit for damages for the breach of a race restrictive covenant.

* * * * * * * *

On March 6, 1952, the Supreme Court of Michigan, in the case of Phillips v. Naff (___ Mich. ___), unanimously barred a suit for damages for the breach of a racial restrictive covenant.

The restrictive covenant involved was directed against occupancy and use by persons other than "a white person of the Caucasian race". The plaintiffs and the defendants were owners of adjoining houses subject to the restrictive covenant. The defendants sold their property to Negroes who occupied the property in disregard of the covenant. The plaintiffs then brought an action for damages based on the claim that defendants' sale to Negroes had damaged plaintiffs' property to the extent of $5,000. The Circuit Court of Wayne County dismissed the action (see joint memorandum dated February 19, 1951) and the plaintiffs appealed to the Supreme Court of Michigan.

The Michigan Supreme Court held that the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the case of Shelley v. Kraemer that the Fourteenth Amendment barred a state court from enforcing a race covenant, governed the situation and prevented the court from entertaining a suit for damages. In the Shelley case, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that courts may not enforce race covenants by injunction.

The Michigan court reasoned that suits for damages for breach of such a covenant constitutes an indirect method of enforcement. They conclude that:

> If the sale of property subject to a reciprocal restrictive covenant cannot be made without rendering the grantor liable to suits for damages, such fact, it may be assumed, would operate to inhibit freedom of purchase by those against whom the discrimination is directed and also to place a burden on the right of an owner to sell to a purchaser of his own selection.

The Michigan court went on to state that the Fourteenth Amendment, as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court, precludes the collection of damages for breach of a race restrictive covenant.

There is some disagreement among the courts on the question of whether the Supreme Court decision in the Shelley case bars this type of action. The Supreme Courts of Missouri and Oklahoma have held that it does not. However, the Federal District Court for the District of Columbia and lower courts in California and Minnesota have held that it does. It would seem that both the actual words and the spirit of the Shelley case opinion support the position taken by these courts and by the Supreme Court of Michigan.

fl-sr/bwl

Housing

Joint Memorandum

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OF B'NAI B'RITH
327 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
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NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Frances Levenson

DATE: April 23, 1952

SUBJECT: Integration Achieved in Public Housing in Sacramento, California

RECEIVED
APR 29 1952
Southern Regional Council

Sacramento, the capital of California, has recently joined the constantly increasing number of cities which are ending racial segregation in public housing. Last November, a small committee on segregation in public housing was formed by the local NAACP. The committee made a survey of the public housing projects and found that a pattern of racial segregation was being followed. Discussions with the executive director and members of the Housing Authority proved fruitless with the city officials refusing to change their existing policy.

The NAACP committee then formed a new, larger committee broadly representative of all segments of the community including the various minority groups, religious groups, labor unions, social worker groups and liberal groups. The committee also had among its members prominent individuals including the local rabbis and a number of Catholic priests and Protestant ministers.

This committee released a public statement exposing the racial segregation that existed in public housing projects. This release was made available to local editors including church and labor publications. The committee also undertook to raise funds to finance publicity as well as the filing of a suit to compel termination of segregation. In addition, meetings were arranged with the housing authority, the city council, the city manager and even the Governor's legislative secretary.

When all these conferences resulted in no change of policy, the committee found three plaintiffs and brought court action attacking the constitutionality of the segregation policy.

The Housing Authority agreed to a consent judgment and bound itself to end racial segregation. It is noteworthy that in the stipulation ending the suit the Housing Authority of the City of Sacramento did not admit that it had engaged in racial segregation and stated that it had the right to "limit the occupancy" of its housing units "by 'non-whites' to a percentage of the total housing units determined in accordance with the housing needs in the area served by such projects." The plaintiffs accepted this quota provision only because they believed it to have no binding legal effect and because they thought it would help achieve integrated housing projects by making all-Negro ones less probable.

With the signing of the consent judgment, the committee worked in cooperation with the Authority in preparing the general community and the project tenants to accept interracial housing. Integration was instituted smoothly and is continuing with no adverse reaction whatever.

Meanwhile, the committee continues to watch the situation and to give what help and support it can to the Authority in advancing the policy of racial integration in all its projects.

The events in Sacramento and in other cities where a change-over from racial segregation in public housing to integration has been accomplished, underscore the need for and the strength of broadly constituted citizen groups in securing reform. In most instances, it is not until a committee is organized and brings pressure that city officials are wont to change existing patterns. Dire predictions of riots and disorders often deter Housing Authorities from acting to institute integration. It is only after they are assured that the community wants and is willing to fight for unsegregated public housing that a housing authority will change its policy. Experience then shows that integration can almost invariably be accomplished peaceably.

A city ordinance or a state law barring discrimination in public housing is to be desired but the Sacramento story is an example of what can be accomplished even without a statute so long as there is an alert and organized citizenry.

Finally, after a long uphill fight by community groups, segregation is also being ended in the public housing projects of Los Angeles County. (Racial integration has always been the rule in the city projects in the City of Los Angeles.)

Housing. Gen)

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Theodore Leskes and Sol Rabkin

DATE: March 20, 1953

SUBJECT: Resolutions respecting public housing and urban redevelopment undertakings

Digest:
The Housing Authorities of Allegheny County, Pa.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; and Toledo, Ohio, adopt resolutions that dwelling units in public housing and redevelopment projects shall be allocated on the basis of need and in accordance with legal preferences, but without discrimination or segregation on the grounds of race, religion, color or national origin.

* * * * * * * *

The Race Relations Service of the Housing and Home Finance Agency has advised that three non-discrimination resolutions have been adopted recently in Pennsylvania and Ohio. The full text of the resolutions follows.

tl-sr/bwl

PUBLIC HOUSING RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE

ALLEGHENY COUNTY HOUSING AUTHORITY

on December 30, 1952

WHEREAS, the Allegheny County Housing Authority is a public corporation, created by state legislation and governed by state and federal laws,

WHEREAS, the Allegheny County Housing Authority is participating in federal and state programs under the Federal Housing Act of 1949, and the Pennsylvania Housing and Redevelopment Assistant Act of 1949, for the benefit of municipalities in Allegheny County outside the City of Pittsburgh,

WHEREAS, the Allegheny County Housing Authority is now receiving federal aid in the construction of public housing projects under the Federal Housing Act of 1949,

WHEREAS, the Allegheny County Housing Authority in compliance with the Federal Housing Act of 1949 has signed under Board Resolution various Development Agreements with the Federal Public Housing Administration,

WHEREAS, included in these Development Agreements is the following statement:

> The Local Authority will allocate dwelling units in all projects in accordance with preferences established under the Housing Acts of 1949 and in compliance with the non-discrimination housing laws of the State of Pennsylvania.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the policy of the Allegheny County Housing Authority in allocating dwelling units in all projects shall be patterned, governed and in compliance with federal and state laws, and that all dwelling units shall be allocated on the need and preference basis of the Federal Housing Act of 1949, regardless of Race, Color, Religion or National Origin.

PUBLIC HOUSING RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE

HOUSING AUTHORITY OF THE CITY OF PITTSBURGH

on December 18, 1952

WHEREAS, the Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh believes it is the intent and spirit of the United States Housing and the Pennsylvania Housing Acts of 1937 and the various amendments and supplements thereto, to provide housing to citizens of the United States, of low income, without regard to race, creed, color, religious principles, national origin or ancestry; and

WHEREAS, it is the belief of the Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh that discrimination and segregation, based on race, creed, color, religious principles, national origin or ancestry, in the provision and operation of public facilities are contrary to the public policy of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the City of Pittsburgh;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh that the following is adopted and reaffirmed as its policy of selection and occupancy for all dwelling units owned or managed by said Authority:

Section 1. That all housing units owned or managed by the Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh shall be rented to persons who qualify for admission without regard to race, creed, color, religious principles, national origin or ancestry.

Section 2. That all dwelling units under the supervision and control of the Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh shall be allocated to its tenants without discrimination or segregation on either as to project, areas within the project, or as to buildings located within the projects.

PUBLIC HOUSING RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE

TOLEDO METROPOLITAN HOUSING AUTHORITY

on December 4, 1952

WHEREAS, the Authority has followed the practice of housing eligible white families in three East Toledo projects, namely: Charles F. Weiler Homes, Ravine Park Village, and Birmingham Terrace, and eligible non-white families in four West Toledo projects, namely: Brand Whitlock Homes, Brand Whitlock Extension, Albertus Brown Homes, and Port Lawrence Homes; and

WHEREAS, that practice of housing eligible families in projects designated for white and non-whites is not constantly geared to the availability of vacancies; and

WHEREAS, the Authority is experiencing from the said practice tremendous vacancy loss in projects designated for white families because of the difficulty of maintaining an eligible list of white applicants, while a reasonable number of eligible non-white families are awaiting available dwelling assignments; and

WHEREAS, the above practice is not in keeping with the principles of sound economical and efficient housing operation nor the principles of our democratic way of life; and

WHEREAS, the Veterans Temporary Projects of Toledo have successfully operated on an integrated basis.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED That the Director is hereby ordered to immediately discontinue the practice of assigning eligible families to vacant dwelling units on a segregated basis, and to house such eligible families on the basis of need in projects where vacancies occur, without regard to race, religion or national origin.

Among These Rights...

NEWSLETTER OF THE COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

WHOSE Freedom of Choice?

YOUNG MR SING SHENG, Chinese captain of intelligence in World War II, made a serious mistake in February. He put his right to residence up for a vote by homeowners of Southwood, small suburban tract in South San Francisco. Southwood residents then made an even more serious mistake which reverberated around the world to the aid and comfort of America's enemies. They voted to reject the Sheng family as prospective neighbors.

Though the vote lacked legal force, Sheng stuck to his promise to abide by it. He took back his $2,950 deposit on the home which was to have provided adequate space for his growing family, a safe, sunny play yard for three year old Richard, and easy access to his airplane mechanic job at Pan-American. Southwood was left to its presumed racial purity.

NOT SINCE THE MOB VIOLENCE OF CICERO last summer had a case of race bias in housing so stirred the nation's concern. Was it the disturbing fact that a "democratic" majority vote in effect denied the Shengs exercise of their constitutional right that made this story news for a long week? What was the meaning of the vote? Did something go wrong with the "democratic process," or was this a true reflection of American race views?

FULL DISCUSSION of these questions is not possible here. We may say, however, with reasonable certainty that the Southwood people would have accepted the Shengs but for the fear -- assiduously spread among them by neighborhood bigots and respectable homebuilders alike -- that their "property values" would inevitably suffer.

We do not presume to generalize as to practices elsewhere, but today the evidence mounts that at least in the San Francisco area entrance of non-white families into formerly all-white neighborhoods does not affect resale values. Negro and Oriental families now live in virtually every main area of San Francisco without disturbance of values. (See page 4.)

SHOULD MAJORITY HOMEOWNERS have the power -- as Senator Tenney and other "America Plus" promoters hold -- to turn thumbs down on new neighbors? They urge "freedom of choice" to select "our friends and neighbors."

The juxtaposition is clever. Selecting one's friends is obviously a private right. But as for neighbors: who can claim that privilege? We have every right to move out -- none to say who may move next door!

Both buyer and seller have the right today to act irrespective of race or creed. This is not and cannot be a matter for the ballot. We no longer live on a frontier. The family head cannot homestead a plot and build a cabin; he must enter the urban housing market to rent or buy. The right to residence therefore assumes unprecedented importance -- except to those whose concern for the American home is racially qualified.

NO ISSUE IS MORE URGENT or more confused today in American communities. Accordingly we devote this entire Newsletter to certain aspects of the race-property value question. It is hoped that readers will study and put to use the "ammunition" for better understanding herein set forth.

Edward Howden
Editor

March-April 1952

The San Francisco Chronicle merits high praise for full, fair, vigorous reportage and comment on the Sheng case and for printing dozens of letters.

ON THESE TWO PAGES we present two sections of a letter by CCU Director Edward Howden. The letter was too long for publication in full, but the Chronicle gave generous space to its main section which answered an earlier statement by builder George Williams. That part, as published March 17, is reprinted on the page to the right. The heretofore unpublished part appears below.

CHRONICLE COVERAGE of the Sing Sheng residential exclusion incident and of the Rollingwood affair was excellent.

Clarification is needed, however, on certain points, including the general statement on property values and race by homebuilder George W. Williams.

WHY DID A MAJORITY of Southwood residents vote to exclude the Sheng family?

Apart from the fact that Sing Sheng as buyer and Jack Denson, seller, were brought together by a broker and made a deal, the story began with instigation of opposition by three or four Southwood residents.

Many such transactions undoubtedly occur each month in the Bay Area in more or less "white" areas. In this case the seller was subjected to pressure and ugly threats were made to Sheng.

But Denson resented this pressure and -- though he had initially held no brief for or against Sheng -- refused to back down. So the little group opposing the sale called a protest meeting. Notice of the meeting reached only some Southwood residents; about 70 attended, representing not more than 50 households -- less than one-fifth of the 253 in Southwood.

This was the only open meeting held prior to the balloting. Sheng appeared on his own behalf, facing an obvious (though not unanimous) hostility. His appeal for understanding of the broader meaning of the issue evoked little support. Facing this situation, yet feeling that surely most Americans, in Southwood or elsewhere, would uphold non-discrimination, Sheng suggested the vote. His opponents, more astute as to how elections may be won or lost, warmly embraced the idea.

Subsequent events are known to Chronicle readers. The "why" of these events needs underscoring, however.

PRO-SHENG RESIDENTS of Southwood, following the vote, analyzed it this way:

MR and MRS SING SHENG and son RICHARD
--Photo courtesy The Chronicle

1-Sheng erred in proposing a vote rather than exercising his legal right to residence. Democracy entails safeguarding minority rights; not just majority rule.

2-No real airing of both sides occurred in Southwood prior to the balloting. This vital approach to a sound vote was absent.

3-Pro-Sheng residents neglected to campaign on his behalf. They just assumed that the desired result would come without action on their part. Meanwhile opponents worked hard to get out a negative vote, using wholesale misrepresentation and scare tactics among the homeowners.

4-The anti-Sheng majority acted mainly in the unfounded fear that their property values were threatened. They had no opportunity to consider the findings of a recent Bay Area study which tends to show that this fear is unwarranted here.

5-Southwood residents generally failed to recognize in time the serious national and international implications of such racial discrimination despite urgent last-minute appeals to them on this score.

These were the lessons of Southwood, as seen by a group of her own residents.

(Part two of letter continues next page)

Reprinted from the SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, MONDAY, MARCH 17, 1952 CCCCAAA

A Letter on the Right of Residence
The Sing Sheng Case and Property Values

Numerous letters are still being received by The Chronicle on the questions raised by the efforts of Sing Sheng, a Chinese, and Wilbur Gary, a Negro, to obtain homes in all-white neighborhoods.

Gary insisted on his legal rights, and moved into a home in Rollingwood, near San Pablo. Violence threatened for a time but was averted by a strong stand taken by law enforcement officers.

Sheng put his case to a vote by Southwood (South San Francisco) home owners, lost by an overwhelming majority, and accepted the decision.

In this letter Edward Howden, Executive Director of the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity, challenges the arguments put forward by George Williams—Burlingame subdivider who developed the Southwood tract—in a letter printed in The Chronicle February 24, in particular the argument that property values inevitably decline when members of minority races move into all-white neighborhoods.

*The Laurenti findings mentioned in Howden's letter refer to a study conducted by Luigi Laurenti, while a research assistant at the University of California. Laurenti gathered statistics on home sales in a number of San Francisco neighborhoods in an effort to determine what does happen to property values when non-whites move into hitherto all-white neighborhoods. A summary of his findings was published in The Chronicle February 21.**

Editor, The Chronicle:

The thoughtful reader will be wary of hasty conclusions as to what the Southwood incident "proved" except that the majority can be wrong, especially when denied full information and subjected to scare tactics; that there is still much confusion about the relation of "property values" to racial minority residency; and that despite this confusion a great many Americans strongly support the right to residence — as evidenced by the flood of letters to Sheng and to the newspapers.

But the story cannot be ended without certain observations on Mr. George Williams' pronunciamento on the legal status of residential race restrictions and the property value question.

First, the legal aspects.

Williams acknowledges that the U. S. Supreme Court decision of 1948 rendered race restrictive covenants in housing unenforceable. But he suggests that the possibility of damage suits still hovers over any seller who "violates" these restrictions.

The facts are these: The Supreme Court has ruled covenants unenforceable by any form of governmental action; how then could any court, an instrument of government, penalize covenant "violators"? A California case met the precise question in March, 1951. In Barrows v. Jackson, Los Angeles Superior Judge Daniel N. Stevens rejected such action for damages. He wrote: "For a California court to award damages for the breach of a race restriction covenant would be violative of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment."

PROPERTY VALUES

What then about the alleged loss in property values attendant on a "breach in tract restrictions" by a minority buyer?

1—Contrary to Williams' claims, the Laurenti study findings on property values as reported by The Chronicle are quite valid. The main finding is that entrance of non-whites into a good neighborhood does not adversely affect property values. Of 121 sales **to whites** in nine San Francisco neighborhoods **subsequent to entry of non-whites,** only five were at prices lower than the average — and these were "panic" sellers who unnecessarily accepted lower prices.

The study compared prices in districts which had begun to be racially "mixed" since 1945 with those in comparable all-white sections. Laurenti was guided in part by real estate brokers acquainted with these areas. And there was no evidence, apart from the negligible "panic" sales, that race was a factor affecting home prices.

Williams falls back on well-worn cliches still current in real estate circles. For example:

2—He speaks of white families "forced out" of neighborhoods which in turn are "taken over" by non-Caucasians. This language is loaded. Remember, we are discussing property values, i. e., resale values of decent homes in decent neighborhoods. No home-owner is ever "forced out" of such a neighborhood by the mere appearance of a few non-white families who, by virtue of their tastes and income, want and can afford such residence. Anybody who rushes to sell his home for this reason does so either because he is bigoted or because he allows himself to be panicked by unsound advice based on the race and property value myth.

Prejudice often hides behind pseudo-scientific talk of "property values." Distinguishing between such rationalization and objective calculation of resale values is a nice exercise. Perhaps there is a third possibility: that some people have simply failed to adjust their thinking to the fact that—at least in the San Francisco Bay Area—the old saws about race and property values have largely lost meaning.

3—Williams really lets the bars down when he refers to "panic among remaining home owners who suddenly realize that . . . their children are subject to an additional problem in a mixed community." This is a thinly veiled appeal for racial segregation of children—children who are born without prejudice — children who will be living their lives in a nation one-tenth of whose citizens are dark-skinned and in a world two-thirds of whose people are "colored." (Most San Francisco children, fortunately, can attend "mixed" schools and thereby achieve better adjustments with their world than those children living in "exclusive" tracts.)

The sober discussion of property values thus reveals a racist premise. The apologist for exclusion who gently, even regretfully, intones about property values actually promotes the interracial intolerance which he professes to deplore.

4—Williams and others of his persuasion seem to forget what factors basically determine residential values—e. g. quality, age, and location of a neighborhood, and the legitimate restrictions as to single-family or duplex homes only, non-commercial use, set-back lines, and such. They don't see that the snob value of race prejudice is on the way out. They forget that their theories as to "invasion" of a district once a "breach" has been made stem from the often sordid experiences of old apartment districts of the industrial cities of the Midwest and East which simply do not apply to typical single family home developments in the Bay Area in 1952.

They ignore the fact that non-white families are living in most "good" sections of San Francisco today without detriment to values.

5—It is worth recalling that Sergeant Kenneth Wills, USMC, who is living in and plans to buy a Southwood home immediately next door to the one the Shengs selected, was one of their staunchest supporters. If the resale value of any of Southwood's 253 homes were to be affected adversely, it would be that of Sergeant Wills. Yet his sense of values led him to welcome the Sheng family.

Hundreds of letters have come from Americans to the newspapers and to the Sheng family voicing respect for their rights in this case. Can property values be in grave jeopardy at the appearance of a non-Caucasian family when so many people are willing to welcome such families to their own neighborhoods?

6—Finally, discrimination in housing is doomed despite various delaying actions which are being fought by small handfuls of people in Cicero, Southwood, Rolling Wood, and elsewhere.

Moreover, this gradual, random distribution of minority families among various neighborhoods works **counter** to the alleged tendency of non-whites to "invade" a "breached" section in large numbers. As the barriers drop one by one under the impact of the Constitutional right to residence we are approaching a "normal" distribution of non-white householders in residential areas. The old fears of "invasion," whatever their past basis, may be dismissed. These observations are supported further by the Laurenti findings mentioned above.

The trend is inevitable and irreversible. And, ironically, if six or eight of the Bay Area's big home-builders and property managers were to agree to relax their remaining racial restrictions, allowing more normal factors of economic selection of buyers and tenants to operate freely in the market, all this mumbo-jumbo about property values would lose overnight what little plausibility still attaches to it.

EDWARD HOWDEN,
Executive Director
COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY of San Francisco.
101 Post Street

* See back page for reprint of this summary of the Laurenti findings

Reprinted from the San Francisco CHRONICLE of February 21, 1952

The Sheng Story

Scientific Study Shows Property Loses No Value When Races Mix

By BERNARD TAPER

The argument of Southwood homemakers that their property values would drop if a Chinese family moved into the neighborhood has no basis in fact, according to a scientific study made recently at the University of California.

Conducted as a survey of nine San Francisco districts, the study showed that race did not appear to be a factor affecting home prices.

This was the report that Ed Howden, executive director of the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity, asked the Southwood property owners to wait for, before counting the ballots which were to decide whether Sing Sheng and his family moved into the home they had bought on West Orange avenue.

VOTE AGAINST SHENG

By a vote of 174 to 28, with 14 voting "no opinion," Sheng—a 26-year-old air line mechanic — was told that Southwood home owners objected to having his family in the neighborhood.

Before the vote they expressly stated they did not object to the Shengs as individuals. Some of them said, "The Shengs look like nice-type people." But, most of them stated, if the Shengs moved into their neighborhood — which hitherto had been 100 per cent white—the Shengs would be followed by other Chinese and then by Negroes.

What would happen, they said, was that the value of their homes would drop $3000 or $4000.

UC STUDY

The property value study—which was conducted by Luigi Laurenti, as a research assistant for the UC Bureau of Business and Economic Research—dealt with areas in San Francisco and Berkeley. The San Francisco portion is now being typed and put into final form.

This is how the survey was conducted, in its San Francisco aspect:

Nine neighborhoods were examined. These are in the southern part of San Francisco, lying in a band running from Silver Terrace, roughly westward through the Lakeview district, with one area in the Parkside district.

"These are neighborhoods which were once all-white neighborhoods and which have experienced nonwhite entry since 1945," Laurenti said.

As control areas, a similar number of areas elsewhere in the city were selected, which were originally in the same price brackets and have remained all white.

"Selection of these control areas was a very important matter. On this point we were guided by real-estate dealers familiar with the areas involved," Laurenti said.

SILVER TERRACE

For example, a typical test area was Silver Terrace. Until February, 1950 it was an all-white area. In February, 1950 its homes were selling in the $9750 bracket.

As a control area the Silver-Alemany district was used. In February, 1950 its homes were also selling for $9750.

Silver Terrace since 1950 has changed its racial character. Six Negro families have moved in. In all 27 sales have been made there since February, 1950—21 of them to white families.

The Silver - Alemany has remained an all-white neighborhood.

Yet prices for homes in both the Silver Terrace and the Silver-Alemany area have remained equivalent. In both districts prices have gone up about $1000. Houses in both districts are now in the $10,750 bracket.

As a double-check an additional control area was examined in some cases. In this instance, an all-units area within Visitacion Valley was used. It showed exactly the same results.

The statistics for all nine neighborhoods when compared with their control areas showed the same pattern.

Altogether, the prices on 165 sales were obtained and studied.

Of these sales, 44 were on homes purchased by nonwhites.

And 121 were on homes purchased by whites—purchased subsequent to the time the character of the neighborhoods began to change.

"This seems to refute the belief that once nonwhites buy into an area, homeowners in that area find it difficult to sell to whites," Laurenti said.

Only four of the 44 nonwhite purchasers, the study found, paid higher than the going prices for their houses. These four paid from $1000 to $2000 higher.

On the other side of the picture, only five of the 121 sales to whites were at prices lower than the average, again from $1000 to $2000 lower.

"In those cases, further investigation revealed that the owners of those houses were most anxious to get out of the area and accepted a price lower than they might have obtained had they not acted in panic," he said.

Another popular belief the study seems to belie is that there is a hierarchy of property values, based upon the race of the occupant—with the white occupying top place in this hierarchy, the Oriental being less financially satisfactory, and the Negro occupying the bottom position.

Of the 44 nonwhite purchases, 32 were made by Negroes. The other 12 were Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos.

"The figures showed no difference in property values in this regard," Laurenti said.

Here is the only presently available summary of the Laurenti race and property value study in San Francisco. The July Appraisal Journal will carry a full article. See also "The New Gresham's Law of Neighborhoods," by Charles Abrams, Appraisal Journal, July '51; and "The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy," by Robert Merton; Antioch Review, Summer 1948... Write or call CCU for further information or for speakers on San Francisco minority housing questions.

COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY of San Francisco
101 POST ST., SAN FRANCISCO 8, CALIF.
TELEPHONE EXbrook 2877

An organization of citizens working for equal civil rights and opportunities in housing, employment, education, health, and recreation for people of all colors, creeds, and ancestries in San Francisco . . . toward achievement of the full democratic possibilities of this cosmopolitan city.

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5-9-52

Housing - U.S. act of 1949

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Civil Rights Department
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

RECEIVED
JUN 23 1952
Southern Regional Council

To: CRC Offices
Civil Rights Organizations
AJC Area Offices

From: Edwin J. Lukas, Director

Urban redevelopment under the provisions of Title I of the Federal Housing Act of 1949 is being planned by cities throughout the country. In addition, other slum clearance operations are also taking place.

In many cases, the areas selected for redevelopment are currently occupied by large numbers of minority group families. The relocation problem for these families is a very grave one and every clearance project should be examined to determine whether its net effect would be to increase overcrowding and segregated patterns.

The Federal Housing & Home Finance Agency and local authorities have a statutory duty to provide a feasible plan for the relocation of displaced families.

It was felt that the plans presented for approval to the New York City Board of Estimate did not do this. The New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, therefore, presented the enclosed testimony on the subject. It is being sent to you to help you in evaluating plans presented in your community.

TESTIMONY BEFORE NEW YORK BOARD OF ESTIMATE ON URBAN REDEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

My name is Frances Levenson. I represent the Committee on Discrimination in Housing of the New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee.

The American Jewish Committee is an organization devoted to improving relations among all groups and working toward healthy democratic communities. We are interested in any situation which threatens to create tension areas or which, in any way, operates unfairly toward any ethnic or religious group. We have been working against discrimination and segregation in housing for many years since we feel that this is a key problem in the field of intergroup relations. We, therefore, study proposals for housing from the point of view of their effect on democratic housing.

We feel that from this point of view, the present urban redevelopment plans have serious deficiencies.

Urban redevelopment under the provisions of Title I of the Federal Housing Act of 1949 has a high and lofty purpose—to aid in building a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family, and it holds promise of bettering the housing conditions of a vast number of New York citizens. The Mayor's Committee on Slum Clearance is to be congratulated for the speed with which it has made plans and the energy with which it has carried them forward. If improperly implemented, however, these plans could have a serious effect on the well-being of a great number of residents of New York.

The housing shortage in New York City, particularly for the middle class, is still desperate. This unfortunate situation is compounded a hundredfold for members of minority racial and ethnic groups. Therefore, a question which must be asked and faced squarely is what will happen to the families displaced by these proposed new projects. Will they be provided with decent, safe and sanitary homes at rents which they can afford to pay as required by §105(c) of the Housing Act of 1949?

This is a crucial issue and one which is already creating confusion and tension among residents on the proposed sites. The lack of clarity which exists in this vital area is supplying ammunition to those groups which thrive on confusion and desire to create more dissension.

It is your responsibility before you permit any condemnation to take place, to be certain that the displaced families will be taken care of and that no group of families will be made to suffer to make way for modern housing for others.

On three of the sites up for consideration today—West Park, Harlem and North Harlem—a large percentage of the site residents are members of minority racial or ethnic groups; in Harlem and North Harlem, 100% are, in West Park one estimate states that ½ the population is Puerto Rican and Negro and occupy 25% of the dwelling units.

I need not labor the point that these groups face incalculable difficulty in finding adequate shelter. Nowhere, however, in the plans submitted by the Mayor's Committee is this handicap taken into consideration in assaying the relocation problem. On-site families are presently beset by many fears

and fall prey to rumor and distortion. This situation has been permitted to develop because no one has been able to answer the questions as to where they will live since a feasible plan for their relocation has not been developed. Nowhere in the elaborate brochures can any answers be found. Broad, undocumented statements are made by the Mayor's Committee on Slum Clearance sometimes that 1/3 and sometimes that ½ will be eligible for public housing. No facts are presented indicating how these estimates were arrived at. In addition, no appraisal has been made of the competing demands and priorities that exist among other families for space in public housing. Again, the Mayor's Committee on Slum Clearance states that a large group of on-site residents will prefer to relocate themselves. We fail to see how anyone can relocate himself if there is no housing available. Estimates as to the number of families that will be able to come back into the new projects are open to serious question. Proper data concerning the income of the on-site residents have not been presented and recent statements by the Mayor's Committee distort the rentals to be charged in the new projects. The Committee stated recently that rentals will vary from $16 to $30 per room. We would like to ask where apartments will be available at $16 a room, the number that will be available at that price, and particularly whether any down-payments will be required for such apartments.

The proposal put forth by the Mayor's Committee that relocation for each site shall be handled by different private real estate firms under the supervision of the Bureau of Real Estate is open to grave question. Regardless of the degree of supervision, which is not delineated by the Committee, it is inevitable that competition will arise among these firms for practically non-existent relocation housing. There should not be division of responsibility in a matter as delicate as this and affected with as grave public consequences.

A wise and far-sighted social development should not be permitted to bring individual hardship and an increase in segregation in its wake. I say increase in segregation because the only place available for minority group families earning between $3,600 to $5,000 a year is the already overcrowded ghetto areas of Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx. To go ahead in this unplanned and haphazard fashion might leave the city open to law suits by discontented site tenants and jeopardize the whole urban redevelopment program, both in this city and, since New York's program is the most advanced urban redevelopment project, possibly for the entire country.

It need not be so. Wise handling can overcome these obstacles. We urge at this time, therefore, that the following steps be taken:

1. Begin immediately to make an accurate survey of the actual need that will be created by the displacement of families from these sites. Information must be collected concerning family income, family size, race and present rentals paid. At the same time, an inventory of existing resources must be made so that we can know definitely what housing is actually available for these families. The help of the state government, Federal Government, FHA and the City Housing Authority must be solicited so that new areas may be opened to minority groups if, as we fear,

it will be apparent that sufficient existing housing is not available to them. Additional no-cash subsidy housing could do much to ease the situation.

2. Relocation cannot be done piecemeal. It must be done fully cognizant of the overall displacement of families throughout the city caused by public housing, urban redevelopment, and public improvements. This job can only be done by one public agency. The city itself is best equipped to take over this task and must not farm out its responsibility in this respect to private organizations. The city is the only agency which has comparable experience. We would also like to point out at this time that even the city, in its experience in relocating families displaced by public housing, was not faced with as vast a problem as presented by urban redevelopment. Families displaced by public housing are required by law only to be provided with homes no worse than those from which they were forced to move. Families displaced by urban redevelopment, however, are required by federal statute to be relocated in "decent, safe and sanitary dwellings."

The city is faced with grave responsibility in this field. We would like to see urban redevelopment go forward as quickly as possible. Not so quickly, however, as to trample upon the rights of the families now living on the sites. We hope that you will see the necessity for more adequate planning and preparation to avoid the development in our city of ugly situations which we have unhappily seen in other communities when racial tensions or jealous competition emerge.

5/9/52
fl/bwl

Joint Memorandum

Housing

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
327 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 4, ILL.
212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

RECEIVED
JUN 16 1952
Southern Regional Council

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Alexander Brooks

DATE: May 27, 1952

SUBJECT:

This is to supplement the attached summary and analysis of the decision of the California Supreme Court in the Fujii case. On Monday, May 12, Attorney General Edmund G. Brown of the State of California announced that there will be no appeal from the decision of the California Supreme Court in the Fujii case, striking down the California Alien Land Law as unconstitutional. His announcement stated, "My office is in full accord with the legal conclusions reached in that decision by the Court, speaking through Chief Justice Phil S. Gibson, as well as in full accord with the social justice of that decision." He declared that an appeal by the state to the United States Supreme Court would serve "no legal, useful, humane, nor any effective purpose."

Attorney General Brown cited the fact that the state of Oregon had also refused to appeal the 1951 decision of its Supreme Court holding its Alien Land Law to be unconstitutional. He expressed his accord with that part of the decision of the California Supreme Court which chose to rest the unconstitutionality of the California Alien Land Law on the Fourteenth Amendment and refused to hold the UN Charter applicable to it.

He concluded, "Every citizen of California, I believe, by the decision in the Fujii case recently in the California Supreme Court, can take pride that California will legally no longer persist in an adherence to a philosophy of a 'super race', nor insist upon being a vindictive outpost of racial discrimination -- that everyone of our residents here has an equal opportunity to share in the building of a greater destiny for our State -- and that our guide now, more than every before, is the U. S. Constitution which guarantees equal rights and equal protection for all."

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
327 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 4, ILL.
212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Alexander Brooks

DATE: May 13, 1952

SUBJECT: Decision of California Supreme Court in Fujii v. California, 38 A.C. 817

Digest: The Supreme Court of California, in a 4 - 3 decision, ruled that California's Alien Land Law violates the Fourteenth Amendment by denying equal protection of the law to Japanese aliens. It rejected the reasoning of the lower state court in the same case, that the California law against ownership of real property by Japanese aliens must be struck down because it violates the human rights provisions of the UN Charter.

On April 17, 1952, the California Supreme Court, in a 4 - 3 decision in the case of Fujii v. California, ruled that the California law barring ownership of land in the state to all aliens ineligible for citizenship under the laws of the United States is unconstitutional because it violates the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The case reached the California Supreme Court as an appeal by the state against the holding of a California intermediate appellate court striking down the California Alien Land Law on the ground that it violated the human rights provisions of the UN Charter, and that those provisions under Article VI of the Federal Constitution, which makes treaties the supreme law of the land, superseded the law barring ownership of real property by aliens ineligible for U.S. citizenship because that law is inconsistent with the provisions of the charter. The intermediate appellate court refused to strike down the California Alien Land Laws under the Fourteenth Amendment on the ground that two 1923 decisions of the United States Supreme Court in Terrace v. Thompson, 263 U.S. 197 and Porterfield v. Webb, 263 U.S. 225 had established their constitutionality and therefore bound the state courts.

The majority opinion of the California Supreme Court first dealt with the applicability of the UN Charter to the California Alien Land Laws. It pointed out that a treaty does not supersede local laws inconsistent with it unless the treaty provisions are self-executing. In determining whether a treaty is self-executing, a decisive factor is the intent of the signatory parties as manifested by the language of the instrument and, if the language is uncertain, by the circumstances surrounding its execution. Examining the language of the human rights provisions of the charter and the circumstances surrounding it, the court found that none of these provisions are self-executing. It said, "Although the member nations have obligated themselves to cooperate with the international

organization in promoting respect for, and observance of human rights, it is plain that it was contemplated that future legislative action by the several nations would be required to accomplish the declared objectives, and there is nothing to indicate that these provisions were intended to become rules of law for the courts of this country upon the ratification of the charter." The court pointed out that the framers of the charter were very careful to make certain provisions effective without the aid of implementing legislation and employed language in those sections which is clear and definite and manifests that intention, whereas in the human rights provisions no such language was used.

Having overruled the basis of the intermediate appellate court's decision, the court then turned to the question of whether the Alien Land Law violates the "due process" and "equal protection" clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment. It rejected the argument that a reaffirmation of the question was foreclosed by the decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the Terrace and Porterfield cases. The court found that the more recent decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court in Oyama v. California, 332 U.S. 633 and Takahashi v. Fish and Game Commission, 334 U.S. 410 apply concepts of rights under the Fourteenth Amendment that contradict the rationale of the Thompson and Porterfield cases, and the latter are therefore, "no longer to be regarded as settled law." The court said, "Constitutional principles declared in recent years are irreconcilable with the reasoning of the earlier cases, and lead us to conclude that the statute violates the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment." The court emphasized that "Only the most exceptional circumstances can excuse discrimination [on the basis of race] in the face of the equal protection clause." It also found that the presumption of validity accorded to statutes is greatly narrowed in scope, if not entirely dispelled, whenever it is shown, as here, that legislation actually discriminates against certain persons because of their race or nationality.

The court rejected the contention that the California statute merely carries into effect a Congressional policy. It pointed out that Congress had enacted a naturalization law, not a property law, and that it has neither declared nor assumed that landowners ineligible for citizenship are a danger to the state.

The court next considered the grounds given by the Supreme Courtfor its decision in the Terrace case. These were that restricting the use and ownership of land to citizens is a means of insuring that land will be owned only by persons who are loyal and have an interest in the welfare of the state; and that it was within the realm of possibility that all of the real property in a state might ultimately be owned by persons ineligible to citizenship, and that such a situation might endanger the state.

The court pointed out that eligibility to citizenship does not automatically engender loyalty, nor does ineligibility establish a lack of loyalty or an absence of interest in the welfare of the country. Similarly, it pointed out that since 1923 our naturalization laws have been amended to make so many groups eligible for citizenship that only a very small group, Japanese and a small number of residents of a few other races such as Polynesians, are now ineligible for citizenship. Hence, it is most unlikely, if not practically impossible, for a substantial amount of real property to come into the ownership of persons ineligible for citizenship.

Finally, the court pointed out that the right to own real estate is no different from the right to earn a living, and that the Supreme Court, many years ago, in Truax v. Raich, 239 U.S. 33 had ruled that a state may not constitutionally bar aliens from the right to earn a living. It said, "Legislation which results in such discrimination imposes upon the ineligible alien an economic status inferior to that of all other persons living in the state, and interferes with his right to earn a living."

Judge Carter, who concurred in the views of Chief Justice Gibson, pointed out in a separate concurring opinion, that he had always argued that the California Alien Land Laws were based upon a false premise, and contravened constitutional mandates. He made this point because the minority of three, in their dissent, attacked the majority for inconsistency, in that its members had refused to strike down these laws in their decision in the Oyama case, 29 Cal. 2d. 164 (later reversed by the U. S. Supreme Court). In his concurring opinion Judge Carter stressed that "there is no relationship between the character of the Japanese in the United States and the prohibition on ownership of land by them, insofar as concerns the public health, morals or welfare." He reviewed at length the excellent record of the Japanese in California for patriotism, conformity to law, energy and industry.

Judge Schauer, speaking in dissent for himself, and Judges Schenk and Spence, attacked the majority for disregarding the Supreme Court precedents which, he argued, bound the California State Supreme Court not to strike down the California Alien Land Laws as unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment. He emphasized that most of the members of the majority had claimed that they were so bound in their decision in the Oyama case, as well as in the Takahashi case, 30 Cal. 2d. 719. Resting on the letter of the law, he insisted that the statute was not directed against a racial group, but simply against aliens ineligible for citizenship. He referred to the danger during World War II of occupation and conquest of California by Japan and argued that the statute was a perfectly valid governmental action to prevent any such possibility. He denounced the majority for substituting their views of what is socially desirable for the views of the legislature.

Housing - Restrictive covenants

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

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OF B'NAI B'RITH
327 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
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212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

To: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

From: Sol Rabkin and Frances Levenson

Date: September 9, 1952

Subject: Suits for damages for violation of racial restrictive covenants on real property

Digest:

The District Court of Appeals of California, an intermediate appellate court, has upheld a ruling of a lower court that state courts cannot constitutionally entertain a suit for damages for breach of a racial restrictive covenant.

* * * * * *

In the case of Barrows v. Jackson, a California Court of Appeals on August 8, 1952, affirmed the ruling of a lower California court that state courts may not, under the Fourteenth Amendment, entertain a suit for damages for violation of a racial restrictive covenant.

In 1944 three of the plaintiffs and the defendant, the owners of four adjacent pieces of real property in Los Angeles, agreed in writing that no part of his property would "be used or occupied by any person or persons not wholly of the white or Caucasian race."

The agreement also provided that if any of the lots should be used or occupied by any person not wholly of the white or Caucasian race, then the covenantors and their successors whose lots were not so occupied were entitled to reimbursement for all damages which they may have suffered by reason of the breach.

In 1950 the defendant sold his home which was subsequently occupied by a Negro family. Thereupon the plaintiffs brought suit for damages. As has been reported in an earlier memorandum, the trial court dismissed the action on the ground that the United States Supreme Court decisions in Shelley v. Kraemer barred any court action to enforce such covenants including damage suits. The plaintiffs appealed this decision to the California District Court of Appeals, an intermediate appellate court.

The appellate court affirmed, holding that the covenant was not one which could be enforced by state courts in view of the ruling of the United States Supreme Court in the cases of Shelley v. Kraemer and Sipes v. McGhee. It stated that "the admonition of these cases is that a state may not by judicial process enforce private rights derived from consensual agreements of private individuals where to do so would result in the infringement of civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States." Since the granting of damages for violation of a racial or restrictive covenant would be a type of judicial enforcement, and since judicial enforcement of

racial or restrictive covenants was a violation of the Equal Protection requirement of the Fourteenth Amendment, the court ruled that the trial court had been right in dismissing the complaint.

It is noteworthy that the court received a great number of briefs amicus. A brief amicus in support of the appellants was filed in the name of the following associations: Neighborly Endeavor, Inc.; Harvard Neighbors Association; United Neighbors, Inc.; United Home Owners, Inc.; Vermont Square Neighbors, Inc.; Neighborhood Protective Association, Inc.; Steadfast Neighbors Committee; Angelus Mesa Neighbors Association; Loyal Neighbors Association; Citizens United, Inc.; Lafayette Square Improvement Association; Hancock Park Neighbors, Inc; The Park Community Association; and Associated Neighbors. On the side of the defendants, briefs amicus were filed by the Women's International Club, the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, the Japanese-American Citizens' League, the Greater Los Angeles CIO Council, the NAACP, the California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, and the following organizations which joined in a single brief amicus: The American Council on Human Rights, American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Eagle Rock Council for Civic Unity, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans, Los Angeles Urban League, Pasadena Young Women's Christian Association, Social Action Department of the Congregational Conference of Southern California and Southwest, Santa Monica Young Women's Christian Association, Southern California B'nai B'rith Women, Southern Division of the California Cooperative League, and the Christines.

Joint Memorandum

Housing

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TO: CRC Offices, ADL Regional Offices, AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Ted Leskes

DATE: November 6, 1952

SUBJECT: Discrimination in Housing - Decision of Superior Court in San Francisco in Banks v. San Francisco Housing Authority

Digest: The Superior Court holds that racial segregation in public housing projects constitutes denial of "equal protection of the laws."

In a decision dated October 1, 1952, the Superior Court of San Francisco ruled that the practice of segregating Negroes in one of several public housing projects while excluding them from others, violates the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th Amendment and is contrary to the laws and public policy of the State of California. The case arose on a complaint of several Negroes against the San Francisco Housing Authority. The complaint charged that applications by Negroes for admission to a newly erected public housing project were rejected solely because of their race and that the Housing Authority followed a policy of strict segregation by allotting one of its six housing projects to Negro applicants while excluding them from the other five.

The Housing Authority asked the Court to dismiss the complaint on the ground that it did not state a cause of action. They claimed that under the Plessy v. Ferguson doctrine enunciated by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1896, enforced segregation did not violate the Constitution if the facilities set aside for the Negroes were substantially equal to those reserved for white persons.

The superior Court of San Francisco denied the defendant's motion to dismiss the complaint and thereby paved the way for a trial of the case. In so doing, it pointed out that the doctrine of Plessy v. Ferguson has been greatly weakened by recent decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court referred specifically to the decision in Shelley v. Kramer declaring racial restrictive covenants unenforceable and to various decisions invalidating municipal ordinances designed to enforce racial segregation.

After pointing out that the "equal but separate" doctrine had never been accepted as the public policy of the State of California or the City of San Francisco, the opinion turned to a discussion of two decisions dealing with the same question as that raised in the present case. In one, a federal district court in Pennsylvania upheld racial segregation by a public housing authority, applying the "separate but equal" doctrine, while in the other, decided in 1949 by a state court in New Jersey, segregation of colored people in a housing project was declared unconstitutional as a violation of the "equal protection" clause of the 14th Amendment. (The ADL and AJC filed a brief amicus curiae in the latter case, supporting the position of the Negro plaintiffs.) After reviewing these two conflicting precedents, the Court declared that it was more impressed with the reasoning of the New Jersey decision and that it would apply it "as enunciating a sounder, fairer, more enlightened,

and advanced principle to guide us in the matter of public housing, in granting to the Negro all he is entitled to as a citizen -- genuine equality of treatment under the law."

In conclusion, the Court stated that if the trial established that the Housing Authority does follow a policy of segregation, an order would be issued requiring the admission of Negro applicants without segregation to all available units in any of its housing projects under the same rules, regulations and preferences applicable to other applicants and without regard to race or color.

Housing

Joint Memorandum

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TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Theodore Leskes and Sol Rabkin

DATE: January 12, 1953

SUBJECT: Second Decision of Superior Court of California in Banks v. San Francisco Housing Authority

Digest:

The Superior Court holds that racial segregation in public housing projects violates the U.S. Constitution and the laws and public policy of the State of California and of the City and County of San Francisco.

* * * * * * * *

On November 6, 1952, we advised you by Joint Memorandum that the Superior Court of California in San Francisco had refused to dismiss a complaint charging the Housing Authority with following a policy of strict racial segregation in public housing projects and thereby denying equal protection of the laws to Negro citizens.

Following that action by the Court, the Housing Authority filed an answer denying many of the allegations of the petition. The Court then considered the evidence and proof submitted by both sides and, on November 14, 1952, rendered a decision against the Housing Authority.

The Housing Authority, a state agency, owns and operates seven low-rent housing developments in San Francisco. The Court found that the Negro petitioners had applied for admission to one or more of those developments; that they had been excluded from all except the one jim crow development; that such exclusion was arbitrary and pursuant to a "neighborhood pattern" policy which sought to maintain the existing racial character of the neighborhoods where the developments were located; that despite the veterans' preference requirements of the law, the Housing Authority had been preferring white non-veterans over Negro veterans for available living accommodations; and that many of the statements made in the Housing Authority's answer were untrue.

As a matter of law, the Court therefore concluded that:

> The policy, practice, and usage of respondents (Housing Authority) in excluding petitioners and all other Negro applicants from all the permanent public low rent housing developments...is an unlawful and unconstitutional discrimination in violation of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and of the laws and general public policy of the State of California and the City and County of San Francisco..."

The Court thereupon issued a mandamus decree ordering the Housing Authority to certify the petitioners for admission to the public housing developments on the same basis and under the same rules, regulations and preferences as other applicants and without regard to race or color. The Housing Authority was also ordered to abandon its "neighborhood pattern" polity and to classify and admit all applicants without racial discrimination or segregation.

Violation of the Court's decree would subject the individual members of the Housing Authority of the City and County of San Francisco to punishment for contempt of court.

tl-sr/bwl

(housing

VALUES IN TRANSITION AREAS: SOME NEW CONCEPTS

BELDEN MORGAN, *South Pasadena, California*

The author is an independent appraiser, and was formerly deputy chief appraiser of the FHA's Los Angeles office. A Senior member of the Society, he is a past president of both the Chicago and Los Angeles Chapters. This challenging article was developed from the subject matter of his recent talk before the Los Angeles Chapter.

A STUDY of the current impact of Negro population movements on property values reveals the truth of the statement that real estate economics are not only exceedingly complex, but are of an evolutionary character as well. It is well known that real estate appraising is a fluid art. Conclusions true one year are apt to be false in another year. Generalizations valid in one instance are invalid under different circumstances. Even our most widely accepted laws and theories are but statements of probabilities that are subject to change as the premises of the arguments shift with varying conditions. As Dr. Richard T. Ely so aptly stated years ago, "There is no system of economics applicable unchanged to all times."

Right now a change is taking place in appraisal thought with respect to the opinion held on the effect of the "infiltration" or "invasion" of minority groups on white neighborhoods. In discussing the implications of this change, no cause is to be espoused. This is an objective analysis. Nothing is to be advocated except a strong appeal to make every appraisal an honest report of the facts as they are found to exist without prejudice, bias or a preconceived notion that might be false.

To approach this problem without prejudice is difficult indeed. Over the years we have been brought up with deeply ingrained emotional feelings that we cannot shake off with ease simply by saying we will. Inevitably, some reservation of prejudice will be retained, and we probably will not be free of it for several generations.

Most appraisal texts treat the problem from the viewpoint of 20 years ago when it was commonly believed by nearly all that the presence of Negroes or other minorities in a neighborhood was a serious value-destroying influence. Appraisers were considered remiss in their duty if they failed to discover and report the presence of any minority member anywhere in the neighborhood of the subject property. Some appraisers kept maps outlining all the neighborhoods occupied by minorities for ready reference. This type of thinking is undergoing a change. There are many locations where such generalizations are no longer true.

ILLEGAL

On May 3, 1948, the United States Supreme Court rendered its historic decision that restrictive covenants were contrary to public policy and unenforceable by court action. This focused the attention of nearly everyone on a problem which had become increasingly acute for many years.

During World War II, when the population of Los Angeles increased by 30%, the non-white population increased by more than 100%. This was typical of the influx of the minorities into many of our large metropolitan centers where thousands crowded in to join the shipbuilding and aircraft trades and other war-born industries. The rapid increase of Negroes in American cities is a twentieth century phenomenon which was accelerated by war, but which will probably continue until the Negro population is more evenly dispersed.

The residential areas to which the Negro had been habitually confined literally bulged and broke at the seams. The housing conditions within those

areas were unbelievably bad and a disgrace to the country. The problem of housing accommodations for Negroes was a complex one of low income, neighborhood restrictions which confined them to small areas plus a housing shortage within those areas. This resulted in over-crowding, congestion and blight; slums were created or accentuated. The advancing age of the structures, coupled with the lack of maintenance by indifferent and greedy absentee owners, who knew it was not necessary to maintain the properties to hold tenants when the shortage was so acute, was the primary cause of the slum condition—the dwellers were not.

Whites observing Negroes living under those conditions are prone to blame the Negro for that condition, whereas the Negro was the victim—not the cause. (Blaming Negroes for the slums is akin to blaming the prisoners for the existence of the concentration camps of Russia.)

PROJECTS FILLED

The FHA annually makes a survey of all the large scale rental housing projects financed with FHA mortgages which reveals the vacancies, rent levels, turnover, etc., in each of these rental properties. The reports from the Negro projects in the Los Angeles area disclosed that there were fewer vacancies, higher rents and smaller turnover in those units than in comparable units in white neighborhoods. A typical remark by the owner of a 12-unit apartment in a neighborhood on the southwest side of Los Angeles which is in transition from white to non-white was, "Our building has 100% Negro occupancy. Rent payments are prompt and we have a waiting list of prospective tenants." A look at the rents makes this statement even more startling. The one-bedroom units were rented at $85 and the two-bedroom apartments at $110 per month, which was considerably higher than the rents for comparable units in white neighborhoods.

During the war certain priority allotments were issued to builders for the sole purpose of providing housing for Negro war workers. Several thousand residential units in tract developments that were built in Los Angeles under this program have been most successful. Foreclosures have been very few—less percentagewise than for the area as a whole—and there have been no mortgage losses sustained in any of these tracts. The resale market has been excellent. This favorable loan experience has attracted the attention of many mortgage lenders, and more and more of them are becoming interested in this type of security.

VALUES UPHELD

It has been apparent that Negro families have responded readily to the standards of good neighborhood living. A report by the FHA on one neighborhood stated, "The infiltration of Negro owner-occupants has tended to appreciate property values and neighborhood stability in contrast to its depreciating use by white families as a rental area."

Appraising properties in neighborhoods which are in transition from one type of occupancy to another or in a neighborhood which is already predominantly occupied by minority races really tests the skill of the appraiser. His huge stock of sales data is probably based on an entirely different market for an entirely different user group. He is going to have to start at the very beginning and find out what Negroes are paying for housing comparable to the subject property. That is the only type of sales data that will support a conclusion on property in a Negro neighborhood.

PRACTICAL TEST

Most appraisers through many years of experience can look at a house and approximate the rental and probable sales price obtainable. But this is not so with housing for Negroes. It is necessary to investigate and find out what Negroes can and do pay for housing.

Not long ago an application was received for a mortgage on a proposed duplex to be built in the heart of a

BELDEN MORGAN gives reasons why recent comparable sales data are the only support for valuations in Negro or mixed neighborhoods—

1. **Because of increasing movements of minorities into previously un-mixed neighborhoods, properties must be judged by their probable marketability to the potential user group, not according to what they were worth to former owners and renters.**
2. **The demand for housing by minority groups is so strong that rentals and sales prices may be much higher than warranted by the condition and type of property.**
3. **Improved employment conditions have raised the incomes of Negroes, so that they will be able to maintain higher values.**

Negro neighborhood. The location was surrounded by 40-year old and older frame rooming houses, apartments and single-family residences. It was not a slum district. Twenty years ago it was a well regarded white neighborhood in the upper medium price range. From the point of view of a Negro it was a very desirable residential neighborhood. Negroes of a relatively high economic level predominated in the area. Most of the occupants were civil service employees, public utility workers and professional people. Inasmuch as this would be the only new house for miles around, the application ordinarily would have been rejected because the value found would be substantially below replacement cost. The opinion would have been formed that the adverse effect of the environment would greatly restrict the marketability and rentability of this new property. An investigation revealed, however, that the demand from Negroes for rentals in this neighborhood was so great that they would pay higher rents than the casual observer would think possible. It was also found that a real market existed for the purchase of properties of this type by proposed owner-occupants who would live in one unit and rent the other. The conclusion was ultimately reached that the risk on this property was less than the risk on many new duplexes which were being built in new neighborhoods. This one had virtually no competition. It would be in strong demand for a long time. It was capable of earning more rent than similar structures in white neighborhoods. As a result it was appraised at its full cost of replacement.

The point is that properties in minority neighborhoods must be appraised, rated and judged from the viewpoint of their desirability, marketability and rentability to the user group involved. The old test of marketability must be applied to these properties.

What is meant by marketability? Marketability means the ability of a property to be sold and resold again and again. It means a property possessing the characteristics to attract many purchasers to it. Appraisers don't care what the race, creed or color of those purchasers might be, just so there are enough of them with the ability to pay to create a really strong and sustaining demand. Marketability is linked to desirability. As it varies, so does marketability. But in weighing desirability it must be thought of from the viewpoint of the potential users of the property, uninfluenced and unbiased by personal prejudices.

No attempt is being made to build up a case for *all* minority housing, for *all* Negroes or *all* minorities. There are

many sub-standard properties. There are many sub-standard incomes. Large masses of these groups of people lack the necessary financial ability to meet the obligations of home ownership; these present unacceptable mortgage risks by any standard. On the other hand there are many acceptable risks to be found in this field which shouldn't be overlooked because of blind prejudice.

RISK LESSENED

The continued financial ability to meet the obligation is the requirement that raises many doubts. It is apparent that a sizeable segment of the minority population have unstable incomes and are employed in low wage occupations. Percentagewise very few of these people earn over $40 per week. Obviously not many of this group can afford home ownership at today's high costs. But an increasing number of Negroes belong to another group. Today, the civil service employee, the public utility worker and the professional man earn as much as their white co-workers and enjoy equal economic stability. *Conditions have changed.* This was not true 20 years ago —20 years ago was a whole generation ago. Those of the current generation through compulsory education and the changed attitudes of government and large employers, sparked by the civil rights program, are infinitely better off than their fathers. Their span of available occupations covers the range formerly open only to whites. The Negro population will never again suffer the tremendous labor cutbacks of both wages and opportunities which occurred in the past. There is a large segment of the minority group which presents no additional risk because of its race. Consequently value changes in the future in the better Negro sections will be much the same as in predominantly white sections. (*Editor's Note:* See the report of the Greater Detroit Chapter's October meeting in THE REVIEW, December, 1951, for another view of the same subject.)

Now, what happens when Negroes enter a heretofore all white neighborhood? Sometimes, but not always, because whites are generally uninformed regarding the effect of Negro "invasions" on property values, the whites become panic stricken and desert the neighborhood "en masse" when Negro families first move into the neighborhood. The story of the "invasion" spreads, and occasionally the hysteria of the whites leaps beyond control. The insistent, desperate drive of the Negroes for self-betterment results in violence and bloodshed. Often the word spreads that property values will be wiped out when the neighborhood becomes predominantly Negro. Then everybody tries to sell in a hurry while they can still get a price, and offer their properties for a little less than their neighbors so as to sell first and get out first. This hysteria of course depresses prices, giving proof to the statement that prices fall with a Negro "invasion." But it is the mass exodus that temporarily gluts the market with offerings that depresses prices—not the influx. It is like a bank run engendered by fear. The fears produce an unwarranted condition that could be avoided if people would stay put.

STRONG MARKET

After the first hysterical selling phase passes prices become stabilized, then gradually increase under the pressure of Negro bidding. Whites who hold on to their property are often able to sell at prices substantially higher than prevailed prior to the "invasion." The old law of supply and demand asserts itself. The limited property available to Negroes coupled with the desperate need by the Negroes for adequate housing and their intense desire to better themselves exerts a pressure on the price structure that doesn't exist in older white neighborhoods.

People are learning this. Many districts today go through a transitional period in occupancy without any signs of hysteria and without any collapse in prices. The only effect from an economic viewpoint is a broadening and strength-

ening of the market by virtue of the increased demand. This is true in some areas, but not all. Whether prices rise or fall depends upon the ability of the newcomers to bid up prices.

RAPID TURNOVER

It usually will be found that sales activity is greater in racially mixed areas, especially in the low and moderate price ranges, and that the high effective demand among Negro buyers not only sustains price levels but often increases them.

Actually, whether prices rise or fall depends upon the extent of the demand and the ability of the market to bid up prices, and has nothing to do whatsoever with racial characteristics. Generally speaking the Negro home owner pays higher prices than his white prototype because his color restricts his field of operations.

More Negroes have more money than ever before. They enjoy greater stability of employment than ever before, but still there are relatively few who are able to buy in the higher price ranges. When a few of these Negroes in the upper income brackets move into a neighborhood of high priced homes, some depression in prices and a restriction in market activity is usually observed. Some white prospective purchasers lose interest in that neighborhood and there are not enough Negro purchasers in that price range to take their place.

EXCEPTION

This condition prevails in at least two neighborhoods in the Los Angeles area which were investigated by the writer. In one, a $20,000 to $30,000 neighborhood on the southwest side of Los Angeles, the first Negro family moved in about two years ago. Today there are only [illegible] Negro families among the seven hundred white families in this area. Prices are very dull and prices are down [illegible] to [illegible] former levels in contrast to a general price increase throughout the area.

In contrast to this, the adjoining neighborhood which is a little older and in the $10,000 to $15,000 price range has had an entirely different experience. Prior to 1948 this was a restricted white neighborhood. The first Negro family didn't move in until the spring of 1950. Now the neighborhood is about 20% nonwhite. Actual sales histories on a number of typical properties in this area were obtained through brokers and verified by present owners. But changes in sales prices in themselves are meaningless unless related to the trend of market prices generally. In the Los Angeles area for the past ten years the Los Angeles Residential Research Committee has maintained an accurate index of residential market prices. Each sale obtained in this neighborhood was related to the curve of fluctuating market prices for the whole area to obtain a true picture of the effect of the minority "invasion" on the price structure in this neighborhood.

CASE HISTORIES

Property A sold in 1948 at $12,500 when the market price index was at 265. In 1950 a Negro moved next door. There was a subsequent sale in 1950 to a white at $13,500 which was an 8% increase and represented 287 on the index scale. But the market price index for the whole metropolitan area moved down in those two years to 230, a decline of 13%. Now the same property is listed for sale at $16,500 which is 300 on the market price scale and 32% higher than the 1948 scale, whereas the levels generally as revealed by the RRC index are about the same as in 1948 with an index level of 262. Evidently this owner doesn't think property values are being destroyed by the change in occupancy which is taking place.

Property B sold in December, 1949 for $[illegible] when the index was at 232. It [illegible] to a Negro in August, 1951 for $23,000, an increase of 38% during the period when market prices on an average were advancing only 13% to an index level of 262.

Property C sold in October, [illegible] for $11,500 when the index [illegible]

resold to another white in May, 1951, a year after the "invasion" started when there were several minorities in the same block, for $12,500. This 9% rise represents about the same increase as market prices generally, which had advanced 11% to a level of 257. Then the property sold again in October, 1951, this time to a Negro at $13,500 which was 17% higher than the "pre-invasion" sale and slightly higher than the market price index which advanced only 13% to 262 during the same period.

These cases are typical for this neighborhood. There are many others and they all tell the same story. Prices have advanced more here than in neighborhoods unaffected by population movements. Furthermore, this advance was evidenced during all three stages of the change—in the period of threatening "invasion," during the early stages of transition and in the later stages of mutation.

There is an old motto of the Society of Residential Appraisers which says "We have no moral right to decide on the basis of opinion that which may be determined as a matter of fact." For the purpose of this article that motto should be paraphrased into, "We have no moral right to decide on the basis of *prejudice* that which may be determined as a matter of fact."

The *facts* must be ascertained before rendering an appraisal report in a neighborhood affected by minority population movements. Things may not be what they seem. Prejudiced belief or hearsay information cannot be trusted. An honest report of the facts is the only solution.

CONSTRUCTION COSTS COMPOSITION

A glance at the distribution of various homebuilding costs, shown in the table below, discloses that prices for materials and equipment in homebuilding increase 337% from factory to home-buyer. In other words, a typical item listed for sale at $1 at the factory costs the consumer about $4.37.

Data in the table are based on a Dow Service application of a formula developed several years ago in cooperation with numerous builders. Estimated costs for 1951 are shown, based on a typical $11,250 house excluding land and financing expenses.

ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION COSTS IN HOMEBUILDING

	FOB Factory*	Mfr. Whsl. Cost	Freight Chgs.	Whsl. or Jobber Costs	Labor	Retailing Costs	Contr. Supv. OH & Bldr. Prof.**	Consumer Cost
Lumber	$ 517	$ 47	$213	$ 47	$ 716	$ 520	$ 332	$ 2,382
Millwork	439	99	66	342	400	518	342	2,205
Plumbing	337	22	22	79	340	157	168	1,125
Heating	259	46	19	69	215	185	143	925
Masonry	281	27	66	18	270	140	99	900
Electrical	56	10	5	10	104	41	36	259
Rfg.—Siding & Weatherstrip	259	47	29	58	369	235	176	1,170
Insulation	124	27	11	27	65	131	61	450
Paint	56	27	22	38	211	97	81	540
Glass	9	1	1	0	73	—	14	106
Hdwr. Fhg.	90	11	18	11	101	79	50	360
Hdwr. Misc.	146	33	16	33	340	132	116	828
TOTALS	$2,575	$397	$483	$738	$3,204	$2,235	$1,618	$11,250
% of Total	22.87	3.52	4.31	6.56	28.48	19.86	14.40	100.0

*Typical selling costs omitted.
**Contractor's supervision and overhead plus builder's profit.

Housing — Restrictive Covenants

Joint Memorandum

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TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: April 16, 1953

SUBJECT: Developments Since the Supreme Court Decisions on Restrictive Covenants in Shelley vs. Kraemer and Hurd vs. Hodge *

It is now five years since the United States Supreme Court ruled in the cases of Shelley v. Kraemer (334 U. S. 1) and Hurd v. Hodge (334 U. S. 24) that neither a state nor the federal court could compel compliance with a racial restrictive covenant. An informal survey conducted by the Associated Press revealed that as a result of these meetings, thousands of Negroes have been able to purchase homes in areas previously barred to them. It is of interest to review the impact of the Supreme Court's history-making rulings on real estate practices and on recent cases involving restrictive covenants which have reached the courts.

One week after the Supreme Court established the new rule of the Shelley case, it applied it in reversing decisions of the Supreme Courts of Ohio and California which had held racial restrictive covenants enforceable. (Trustees of Monroe Avenue Church of Christ v. Perkins, 334 U.S. 813; Amer v. Superior Court of State of California, and Yin Kim v. Superior Court of the State of California, 334 U S. 813)

Several restrictive covenant cases were pending in various state courts at the time of the Shelley v. Kraemer decision. On July 16, 1948, some two months after the Supreme Court ruling, the New York State Court of Appeals, by memorandum opinion which simply referred to the Shelley decision, reversed a lower court which had upheld a suit for an injunction against violation of a restrictive covenant. (Kemp v. Rubin, 298 N.Y. 590). In November of the same year, the Supreme Court of Illinois rendered a similar decision in the case of Tovey v. Levy (401 Ill. 393).

In December 1948, the Court of Appeals of Marylandhad before it two cases involving applications for injunctive enforcement of restrictive covenants (Goetz v. Smith, and Saunders v. Phillips,, 191 Md. 707, cert. denied 336 U. S. 967). The plaintiffs argued that the rule of the Shelley case did not apply to them because in that case, Negroes had occupied some of the property in question for

* This is a revision bringing up to date our joint memorandum of August 15, 1951 on the same general subject.

periods of over twenty years despite the covenants. They also pointed out that in the Shelley situation, the Negro purchaser had had no actual knowledge of the restrictions at the time he made his purchase, while in the cases before the Maryland court, the Negro defendants knew of the restrictions at the time they bought the property.

The Court of Appeals of Maryland rejected all these contentions and stated that the United States Supreme Court decisions barred the court from granting the injunctions requested.

In the same month, a Texas appellate court in the case of Clifton v. Puente, 218 S.W. 2nd 272, followed a similar course of action. The covenant involved barred sale or lease to "persons of Mexican descent" and provided that the land should revert to the original owner in case the covenant was violated. In December 1947, the property had been sold to Puente, a person of Mexican descent. Thereupon the original owner, claiming that the land once more belonged to him because of the terms of the covenant, sold the same piece of land to the plaintiff, Clifton, who joined with the original owner in bringing an action against Puente for a declaration that Clifton was the rightful owner of the land. Puente countered by asking the court for an order granting him possession of the property. While the matter was under consideration in the trial court, the Shelley decision was handed down. Despite this decision, the plaintiffs pressed their demand that the court cancel the deed by which the property had been transferred to Puente.

The trial court, on the basis of the Shelley case, dismissed the plaintiffs' action and instead ordered possession of the land to be given to the defendant, Puente. The Texas Court of Civil Appeals affirmed the decision of the trial court. It rejected the claim of the plaintiff that there was a distinction between cases where the plaintiffs were seeking to enforce a racial restrictive covenant by means of an application for an injunction and the case before the Texas court in which the plaintiff was seeking merely to have the court declare that the covenant was valid and therefore by its provisions entitled him to possession. In rejecting this contention, the Texas Court of Civil Appeals said, "It is as much an enforcement of the covenant to deny a person his legal right to which he would be entitled except for the covenant as it would be to expressly command the judicial order that the terms of the covenant be recognized and carried out. No valid distinction can be predicated on the position of a party (alleged to be an ineligible grantee) as a plaintiff or as a defendant. Under the decision of the Supreme Court above referred to (Shelley v. Kraemer) judicial recognition or enforcement of the restrictive covenant involved here is precluded by the "equal protection of the law" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment."

When those interested in maintaining the effect of restrictive covenants found that state courts would refuse to issue injunction orders to enforce them, they were forced to search for other legal technicalities. One of the first such devices was a suit for damages for violation of a racial restrictive covenant. The case of Weiss v. Leaon (359 Mo. 1054) which arose in Kansas City, Mo., and was decided by the highest court of the State of Missouri on December 12, 1949, had originated as a suit for both an injunction and damages brought by a group of white signers of a restrictive covenant against other white signers, who were planning to sell to Negroes. The plaintiffs,

seeking enforcement of the covenant, also made the prospective Negro buyers co-defendants. The trial court rejected the request for an injunction on the basis of Shelley v. Kraemer. It also rejected the plaintiff' request for damages . The Supreme Court of Missouri, on appeal, ruled that the trial court's refusal to enforce the covenant by injunction was proper, but that a suit for monetary damages brought against the white sellers for breach of a restrictive covenant was not barred by the Supreme Court ruling in the Shelley case.

The Supreme Court of Missouri, in so holding, said, "The fact that another remedy, specific performance, is ruled out because of constitutional reasons, need not necessarily affect the remedy by way of damages unless it, too, is unconstitutional under the circumstances." The case was sent back to the trial court for a determination of the damages, if any, suffered by the plaintiffs.

The plaintiffs, apparently satisfied with the Missouri Supreme Court's ruling that a damage suit could be brought, have not returned to the trial court for an assessment of these damages. It is possible, of course, that the plaintiffs fear that they may be unable to prove that they suffered any monetary damages, in which case much of the effect of the Missouri Supreme Court's decision allowing a suit for damages would disappear. (The unproved claim that the presence of Negroes depresses property values is effectively answered by Charles Abrams in an article called The New "Gresham's Law of Neighborhoods", Fact or Fiction, which appeared in the Appraisal Journal of July 1951. Reprints are available.)

A somewhat different device to evade the impact of Shelley v. Kraemer was used successfully in Oklahoma. An owner of land subject to an anti-Negro restrictive covenant sold the land to a white person who in turn sold it to Negroes. White owners of other lots covered by the covenant sued to have the sale set aside. They alleged a conspiracy to damage them by destroying the restrictions, charging the original white sellers and the white intermediary seller who was described as financially irresponsible and a catspaw and the Negro purchasers as co-conspirators. Plaintiff's claim for damages was thus based on conspiracy which under some state laws constitutes a tort giving rise to an action for damages. Plaintiffs claimed as damages the costs they had incurred in connection with the conclusion of the restrictive covenant and the alleged depreciation of their land due to the sale to a Negro.

The trial court dismissed the action in its entirety on the authority of Shelley v. Kraemer. The Oklahoma Supreme Court upheld the trial court's refusal to set aside the sale, but reversed the ruling that there could be no claim for damages based on conspiracy. The Supreme Court argued that Shelley v. Kraemer had ruled a restrictive covenant a valid contract and that, therefore, an agreement entered into by two or more people to bring about a violation of such contract could constitute the tort of conspiracy giving rise to an action for damages. Hence the Supreme Court of Oklahoma ordered the trial court to uphold that portion of the complaint claiming damages for conspiracy. (Correll V. Earley, 237 Pac 2nd 1017).

Despite the different basis of the damage claims in both cases (breach of contract in Missouri, tort for conspiracy in Oklahoma) the rationale of both decisions is very similar. Both courts ruled that a restrictive covenant

was a valid contract - though not specifically enforceable - and that therefore the damage resulting from its breach or an agreement to breach it was recoverable. Both courts ignored the obvious fact that its award of damages to a person "aggrieved" by the breech of a restrictive covenant constituted a judicial action enforcing the covenant which Shelley v. Kraemer had declared a violation of the XIVth Amendment.

On the other hand, the United States District Court in the District of Columbia ruled, on October 5, 1950, (Roberts v. Curtis, 93 Fed. Supp. 604) that Shelley v. Kraemer and Hurd v. Hodge barred an action for damages for breach of a racial restrictive covenant, even though the covenant itself, as in this case, specified that damages were assessable in the event of breach.

In dismissing the action, Judge Holtzoff stated that he construed "the holdings of the Supreme Court (in Shelley v. Kraemer and Hurd v. Hodge) as withholding any judicial assistance for enforcement of such restrictive covenants.".

On January 30, 1951, the Circuit Court of Wayne County, Michigan, granted a motion to dismiss a suit brought to collect $5,000 damages for breach of a racial restrictive covenant (Phillips v. Naff, #260,031). The plaintiffs and defendants in this case were owners of adjoining lots subject to the covenant. The defendants had sold their property to Negroes in disregard of the covenant.

In dismissing the complaint, Circuit Judge Frank B. Ferguson referred to the Shelley v. Kraemer decision and ruled that, under it, racial restrictive covenants could not be enforced by state courts. The court also cited a number of Michigan cases holding that, where two persons enter into a contract based upon certain assumptions as to their legal rights, and are mistaken in those assumptions, the contract is void and will be set aside upon application to the courts. Pointing out that the restrictive covenant involved in this action was a contract based on the assumption that an injunction could be obtained against its violation, the court held that the racial restrictive covenant upon which the suit was based was unenforceable and that the suit must, therefore, be dismissed.

The judgment of the Circuit Court was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Michigan, 332 Mich. 389 on the authority of Shelley V. Kraemer on the ground that suits for damages of restrictive covenant constitute an indirect method of enforcement. Said the court:

> If the sale of property subject to a reciprocal restrictive covenant cannot be made without rendering the grantor liable to suits for damages, such fact, it may be assumed, would operate to inhibit freedom of purchase by those against whom the discrimination is directed and also to place a burden on the right of an owner to sell to a purchaser of his own selection.

The next court to rule on this question was the Superior Court of the State of California on March 26, 1951 (Barrows v. Jackson), which held that

Shelley v. Kraemer barred an action for damages for violation of a racial restrictive covenant.

The plaintiffs in this action contended that the rule laid down in the Shelley case should be limited to actions for injunctive relief and should not apply to suits for damages. The Court ruled that that decision was "broad enough to contemplate an action for damages for breach of the covenant as coming within the scope of 'judicial enforcement' as referred to in that opinion." It cited Roberts v. Curtis to support this conclusion and dismissed the precedent of Weiss v. Leaon on the ground that that case proceeded upon "an ill-founded premise that the agreements are legal." This, the court stated, "certainly was not the holding of the Supreme Court in Shelley v. Kraemer."

On appeal, the District Court of Appeals affirmed, holding that the covenant was not one which could be enforced by state courts in view of the ruling of the United States Supreme Court in the cases of Shelley v. Kraemer and Sipes v. McGhee. It stated that "the admonition of these cases is that a state may not by judicial process enforce private rights derived from consensual agreements of private individuals where to do so would result in the infringement of civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States." Since the granting of damages for violation of a racial or restrictive covenant would be a type of judicial enforcement, and since judicial enforcement of racial or restrictive covenants was a violation of the "equal protection" requirement of the Fourteenth Amendment, the court ruled that the trial court had been right in dismissing the complaint. (112 Cal. App. 2nd 534, 247 Pac (2nd) 99). The Supreme Court of California denied a petition for a hearing. However, the United States Supreme Court recently granted certiorari thus opening the way for a final determination of the question whether or not a damage suit may be brought for violation of a racial or religious restrictive covenant.

The question of the validity of racially restrictive agreements had also been presented to the courts in other ways. In Roanoke, Va., a restrictive covenant barred sale or occupancy of certain property to persons who observed the Sabbath on a day other than Sunday and provided that in case of any breach, the land was to revert to the person who had originally burdened the land with the covenant. A Jewish purchaser, after taking title, brought an action in the Virginia courts for a declaratory judgment establishing his ownership of the land. The defendant in the action was the original corporate seller who had subdivided the area and sold it as home building lots. The plaintiff in this action won a default judgment.

On September 7, 1950, the Minnesota District Court of Hennepin County decided a case involving a suit for cancellation of a sale of a house to a Negro on the ground that the plaintiffs - the white owners of the house - had been induced to sell through fraud. They claimed that the real estate operator, their agent and one of the defendants, had not informed them that the purchasers - also defendants in the case - were Negroes. In ruling for the defendants, the Minnesota court held that the seller could have the sale cancelled only if he showed that he had suffered money damage because of the agent's alleged misrepresentation. Since the plaintiff could show no such monetary loss, the court dismissed the case and later granted judgment to the Negro purchasers compelling the sellers to transfer title to them in accordance with the signed contract of sale.

* * * * * *

Thus, the trend of decisions involving racial restrictive covenants has been to interpret the Supreme Court decisions so as to bar damage suits, suits based on fraud and similar actions which seek, directly or indirectly, to compel compliance with such covenants.

The State of Wisconsin is the only state which had a law specifically validating racial restrictive covenants. This provision is, of course, unconstitutional. Nevertheless,the law has remained on the books until the 1951 session of the Wisconsin Legislature. On June 6, 1951 , a bill was passed which provides that restrictions based upon character, race or nationality cannot be included in covenants on land.

Even outside of the courts, there has been an increased awareness of the costs of segregation and, to a certain extent, a more favorable attitude toward integrated living.

The action of the National Association of Real Estate Boards at its annual convention in November 1950 is, perhaps, a reflection of this. In the past, realtors had been expelled from local real estate boards for selling property to persons barred by a racial restrictive covenant. The NAREB convention, however, voted to eliminate from its Code of Ethics the provision making it an unethical practice to introduce into a neighborhood "members of any race or nationality ... whose presence will be detrimental to property values."

Mention should be made, however, of the fact that persons seeking to maintain the restricted character of certain neighborhoods have on occasion resorted to violence. In some cases, the police have done little to prevent the outrages and have made no effort to apprehend the wrongdoers.

An instance of this kind of violence occurred in Birmingham, when a Negro property owner purchased a home on a block which had formerly been exclusively white. The home was bombed on at least two different occasions and the police have shown an amazing inability to prevent such acts or to find the perpetrators. Ironically, the house was first blasted just thirty-six hours after a federal court had ruled that a racial zoning ordinance which had prevented the Negro family from occupying their home, was unconstitutional.

In South Dallas, a suburb of Dallas, a virtual reign of terror has existed for the past year due to attempts on the part of Negroes to build homes in this community.

This type of overt racism was not confined to the South. Cicero, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago, provided the most shameful recent example of violence used to exclude a minority racial group from a community. Residents of this all-white city gutted an entire apartment building, forcing nineteen white families to flee, in order to prevent a young Negro couple from moving into an apartment they had rented in the building. Laxity on the part of local police necessitated calling out the National Guard.

In one case where an effort at intimidation came to the attention of a court, it quickly enjoined such action. The Wayne County Court of Detroit

Michigan, on January 11, 1951, granted an injunction to a plaintiff who had sold property to Negroes in defiance of a racial restrictive covenant. The injunction was directed against a group of persons who had picketed the plaintiff's home and office denouncing him for selling "white" property to Negroes. In granting the injunction the court ruled that the picketing was unlawful interference with the property rights of the plaintiffs (Brock v. Murphy, opinion by Circuit Judge Chester P. O'Hara).

These are merely examples of the lengths to which some persons will go in order to maintain the "purity" of their neighborhoods. There is a trend, however, toward a gradual breakdown of enforced racial segregation in housing.

Housing. gen'l

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
327 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILL.
212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Theodore Leskes and Sol Rabkin

DATE: June 18, 1953

SUBJECT: Modification of Racial Integration Resolution of National Capital Housing Authority

Digest:
National Capital Housing Authority conditions its non-segregation, non-discrimination policy with respect to low-rent public housing projects upon the availability in the neighborhood of public and private facilities for racial minorities.

* * * * * * * *

By Joint Memorandum dated April 20, 1953, we advised you that the National Capital Housing Authority had adopted a resolution eliminating racial segregation from low-rent public housing projects "planned, built and opened for occupancy after September 1, 1951." On June 4, 1953, the Authority adopted a supplementary resolution which, in effect, conditions the non-segregation policy upon the availability of neighborhood facilities for both races. The "timing" of the application of the policy against segregation to specific properties and projects is made subject to "formal action by the Authority."

Staff surveys will be made of each neighborhood to determine whether communities "are lacking in public and private facilities for the use of tenant families without regard to race." If facilities are not available in the neighborhood for the use of Negroes and whites (recreational facilities, theatres, schools, etc.), the Authority could postpone putting its non-segregation policy into effect in its housing projects in these communities. This later resolution also opens the door to local community pressure groups to defeat the purposes of the original resolution.

The full text of the June 4, 1953, resolution follows:

Resolution. Public Housing. National Capital Housing Authority. Adopted June 4, 1953

As an agency of the government of the United States, the National Capital Housing Authority subscribes to the policy that all permanent low-rent housing now and hereafter provided by the Authority in the District of Columbia shall be available for occupancy by low-income families without regard to race, color, creed, or national origin. This statement of policy supersedes all previous actions by the Authority on this subject.

In adopting this policy the Authority recognizes that some neighborhoods in which public low-rent housing is operated, or is planned for future operation, are lacking in public and private facilities for the use of tenant families without regard to race. The Authority therefore has determined that the timing of the application of this policy with regard to specific properties and projects shall be subject to formal action by the Authority. Such action shall be based upon staff surveys of the neighborhoods in which such properties and projects are located, and upon such other pertinent information as may be available to the Authority. The establishment by the Authority of effective dates for application of the policy to specific properties and projects shall provide for a period of staff preparation of management personnel, tenants, and residents of the neighborhoods affected.

The Authority may authorize the deferment of the policy's application to specific properties and projects until such time as there is evidence of existence of basic public facilities to serve tenant families without regard to race.

Because war housing under the management of the Authority is in process of disposition, this policy shall not apply to any war housing properties. War housing transferred by the Public Housing Administration to the Authority for use as permanent low-rent housing shall become subject to the policy upon such transfer.

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Housing - Restrictive Covenants

Joint Memorandum

RECEIVED
JUL 22
Southern Regional Council

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any

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: July 16, 1953

SUBJECT: Decision of the United States Supreme Court in Barrows v. Jackson.

DIGEST: The United States Supreme Court rules that under the 14th Amendment, a state court may not award damages for breach of a racial restrictive covenant.

On June 15, 1953 the United States Supreme Court, in a 6 to 1 decision, ruled that a restrictive covenant cannot be enforced by a suit for damages against a signer of such a covenant who disregarded it.

The plaintiffs were a group of white owners of property subject to a racial restrictive covenant directed against persons not of the Caucasian race. The defendant was a white former owner of such property, a signer of the original covenant, who sold her land without making it subject to the covenant and who thereby permitted occupancy by non-Caucasians. The plaintiffs argued that since all the parties to the litigation were white, there was no non-Caucasian who would be injured because of his race if damages were assessed against the defendant for breaking the covenant which she voluntarily signed. They pointed out that the non-Caucasians would continue their undisturbed occupancy regardless of the outcome of the suit.

The majority opinion, written by Mr. Justice Minton, stated that allowing the state courts to assess damages for breach of such covenants would "encourage the use of restrictive covenants". He added, "If the state may thus punish respondent for her failure to carry out her covenant, she is coerced to continue to use her property in a discriminatory manner, which in essence is the purpose of the covenant. Thus, it becomes not respondent's voluntary choice but the state's choice that she observe her covenant or suffer damages". The court concluded that for a state court to assess damages for a breach of a restrictive covenant would constitute "state action" as surely as it was "state action" to enforce such covenants by injunctions. Since this was held unconstitutional by the court in the Shelley case, it followed that the court had to bar damage suits as violative of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

The court then considered whether the defendant could rely on the violation of the constitutional rights of others as a defense for her own breach of the restrictive covenant. The court decided that in the case before it, it was faced by a unique situation "in which it is the action of the state court which might result in a denial of constitutional rights and in which it would be difficult if not impossible for the persons whose rights are asserted to present their grievance before any court". The court therefore ruled that it would make an exception to the general

rule which denies standing to a litigant to rely upon a violation of the constitutional rights of others. For these reasons it ruled for the defendant and affirmed the dismissal of the plaintiffs' action for damages.

Mr. Chief Justice Vinson, the sole dissenter, attacked the majority opinion because the court had allowed the defendant to raise the constitutional rights of persons not before the court as a defense. He pointed out that all the parties to the litigation were white Caucasians and that no damage could be shown to result to any non-Caucasians from the success of the plaintiffs' suit for damages. He argued that the fact that there is no other way to vindicate the constitutional rights of unidentified non-Caucasians is an admission that the litigation did not present the court with a "case or controversy" which involves the constitutional rights of the parties.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee participated in this case by filing a joint brief amicus curiae urging the Supreme Court to deny enforceability to claims for damages resulting from the breach of a restrictive covenant.

This decision removes the last vestige of any legal coercive effect which may have been left to racial or religious restrictive covenants by the Shelley case. In the future, the sole means by which racial or religious restrictive covenants can remain in force is by voluntary adherence by the signers of such covenants or by their successors or through extra legal community pressure to compel conformity with such covenants.

SR/TL:dk
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Housing

NATIONAL CAPITAL HOUSING AUTHORITY

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

PUBLIC HOUSING IN WASHINGTON
a. Origin and Development
b. Open Occupancy

Remarks by
James Ring, Executive Director
National Capital Housing Authority
Workshop on Intergroup Education
Catholic University
July 23, 1953

I am glad to have this opportunity to meet with you and discuss the contribution which public housing is making in Washington. The invitation to address you indicated that many of your group are concerned with problems associated with the racial occupancy of housing in areas adjacent to the schools you represent. I was advised also that you are interested in techniques used by the Authority with regard to the activation of a policy providing for the occupancy of public housing in the District of Columbia by low-income families without regard to race.

It is obvious, of course, that any discussion of the Authority's policy of open occupancy should be presented within a frame of reference which will indicate to you the place which the Authority occupies in the government and in the community. It is also essential to develop the subject with an understanding of the basic policy adopted by the Authority and the conditions under which it was adopted.

First, let me say that the purpose of the National Capital Housing Authority is to provide good housing for low-income families at rents in accordance with their incomes, and to make this housing available within the confines of legal and financial means permitted by Federal law. I make this statement of purpose at the outset so that there shall be no confusion with respect to the basic work assigned to the Authority. If my insistence on this point raises question, I will say that I do so because proponents of various worthy causes have assumed that the Authority's work is designed primarily to further the particular cause in which they are interested, and that the provision of housing for low-income families is a secondary objective or, perhaps more accurately, a means to a greater end.

Of course, the Authority cannot truthfully say that the end it serves is merely the building of houses and the renting of those houses to low-income families. The great objective served by public housing is identical with that of public and private social agencies—the building of a greater America, the development of good citizens.

Let me begin by setting the stage--by providing the historical background of the housing movement in Washington. Slums and shacks were noted in Washington during the first half of the nineteenth century, but the city was then so thinly developed that insanitary houses produced only sporadic and short-lived expressions of concern. The need for housing regulation in the interests of public health and safety was not recognized until after the Civil War; during the war years, thousands of refugees from nearby states crowded into the Federal City. The end of the war found many of these refugees settled in patchwork shacks in the neighborhoods of army forts and encampments which surrounded the heart of the city; others found refuge in alley sheds and stables, and in abandoned outbuildings on farms which then occupied a considerable part of the District of Columbia.

Furthermore, it was evident to the Federal Government that the Capital was growing beyond the boundaries of the "old city" planned by Major L'Enfant, and its needs required a unified government for the entire District. The inner core of the District was then governed by a mayor and council, as was Georgetown, while the outlying portions of the District were under the jurisdiction of a unique institution known as the Levy Court. You can imagine the problems arising from conflicting sets of ordinances. In 1870, Congress abolished the various forms of local government within the District and established a territorial form of government for the entire District, with a governor, a legislative assembly, a Board of Public Works, and a Board of Health.

During the few years of the territorial government's existence, Washington saw the enactment and enforcement of strong housing regulations. Hundreds of shacks were condemned and removed by the Board of Health. In the meantime, the Board of Public Works had undertaken such an ambitious program with privately borrowed funds that it got into financial difficulty. Congress then abolished the territorial type of government and instituted the present form of local government with a Board of Commissioners, appointed by the President.

Between 1870 and 1890, citizens of Washington were asking with growing concern, "What can be done for poor families whose houses are destroyed because of insanitation?" A somewhat cynical answer to this question was given by the development during that period of the inhabited alleys, Washington's characteristic slums. These houses were built on the rear ends of deep street lots. Between 1870 and 1890, thousands of tiny houses in rows of brick or wood, were built within the alleys. The alley houses drew to them not only the low-income Negro families but white European immigrants. It became evident that the alleys were attracting a criminal element, which found these hidden communities excellent for its purposes. The development of the alley slums so rapidly blighted whole neighborhoods of the city that in 1892 Congress forbade any further construction of housing within the alleys.

Another pertinent development of the Seventies was the activity of a reconstruction agency, known as the Freedmen's Bureau, in connection with a famous old farm on the further side of the Anacostia River. This was the Barry farm, whose broad acres extended from the river shore up the green and fertile slopes which led to the Anacostia plateau. On this tract, which formerly had been entirely devoted to agriculture, the Freedmen's Bureau built hundreds of

substantial frame houses, dug wells and divided the improved area into half-acre holdings for sale on easy terms to ex-slaves and their families. This opportunity for good housing with sufficient ground for table gardens was eagerly seized upon by families who were living under intolerable conditions in patchwork shacks within the city. Some few of the original houses still remain on the Barry Farm tract—most have been improved beyond recognition by succeeding generations of the families of the original purchasers. In other cases the old houses have been removed and new ones built on their sites.

The closing years of the nineteenth century brought recognition of the fact that the closing, removal or repair of unsafe and insanitary houses is but one avenue of approach to a city's increasingly complex housing problem.

It became evident that the destruction or rehabilitation of old houses did not benefit the low-income families who were made homeless by such operations. These families, it was found, were forced to find other substandard housing at rents within their financial reach, or to crowd into relatively good housing and hasten its deterioration by over-occupancy.

Studies of this problem by a group of socially-minded Washingtonians resulted in the formation of two private companies which, by limiting their dividends--one company to 5%, the other to 4%--hoped to produce housing which could be rented to families of low wage earners, and thus drain the slums. The two companies built hundreds of rows of two-family flats; they did not achieve their hope of meeting the needs of the lowest income families, but they provided a great service for small families in the lower strata of the middle-income group. Unfortunately, within recent years, the holdings of the larger and more active company were sold to a private speculator, who has been engaged since then in selling off the individual dwellings.

President Theodore Roosevelt was deeply interested in housing conditions in Washington, and appointed a Presidential commission to investigate and to make recommendations. One result of his interest was the enactment by Congress of tighter housing laws. Another result was a concentration of interest in the inhabited alleys. Although construction of alley houses had been stopped in 1892, thousands of the dwellings remained. So for many years the alleys remained the focus of attack by housing students and committees.

An Act signed by President Wilson required the alley houses to be vacated by 1918, but World War I's housing scarcity caused this deadline to go by the board. Aside from this act, the major form of assault on the slums was through regulation of existing housing, and the demolition of the worst.

Not until 1929 was a new approach suggested, and this came in the form of a bill introduced in Congress at the instance of the National Capital Planning Commission. It proposed the establishment of a public agency to acquire and clear slums in Washington blocks which contained alley dwellings. That bill was the subject of repeated committee hearings, but was not immediately enacted. It was re-introduced at successive sessions of Congress, and finally was enacted into law in 1934.

This bill brought into being an agency known as the Alley Dwelling Authority, which now has been renamed the National Capital Housing Authority. That agency was faced with the responsibility of acquiring and clearing slums in approximately 200 city blocks. When the agency began work it was recognized that the alley dwellings constituted only a fraction of the city's total number of substandard houses, but the alleys—as the city's characteristic slums—furnished a logical point of attack.

The Authority began with a capital of $500,000. During its first four years, this capital was increased by allocations of $365,000 in relief funds. With this money the Authority bought and cleared slum sites in 15 blocks, erected housing on five of these sites, non-residential developments on five others, and sold four sites for public or private development.

The work of the Authority attracted wide attention. During this initial stage of its operations, Congress was debating the legislation which in 1937 became the United States Housing Act. This national legislation provided a means by which local housing authorities organized under State laws could secure financial and technical assistance from a central Federal agency for the construction of housing for low-income families. In 1938, the local Authority's act was amended by Congress to enable it to engage in the building of large-scale permanent housing for the low-income part of the population.

From then until the advent of World War II, the work of the local Authority was greatly increased. It developed a program which enabled it to build on vacant sites housing which could be made available to families whom the Authority was to displace from 14 blocks of slums, containing approximately 900 substandard dwellings. As the slums were cleared, new housing was constructed on those sites also.

This program was interrupted by World War II. Emphasis was then shifted from further slum demolition to the construction of additional housing; preferences in the new housing were given to incoming war workers. Next, manpower and material shortages forbade further permanent construction; and the Authority was assigned the task of erecting and managing temporary housing for war workers, in addition to its previous responsibilities.

The war and its immediate aftermath put a quietus on the normal public housing program. Examination of cost limitations and other provisions of the United States Housing Act had disclosed that those provisions were not in accord with the post-war economy; so in 1949 Congress substantially amended the act to enable the attack upon the slums to be resumed.

There was also under consideration an additional approach—this was known as urban redevelopment, strikingly similar to the original program of our local Authority. Under the urban redevelopment provisions of the new law, redevelopment agencies were established under State laws in cities throughout the country, to buy up slum neighborhoods and blighted areas and sell the cleared sites to public and private purchasers, for uses in accordance with approved city plans.

The District of Columbia already had a Redevelopment Land Agency—established by law in 1946; but the Agency was without funds until the national legislation passed.

The Authority is now engaged in providing 4,000 additional dwelling units for low-income families, while the Redevelopment Land Agency is taking steps toward the acquisition and clearance of an extensive slum area in the Southwest section of this city. The Authority and the Land Agency are cooperating with respect to the rehousing of families that will be displaced by both agencies.

The Authority has under management 3,592 permanent low-rent dwellings and 3,900 war housing dwelling units; under construction are 835 low-rent dwellings on three sites, while approximately 3,200 more are in various pre-construction stages. That summary gives you an impression of the present size of the Authority's program.

Now we come to discuss the question of racial occupancy of the housing under the Authority's management. This question of policy has been under consideration by the Authority's Board since 1950. Prior to that time, at several instances in the Authority's history, the Authority was asked why it required that all tenants of a particular property should be members of the same race. To this question, representatives of the Authority usually answered that mono-racial occupancy of housing properties was not only in accordance with community mores, but that public schools and recreational facilities in the District were provided on the basis of separation of the races; and when I say "the races", I mean the white and Negro races, for this is the only distinction of any moment in this connection. Because of pre-existing racial distinctions in neighborhood facilities, the Authority had found—when it was selecting sites for housing construction—that the surrounding neighborhood of a possible site usually was equipped to serve members of one race only, and that the neighborhood was populated by members of that race.

The Authority also was obliged to consider the relative housing needs of the white and Negro populations. It found that, although the Negro population constituted about one-quarter of the city's population, the housing needs of that group were in inverse ratio; that is, Negro low-income families in need of housing outnumbered white families in that category by approximately four to one. So the Authority's low-rent housing programs in the past were geared to that relative need—four dwellings for Negro families to every one built for a white family.

In 1950, however, the Authority's Board announced that it was studying changing local customs in the field of race relations, and recognized that housing was affected by these changes as were other parts of community life. In a resolution adopted on August 10, 1950, the Authority stated that it proposed to continue its study of this matter, "with the hope in mind that the action finally taken will aid the Authority in its basic purpose of providing an adequate supply of proper dwellings for the low-income group in our population without regard to race, religion, or national origin status."

In July 1952, an extensive series of discussions as to future policy resulted in the Board's approval of opening three proposed housing properties to occupancy by low-income families without regard to race. This action was supported by adherents of a gradual approach to the problem; it was not favored by those who felt that the Board should adopt a broad, general statement on open occupancy and work within such a policy.

Of the three housing properties covered by the action taken by the Authority's Board in July 1952, one has been completed and occupied, while the other two are in the planning stage. The one completed property is the Stanton Dwellings, with 348 dwelling units. This housing was constructed in an area where public facilities for both races were available. However, it adjoins the Frederick Douglass Dwellings which the Authority constructed for occupancy by Negro families prior to World War II. The Stanton Dwellings came to completion in the latter months of 1952 and housing therein was offered to eligible applicants without regard to race. When the year ended, the entire property had been accepted from the contractor, and was occupied by 318 Negro families and 30 white families.

On March 26, 1953, the Authority's Board took a further step in policy making with respect to inter-racial occupancy. It then adopted a resolution stating that all properties to be provided by the Authority in its current 4,000-dwelling unit construction program, should be made available to low-income families without distinction as to race. This action produced problems which required further study by the Board. One of these problems was that the policy, as adopted, would result in the operation of several segregated and "open" properties in immediate proximity to one another and under the supervision of a single field management staff. The policy in this respect raised questions as to tenant participation in community activities and as to the availability of public facilities which were not under the Authority's control but which should be available to all families residing in any such area.

Another series of questions was presented through the application of the policy to projects under construction in neighborhoods occupied predominantly by members of one race and where community facilities had been planned and provided on a uni-racial basis. It was recognized also that, on the other hand, some neighborhoods containing segregated public housing, <u>not</u> affected by the resolution, were equipped to provide for families of both races.

The Board studied the effect of its action over a two-month period, and on June 4 adopted a resolution accepting the policy that <u>all</u> permanent low-rent housing <u>now</u> <u>and</u> <u>hereafter</u> provided by the Authority in the District of Columbia shall be available for occupancy without regard to race. The Board reserved to itself the right to determine the timing of the application of the policy with regard to specific properties and projects. At the same meeting the Board voted to open one previously segregated property to non-segregated occupancy without further delay; and to open four additional properties to non-segregated occupancy on September 1 next. Application of the policy was deferred in the instance of two properties then under construction--one located in a neighborhood serving white families only and the other in an area which was equipped only for use by Negroes.

On July 2, the Board instructed the staff to provide it on September 10 with reports and recommendations covering all present and proposed low-rent housing properties not previously affected.

I have now summarized for you, up to the present, the policy determinations by the Board of the Authority respecting open occupancy. These decisions were needed as a basis for staff action effectuating the policy.

Staff work in this regard was begun well in advance of the opening of the Stanton Dwellings, the first property in which the new policy was put into effect. The following were among the principal preparatory steps:

1. Assurance of a racially integrated personnel for the field management staff in charge of the new property. This was more than the mere appointment of technically qualified management representatives of both races; it meant the selection of qualified individuals who could work well with members of both races, for the field management work includes not only collection of rent and attention to repairs, but the adjustment of tenant problems, introduction of tenants to tenant programs and community facilities, and frank discussions with tenants of the Authority's requirements.

2. Training of personnel receiving and processing applications for housing. Such applications, while they may be filed at any of the Authority's field management offices, are processed at the Authority's central headquarters, where the interviews with prospective tenants take place. It is important that the interviewers engaged in assigning tenants to racially integrated properties be fully advised concerning the policy, and that they present to applicants the opportunity for living in such properties accurately and without bias, so that the applicants may arrive at an informed decision. As in the case of the field management staffs, it is equally important that interviewers assigned to this work be qualified temperamentally and intellectually to interpret the program adequately.

3. Preparation of tenants in existing segregated properties for living under open occupancy policy. This phase of the work lies principally in the province of the housing managers and their immediate staffs. Expressed in its simplest terms, the work consists of informing tenants who live in segregated properties as to how the open occupancy policy will function for them and their neighbors. Although some properties are in neighborhoods where nearby private housing is occupied by white and Negro families, the previous identity of the public housing properties as groups of dwellings occupied by families of one race only occasionally gives rise to fantastic rumors spread by the tenants. It is important that these false reports be dealt with firmly and authoritatively. Therefore, the housing managers must be fully informed and must be qualified to discuss the policy effectively with the tenants, both individually and in groups.

4. Preparation of neighborhood organizations and institutions. This is sometimes a difficult and delicate task. It requires effective verbal presentation of the policy to neighborhood organizations of private home owners, tenants and businessmen; to the staffs of settlement houses and of other private and public institutions serving the population of the areas in which the affected properties are located. A considerable part of this work can be done by the housing managers, but in some cases supervisory officials must take a direct part in such presentations. The purpose of this work, of course, is to secure first the understanding of the organizations, and then to win their cooperation in the effectuation of the policy.

In any such program, the information given to one person or to one group must be identical with the statements made to all other persons and groups. Differences inevitably will occur in informal verbal statements, and these differences will be magnified by the individual characteristics of the speakers. Therefore, it is important that there be available to all--and particularly to the tenants affected--official written information which will leave no room for doubt as to meaning.

The Authority acted toward this end in approving for issuance to all tenants of low-rent housing under the Authority's management the following letter, signed by the Executive Director:

"July 2, 1953

"Dear Tenant:

"On June 4 the National Capital Housing Authority decided that its permanent low-rent housing properties should be open to occupancy by low-income families without regard to race.

"This is a change from the Authority's earlier policy. In the past, when housing properties were planned and built, the Authority decided that some would be occupied by white families only and some by Negro families only. A principal reason for this was that public services, such as schools and playgrounds, were being provided by other agencies for one race or the other. So when the Authority planned to build housing in a particular neighborhood, it was comparatively easy to learn whether that neighborhood was equipped to provide for white or Negro tenants and their children.

"Since 1950, however, the Authority has been studying changes in our local customs and in the neighborhoods where our properties have been built. Many neighborhoods can now serve tenants of both races; furthermore, private housing in these neighborhoods is occupied by families of both races.

"The Authority already has put its new policy into effect at the Stanton Dwellings, which were opened last Fall at Alabama Avenue, S.E.; and at the Frederick Douglass Dwellings, which are near this new property.

"On September 1, the Authority will make additional properties available for occupancy by families of both races--some of these are now occupied only by white families, some only by Negro families. In other cases the Authority has decided to delay the operation of the policy while it studies neighborhoods in which schools and playgrounds are now serving one race only. This delay does not mean that the properties concerned are excluded from the effect of the policy. On the contrary, it is the firm intention of the Authority that the open occupancy policy will apply to each and every permanent low-rent housing property under its management.

"As a tenant, you are of course interested in knowing more about families of another race who will live in the same property. You should know that in selecting tenants, the Authority gives preference to the low-income families of deceased and disabled veterans. I am sure you will agree that we should show a special consideration to those who have done so much for all of us. Your housing manager will let you know when the new policy will go into effect in your neighborhood. I hope that you will let your manager know that you will cooperate in making the Authority's policy a real success. "

This letter has been followed by a supplement, in a somewhat less formal vein, addressed to tenants of previously segregated properties where the open occupancy policy is to be applied on September 1 next. This letter, also signed by the Executive Director, reads as follows:

"July 23, 1953

"Dear Tenant:

"You recently received a letter sent to all tenants of the Authority's permanent low-rent housing properties, giving first-hand information about the Authority's decision to open these properties to occupancy by low-income families without regard to race. This new policy soon will go into effect in the property of which you are a tenant, and the Authority wants your understanding and cooperation.

"Another purpose of this letter is to give you facts about the way in which the policy will operate. I think it is necessary that you should have these facts, because the "rumor factory" always works overtime and you already may have heard some strange stories about who your neighbors may be, for the rumor-spreaders never let the truth ruin their stories.

"The Authority is going on with its work of building and managing good housing for low-income families, to be occupied by them until their incomes rise enough to allow them to move to good private housing. The only difference is that, from now on, the Authority will rent housing and apartments in the same property to white and Negro families--instead

of renting all of the dwellings in a property to white families only, or to Negro families only, as in the past. We are beginning in neighborhoods where families of both races already are living and where there are public services (schools, playgrounds, etc.) for both races. If you look around your neighborhood, you will see that this is true.

"In the letter you received earlier, you were told that putting the policy into effect would be delayed in some properties which are located in neighborhoods where public services have been provided for one race only, and where the neighborhoods are occupied almost entirely by persons of one race. But this is just a delay, and nothing more.

"The Authority will not allow tenants to transfer from the property where you live to another property in which the application of the policy has been delayed, except for very urgent reasons. In the first place, such transfers are costly to the tenant and the Authority; secondly, after going to the expense of moving, the tenant who transferred because of the new policy would find that the period of delay would soon be ended in the property to which he had moved. So that would be pretty foolish, all around.

"In your neighborhood, as you well know, some next-door neighbors do not speak to one another, regardless of race; others do. That is their business. No one will try to force anyone to have even a speaking acquaintance with his neighbors. However, it has been noted that people who are helpful and courteous neighbors usually seem to be happier than the others.

"You will find that the vacancies which occur in your property will be filled by respectable low-income families of both races. You will find that some of these new neighbors have war records or personal achievements of which they and the city can well be proud. Above all, you will find that living in the same neighborhood with families of another race is not the problem that some would have you believe. In our own city of Washington thousands of families have been living in such neighborhoods for generations, and they see no problem in it.

"I hope that this letter will give you a better understanding of the Authority's plans. Your cooperation will be needed to make these plans succeed."

As this paper is being presented on the day when the second letter is being distributed, it is too early to gauge tenant reactions. There are many phases of this operation which will require long and studious observation by members of our staff before any final determination can be made as to the adequacy of the methods employed. At some time in the future, no doubt, these procedures will be formalized and will become a regular part of the Authority's personnel training materials. At present, utilizing experiences of housing authorities in other cities, modified by our knowledge of the local community, we are moving forward, steadily and studiously, in a determined effort to demonstrate the efficacy of the Authority's policy of open occupancy.

-oOo-

Housing Genl

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
327 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
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212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Theodore Leskes and Sol Rabkin

DATE: April 20, 1953

SUBJECT: Racial Integration in District of Columbia Public Housing

The following is the full text of a resolution adopted March 26, 1953, by the National Capital Housing Authority:

> The National Capital Housing Authority, operating as a local authority under the District of Columbia Alley Dwelling Act, as amended, and the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, has adhered to its policy of providing public housing for low-income families of all racial groups in accordance with their needs. Like many of the local housing authorities, however, who operate under State enabling legislation, it has elected to allocate dwelling units on the basis of race. As a Federal agency, the NCHA now accepts the responsibility of administering facilities provided by public funds without regard to the race, creed, color, or national origin of the eligible families.
>
> In addition, it is the belief of the NCHA that community mores in the Nation's Capital have developed a trend which means the end to racial segregation. That trend is obvious in the elimination of racial restrictions that are reported almost daily in some phase of our civic life. Nowhere has that trend been more pronounced than in the field of housing.
>
> In consonance with its responsibility as a Federal agency and the change in community mores, the Authority is convinced that its program must be operated on a racially inclusive basis.
>
> In accordance with this opinion, the Authority has today determined that all of its housing projects planned, built and opened for occupancy after September 1, 1951, shall be operated on a racially inclusive basis; i.e., that eligible applicants shall be offered dwellings in these properties without restriction as to race, creed, color, or national origin.

A careful reading of the resolution establishes that the new policy will apply only to low-income, public housing projects "planned, built and opened for occupancy after September 1, 1951". At present, all other projects will continue to be racially segregated.

tl-sr/bwl

Joint Memorandum

Housing. Gen'l

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OF B'NAI B'RITH
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NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Theodore Leskes and Sol Rabkin

DATE: July 24, 1953

SUBJECT: Woodbridge, et al. v. The Housing Authority of the City of Evansville, Ind., et al., decided July 6, 1953

Digest:

Federal District Judge enjoins local Housing Authority from segregating Negro tenants in public housing project.

* * * * * * * *

On July 6, 1953, Federal District Judge William E. Steckler handed down his decision in a case in which a group of Negro applicants sought to enjoin the Evansville Housing Authority from continuing its practice of racial segregation in the projects under its jurisdiction. The facts established that the Housing Authority is operating a low-rent housing project, consisting of 191 units and known as Lincoln Gardens, set aside exclusively for occupancy by qualified Negro tenants. In addition, the Housing Authority is engaged in the construction of a federally-aided low-rent housing project, to consist of 172 units, known as Sweetzer Homes, intended exclusively for white occupancy. The plaintiffs, on their own behalf, and on behalf of others similarly situated, commenced this action for a declaratory judgment and injunction, to restrain the state officials from continuing to segregate tenants in its public housing projects on the basis of race.

On the foregoing facts, Judge Steckler found for the plaintiffs. He held that the plaintiffs had been denied consideration for admission to Sweetzer Homes solely because of their race and color, "in violation of rights secured to them by the equal protection and due process clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States" and in violation of the Federal Civil Rights Statutes. Judge Steckler said that the Housing Authority's refusal to admit Negroes to the Sweetzer Homes project "violates the public policy of the United States and of the State of Indiana and frustrates Congressional intent with respect to the elimination of substandard housing and the provision of a suitable living environment for American families."

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He said that the Housing Authority is not entitled, under the law, to deny occupancy to eligible applicants, where vacancies exist, solely on the ground of race or color.

In overruling the Authority's argument that the two housing projects provide "separate but equal" facilities and thus come within the Plessy v. Ferguson doctrine, the Court said:

> It is the conclusion of this Court, that the case of Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537, decided in 1895, on which defendants heavily rely to sustain their "separate but equal" theory of defense has, by many decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in recent years, lost most, if not all, its weight as a guide in cases concerning ownership or occupancy of real property as distinguished from those cases involving public service.

Judge Steckler, therefore, entered judgment in favor of the plaintiffs enjoining the Housing Authority from continuing its practice of segregating tenants on the basis of race in the low-rent public housing projects under its jurisdiction.

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Joint Memorandum

Housing

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TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Theodore Leskes and Sol Rabkin

DATE: July 28, 1953

SUBJECT: Vann, et al. v. Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority

Digest:

U. S. District Court holds that the right to lease property is a civil right protected by the Constitution and by law against discrimination on the basis of race or color and that, where vacancies exist in public housing facilities, a municipal housing authority may not legally deny occupancy to eligible tenants solely on the ground of race or color. The Court allows the housing authority a period not to exceed four months to put this non-discriminatory policy into actual operation.

* * * * * * * *

On January 8, 1953, the Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority adopted a resolution that vacancies in low-income projects operated by it would thenceforth be available to all eligible applicants, without regard to race or color. On January 23, a second resolution deferred implementation of the non-segregation policy pending receipt of a report to be made by a special study committee of the Board of Community Relations of Toledo.

On March 17, 1953, before the special committee completed its study and submitted its report, this suit was commenced by four Negro applicants, on their own behalf and on behalf of others similarly situated, charging that the Housing Authority had refused to consider their applications for available vacancies in one or more of the three low-rent housing projects occupied exclusively by whites. Thereafter, the special committee of the Board of Community Relations completed its study and submitted its report, endorsing the Housing Authority's non-segregation policy. The Housing Authority thereupon issued a third resolution which directed the implementation of the non-segregation policy "as soon after the adoption of this Resolution" as is deemed "proper and advisable to do so in the light of all the events and circumstances."

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Judge Frank L. Kloeb, of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Ohio, granted the Negro plaintiffs' request for a mandatory injunction, thus placing the Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority under court order to abandon its prior practice of racially segregating its low-rent housing projects. The Judge said:

> You must bear in mind here that we have projects erected with public funds, erected by the Government of the United States, and the Government does not segregate its tax receipts...we are here dealing with property rights as distinguished from the mere right to a public service. The trend of all of the later cases involving property rights is to conform strictly with the requirements of the Fourteenth Amendment and of the Civil Rights Statutes.

The Court cited Banks v. San Francisco Housing Authority (reported in our joint memorandum of January 12, 1953) and the New Jersey case, Seawell v. MacWithey (in which the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League filed an amici curiae brief) as authorities for this holding.

The Court allowed the Toledo Housing Authority a four-month period within which to put into actual operation its latest resolution abandoning the policy of racial segregation in its projects.

This case is similar to that of Woodbridge v. Housing Authority of the City of Evansville, Ind., reported in our joint memorandum dated July 24, 1953.

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Joint Memorandum

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Housing-Gov't Cov

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TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: September 16, 1953

SUBJECT: Denver Ordinances Banning Restrictive Covenants

Digest: The Denver City Council has adopted an ordinance denying approval and recording of subdivision plats which contain restrictive covenants

On August 15, 1953, the Denver City Council adopted an ordinance introduced by Councilman Holland, Mapel, and Marranzino, which established a set of requirements for the approval and recording of plats or maps of proposed subdivisions of real property in the city. The ordinance provided, among other things, that the City Council must approve the plat or map of any proposed subdivision and that until such approval is obtained, the plat could not be recorded. In addition to a substantial number of technical requirements, the ordinance provides that no plat shall be approved if restrictive covenants appear on the face of the plat.

The effect of this provision is to bar the application of racial or religious restrictive covenants to any future housing developments in Denver.

The relevant section of the ordinance, Sec. 652.6, reads:

> 652.6 Restrictive Covenants
>
> No restrictive covenants shall appear on the face of the plat.

SR-TL
No. 21

IN THIS ISSUE

★ How to Stay Young—An Expert's Advice

Here's the latest scientific word on a matter that concerns everybody. You get advice on diet, smoking, overwork, things a person can do to stay young and live longer, in this exclusive interview with a leading authority on the process of aging. The findings of Government research disclosed may surprise you. Starts on page 78.

★ Behind the Political Upsets: A Spread in Prices?

This is a look behind the scenes at what bothers farmers and city dwellers most these days—a growing spread between farm and retail prices. Special report, starting on page 100.

★ Money, the Miracle Drug

This is the inside story of what the Government plans to do now to forestall an apparent setback in business. It revolves around injections of money and could affect you soon. Page 116.

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Housing

'RESTRICTED' AREA: DOES IT PAY?

Values Usually Not Affected by Lifting Bars

The value of "restricted" neighborhoods is getting critical attention now that covenants no longer stand up in court.

Some appraisers are arguing that elimination of racial bars to owning property makes it more, not less, attractive.

They are asking for a new look at the old belief that, when minorities move into an "exclusive" area, values decline.

The idea that property values are protected by restricting residential neighborhoods to particular groups is being re-examined. Evidence recently come to light suggests nonsegregated residential areas often add to, rather than subtract from, market values.

These new appraisals are getting increased attention as a result of U. S. Supreme Court decisions that prevent so-called racial covenants from being enforced through lawsuits. The Court reaffirmed its stand on this issue at the year's first session when it refused to hear new arguments on a decision that held that property owners who violate covenants cannot be sued by neighbors.

Investment. Some professional appraisers, in fact, doubt that restrictions add much to property values. Charles Abrams, writing in *The Appraisal Journal*, says that mixed neighborhoods usually provide a better long-term investment and notes:

"There are hundreds of such sections in America that have gone on securely for generations, and thousands of others could be built if we could ease the housing shortage for minorities. Some have even had the unique quality of moving up from slum status: Greenwich Village and Yorkville in New York City, Georgetown in Washington, and parts of San Francisco are examples."

Mr. Abrams goes on to point out that, in a section of Queens in New York, a housing project was built several years ago and opened to all races and creeds. The project itself created no disturbance in near-by neighborhoods and, indeed, "the land around the project has more than trebled in value." He adds that mortgage lenders in the New York area are coming to regard nondiscriminatory housing developments as sound financial investments.

Similar findings are reported by Belden Morgan, an appraiser in the Los Angeles area. After examining the influx of Negro families into Los Angeles, and their "invasion" of white residential areas, he concludes that property values usually hold up, or advance. He notes in an article for the Society of Residential Appraisers that "panic selling" by white property owners sometimes follows early sales to Negroes, and that prices drop as a result. But "after the first hysterical selling phase passes, prices become stabilized, then gradually increase under pressure of Negro bidding."

Mr. Morgan adds: "People are learning this. Many districts today go through a transitional period in occupancy without any signs of hysteria and without any collapse in prices. The only effect from an economic viewpoint is a broadening and strengthening of the market by virtue of the increased demand."

Better markets. "It usually will be found," Mr. Morgan says, "that sales activity is greater in racially mixed areas, especially in low and moderate price ranges, and that the high effective demand among Negro buyers not only sustains price levels but often increases them." An exception is noted in a high-priced residential area in Los Angeles, where prices fell 10 to 15 per cent after nine Negro families moved in among several hundred white families. But in an adjoining area, where values run from $10,000 to $15,000, prices advanced after the neighborhood became 20 per cent nonwhite.

In view of these developments, real estate appraisers are being asked to revise their opinions of the effect that minority population movements have on property values. Mr. Morgan suggests that an examination of the facts is likely to overcome many prejudices. Actually, a number of real estate developers have discovered a thriving market for homes among minority groups who in recent years have increased their incomes and now can afford better homes.

—Devaney

WORTH MORE IN A 'MIXED' NEIGHBORHOOD?
Some think it would be

There is growing pressure to eliminate discrimination in housing just as there is pressure to end discrimination in employment and other fields. Public housing projects in New York have been nonsegregated for many years. There will be no segregation in future developments in Washington, D. C. In San Francisco a nonsegregation policy has been adopted for all urban redevelopment projects. The basic idea is to put into practice the edicts of the courts that racial covenants are inconsistent with the U. S. Constitution.

Joint Memorandum

Housing

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
327 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILL.
212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Theodore Leskes and Sol Rabkin

DATE: October 29, 1953

SUBJECT: Aftermath of United States District Court decision in Vann v. Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority

Digest:

Federal District Court Judge Frank L. Kloeb convenes special session of his court to warn against community incitement with respect to occupancy by non-whites of space in Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority projects.

* * * * * * * *

By joint memoranda dated March 20, 1953, and July 28, 1953, we informed you of (1) the resolution of the Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority to discontinue the practice of assigning eligible families to vacant dwelling units on a racially segregated basis; and (2) the decision of the United States District Court that the right to lease property in a public housing facility is a civil right protected by the Constitution and by law against discrimination on the basis of race or color.

On Saturday October 3, 1953, United States District Judge Frank L. Kloeb, the Judge who rendered the decision in Vann v. Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority, convened a special session of his court. Following are excerpts from Judge Kloeb's remarks at that session:

> THE COURT: Gentlemen, I asked you to come in here this morning voluntarily because I feel that there has been a misunderstanding of the position of the Court with reference to the Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority, of the resolutions that have been passed by it, and of the decree of this Court.
>
> I feel that there has been a misunderstanding, and rather than allow this matter to reach some unfortunate climax, it is my duty to state, in no unmistakable terms, the position of the Court so that no one can say in the future that he did not fully understand.

I disregard rumors and matters that are brought to me by way of complaint, but I have a transcript of a meeting that was held the night before last...

* * * *

The Complaint in this case was filed on March 17, 1953. The complainants were American citizens. They had a right to be in this Court; they came here under every right that any American citizen enjoys. On April 6 an Answer was filed by the Defendant, the Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority, and three weeks after the Complaint was filed the Court had a hearing in open court. Counsel for the Plaintiffs and counsel for the Defendants argued in this courtroom and the courtroom was open to the public. The public was here, and perhaps you gentlemen were here. I don't know. But everyone had an opportunity to listen in at that hearing who cared to.

* * * *

At any time after the Complaint was filed any interested party had a right to come into this Court by way of motion to be made a party, or had a right to come into this Court by way of motion as a friend of the Court. No such action was taken and the Court proceeded on the basis of Plaintiffs and a Defendant. Their counsel ably and well prepared and filed briefs in accordance with the order of the Court. The Court gave the matter exhaustive study and filed the Opinion on June 23.

* * * *

Now, I want no unfortunate happening here, but I want it distinctly understood that if anything should happen I expect to use every facility of this Court, not only to restrain, but to punish. Statements to the effect that "the program of integration has been promoted by a group of Communists and I have proof of that," that is a frightful statement. It presupposes or suspects or casts the suspicion that not only the action of the TMHA but that even the action of the Court here was promoted by a group of Communists, "and there is proof of that."

The statement that one Negro family had been moved into a public housing project in Chicago, -- I presume in Cicero -- and that "750 policemen have been tied down," -- that is an incendiary statement to make before an audience of citizens under existing conditions.

The statement that he, too, -- I am referring now to another speaker at the meeting, -- "laid responsibility for anything that happens in the laps of the TMHA program," that is a mis-statement of the fact.

The TMHA Board is helpless in this situation. If it rescinded its resolution today it would have no effect whatever on the order of the Court. It has had its day in this Court. After due deliberation the Court arrived at its conclusion. Whatever course TMHA might now take would have no effect on the situation.

Gentlemen, I am sorry that I have had to make this statement, but I feel it incumbent upon me to do so. There have been incendiary statements made, -- I think under a misconstruction, a misunderstanding of the fact and of the position of the Court. I feel it my duty to speak out and to let you folks and to let the public know what the position of the Court is. We are a nation of people who live under law. When we cease to be a nation of law-abiding people, then we have no reason to quarrel with Communist ideology or Communist practice. We are going to continue to live as a nation under law so long as we remain a republic, and any judge of any court who lacks the moral fortitude and stamina to state the position of the court fearlessly and to act fearlessly is not worthy of the robe that he wears.

I hope, gentlemen, that if there have been untoward effects of statements that have been made, that they will be promptly corrected.

The Court is watching this situation carefully and every arm of the Court will be utilized to see that the law is observed.

I want to thank you gentlemen for coming here.

****

On October 5, 1953, the first three Negro families moved into public housing projects in Toledo on a non-segregated basis and on October 13, 1953, a fourth family followed suit, all without incident.

This is a graphic example of a situation in which law enforcement authorities, including the courts, took clear, courageous and un-ambiguous action to uphold the legal and constitutional rights of American citizens and to impress the troublemakers in the community that violence and incidents would not be tolerated.

TL-SR:ZL
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Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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212 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

Housing - Rest Cov

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: October 29, 1953

SUBJECT: Housing Authority of Denver v. Ford, et al., decided October 7, 1953.

Digest: District Court of Denver, Colorado voids Racial Restrictive Covenants in action by Housing Authority to quiet title to land of authority's project.

On October 7, 1953, a Denver District Court, consisting of Judges Joseph J. Walsh, Robert W. Steele, Edward C. Day and Robert H. McWilliams, ruled in favor of the Denver Housing Authority, the plaintiff, in a suit brought to quiet title to a group of lots in Denver. The lots involved in the action had been subject to restrictive covenants, providing that the property should not be sold to or occupied by persons of African descent, and other forms of racial, religious and ethnological restrictions.

The Denver Housing Authority brought the action because its Westwood Homes project was located on the property and some of the apartments in this project were either occupied or about to be occupied by Negroes. The complaint asked the court to quiet the plaintiff's title to the land, claiming that the thirty-year old racial restrictive covenants were "contrary to the 14th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America".

After hearing testimony and argument in the matter, the four-judge court ruled that the Denver Housing Authority was the owner in fee simple of the property in question and enjoined all the defendants from claiming any right, title or interest in the property in question and enjoined all the defendants from claiming any right, title or interest in the property in the future and from disturbing the plaintiff or those claiming under it in the quiet and peaceful possession and enjoyment of the land. The effect of this ruling is to void all the racial, religious and ethnological restrictions incorporated in the old deeds to the property in question.

SR-TL
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10-53

Housing

National Committee Against
Discrimination in Housing
35 West 32 Street, Room 1216
New York 1, N. Y.

1953 or 1954 ?

SOME FACTS ON
SEGREGATED HOUSING IN AMERICA

Discrimination and segregation in housing because of race, creed or national origin is basic to the race relations problem in America.

The cities of the United States are essentially communities of neighborhoods. Their populations are served by our social, educational and religious institutions on a neighborhood basis. Thus segregated neighborhoods compel most other forms of segregation--in employment, in education, in churches, in health and welfare services. Harlem's public schools are as segregated as Atlanta's. A church in Chicago's black belt can be interdenominational but never interracial.

Today the American ghetto is the chief cause of racial friction in our land. Most of the reported racial violence in 1952 was rooted in the efforts of minority Americans to escape from ghetto living.

Segregation builds walls that divide our citizens. Children on both sides of the wall develop fears and resentments that last a lifetime. Segregation corrupts the country's richest resource: people. It undermines the social and economic health of our cities. The overcrowding caused by segregated neighborhoods breed blight and slums, spawning crime, juvenile delinquency, poor health and high mortality. From the financial point of view, slums cost more in municipal health, welfare, police and fire services, and because of their dilapidation yield lower taxes to the cities.

City planning cannot be effective within the confines of segregated communities. In some cities needed improvements are not made for fear of disturbing the racial status quo. In others, where slum clearance becomes Negro clearance, for every acre cleared two are scarred by ghetto blight.

Housing discrimination is a major barrier to the development of a total housing program for the nation. As long as close to 25,000,000 minority Americans are limited in the right to buy or rent shelter in accordance with their means, a sound American housing program is impossible of achievement.

The American ghetto is the visible symbol of democracy's failure for all the peoples of the world. It provides fuel for enemy propaganda. It bewilders and frightens friends who look to us for leadership in democratic living. For self interest as well as conscience this contradiction between our country's democratic creed and its practices should be removed.

HOUSING CONDITIONS OF NONWHITES

Negroes and other minority Americans occupy housing that is substantially poorer in quality than housing of other Americans. The 1950 census indicates that the dilapidation of nonwhite housing outside rural areas was five times as high for Negroes as it was for whites, and the proportion of homes lacking piped running water, private flush toilet, bathtub or shower was more than twice as high.

Overcrowding was more than four times as high among nonwhite renting families as for whites. This represented an actual increase of overcrowding during the decade

1940-1950 from 20% to 23% for nonwhites while for whites there was a decrease. The nonwhite population increased at a faster rate than the number of occupied dwelling units (15% against 10%), whereas the reverse was true for whites (14% against 23%).

These figures, which are culled from "Housing of the Nonwhite Population 1940-1950" published by the Housing and Home Finance Agency, would undoubtedly be far more extreme if data for Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans were available.

THE NONWHITE HOUSING DOLLAR

The housing dollar in the nonwhite hand does not command as much or as good housing as that same dollar in the white hand. This is an inevitable result of a local housing market differentiated on the basis of race. Thus, nonwhites have been excluded from better housing and newly developed neighborhoods and restricted to the poorer housing largely in crowded, blighted areas. They have received less housing value, less home financing and less favorable home financing terms. At the same time Negroes have more money to pay for decent housing than ever before. In the decade 1940-1950 their average incomes trebled. More than 300,000 Negro families can afford to pay monthly rents of $70.00 or more. Nevertheless, they are still largely confined to slum or near slum neighborhoods.

INMIGRATION AND SEGREGATION

Minority families are moving to the cities with increasing rapidity. In the period 1940-1950 the urban nonwhite population increased by 3,000,000 of which more than 1,700,000 migrated to cities outside the South. Following are the twelve largest cities of the country with the percentage increase of nonwhites between 1940 and 1950: New York City, 62.4; Chicago, 80.5; Philadelphia, 49.5; Los Angeles, 116.2; Detroit, 101.4; Baltimore, 35.9; Cleveland, 76.1; St. Louis, 41.4; Boston, 68.6; San Francisco, 155.9; Pittsburgh, 32.9; and Milwaukee, 144.7.

At the same time, living space in urban areas is being closed to minority families, both in the center and at the periphery of the cities. New construction is almost completely closed to nonwhites. Of the 9,000,000 new homes built between 1935 and 1950 less than 1% were open to Negroes. No more than 60,000 of the 2,900,000 homes benefitting from FHA insurance during the period 1935-1952 were available to nonwhites, and the majority of these units were built in segregated neighborhoods in the Southeast. Many newly built northern suburbs are as closed to Negroes as the curfew towns of the South. In Long Island William Levitt built a city of 25,000 homes for whites only. He is building another in Levittown, Pennsylvania. These closed cities are typical of communities which are springing up all over the country.

Deplorable slums are often concentrated in the center of American cities. Included among them are areas occupied predominantly by nonwhite families. These are frequently chosen for federally assisted slum clearance projects, although they are often not the only parts of the city ripe for clearance. By March 31, 1953, data concerning the characteristics of 92 project areas approved by the Division of Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment were available. 64.6% of all the families scheduled for displacement were nonwhite. While a little more than half of the displaced minority families appear to be eligible on an income basis for public housing, family composition, stability factors, and the recent drastic cuts in federal appropriations for public housing will prevent many of them from achieving public housing occupancy. Very few of the ineligible displaced minority families will have enough means to occupy the new privately constructed redevelopment housing even where nondiscrimination laws exist. Thus, most displaced minority families will

find their only habitation in existing ghettoes or so-called "transition areas." 53% of these areas are being redeveloped for residential purposes. At least nine which have racially mixed occupancy at the present time will be redeveloped on a segregated basis. At least three--the Medical Center project in Birmingham; the St. Louis Memorial Plaza project and theWaverly Place project in Baltimore--constitute straight Negro clearance. Several others involve space swapping.

Finally, our new defense cities are developing on a segregated basis. Housing for critical defense areas is programmed separately for whites and nonwhites. Less than 6% of the 97,215 units programmed as of February, 1953 are for nonwhite occupancy and no more than 1.5% of those constructed have been made available to nonwhite families.

Failure to provide housing for minority families in this instance has grave impact on employment patterns since without housing facilities, nonwhite workers are frequently not available for employment. In other instances defense industries use the housing shortage as an excuse for discrimination.

THE CHALLENGE CAN BE MET

As bad as the picture is, there are growing signs that people all over the country are ready to work for elimination of the American ghetto. The press, magazines, radio andtelevision are giving the subject increasing attention. LIFE Magazine for October 27, 1952 featured a story of a mixed neighborhood calling it "the new kind of melting pot, where in addition to immigrant meeting American, Negro meets white." RED BOOK for September, 1952 calls segregation in housing the number one race relations problem for America. The April, 1953 issue of HOUSE AND HOME, a Luce publication, ran a feature story on the big untapped market for housing among nonwhites. Within the last two years there have been several national network programs on the subject and local radio and television stations have begun to devote increasing time to segregation in housing. Organizations are producing quantities of educational material on the subject. The National Committee alone has distributed more than 200,000 pieces of literature.

On the local level government agencies have increasingly passed laws, ordinances or resolutions relating to discrimination in public and publicly assisted housing. There are now more than thirty pieces of legislation on the books.

The most important single fact in this picture is that thousands of American families are living harmoniously in interracial neighborhoods all over the country. These communities exist in such unlikely places as Houston, Texas and Washington, D. C. Integrated public housing has gone way beyond the experimental stage. Twenty-seven thousand Negro families are living in completely integrated projects. It is significant also that whereas in 1942 there were only 21 integrated Federal public housing projects, in 1953 there were 268. Finally, pioneer builders have erected private housing developments which are successfully operating on a mixed basis. Queensview in Long Island, Flamingo Courts in Philadelphia and Stuyvesant Town in New York City are proving that middle class interracial communities are practical and profitable.

Researchers andreporters are using this evidence to prove that property values are not affected by the mixture of races;* that violence is not the inevitable result of attempts to democratize housing; that crime, low health rates and a host of other anti-social activities flow from slums rather than the people who live in them.

Even the banks and real estate boards are showing some signs of interest. In June, 1949, a National Association of Real Estate Boards news release urged that local boards "undertake to provide better housing for Negro families." In December, 1949, the Mortgage Banker announced, "It is the policy of the Mortgage Bankers Association to make loans available to all people without distinction as to race, color or creed within the limitation of sound lending practices." In January, 1951, NAREB released its revised Code of Ethics eliminating the reference to "race or nationality" from Article 34 which had formerly stated: "A realtor should not be instrumental in introducing into any neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in the neighborhood." A prominent official of New York City's largest Savings Bank has expressed the feeling that on the basis of his bank's salutary experience with financing interracial housing developments, such developments may well be the answer to the complicated relocation problem for redevelopment projects.

These changes in attitude have been reflected in recent government activity. The Federal National Mortgage Association recently allocated 17,000,000 dollars for cooperative housing available to nonwhites. The Federal Housing Administration has doubled its racial relations staff, and is scheduling conferences with representatives of mortgage interests to see whether more credit can be made available to minority families. Although still vastly inadequate, this is a radical change from FHA's former opposition to insuring mortgages for Negro home buyers.

The country is ready for a change.

*The most recent publications are Values in Transition Areas: Some New Concepts, by Belden Morgan, in THE REVIEW of the Society of Residential Appraisers, March 1952; Effects of Nonwhite Purchases on Market Prices of Residences, by Luigi M. Laurenti, in THE APPRAISAL JOURNAL, July 1952; Non White Housing, in HOUSE AND HOME, April 1953.

October 5, 1953

Joint Memorandum

Housing

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
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327 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILL.
212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Theodore Leskes and Sol Rabkin

DATE: November 27, 1953

SUBJECT: California Supreme Court refuses to review Banks v. San Francisco Housing Authority

Digest:

Supreme Court of California refuses to review decisions of lower state courts that racial segregation in public housing projects violates United States Constitution and the laws and public policy of the State of California.

* * * * * * * *

On October 22, 1953, the Supreme Court of the State of California refused to review the decision of the Superior Court, announced on November 14, 1953, in Banks v. S. F. Housing Authority (see our joint memorandum dated January 12, 1952), that it was unconstitutional and unlawful for the San Francisco Housing Authority to exclude Negro applicants from low-rent housing developments. The Superior Court decision was upheld by the State District Court of Appeal on August 26, 1953, and the Housing Authority sought review by the State Supreme Court.

Following the refusal of the highest state court to hear the case, the Housing Authority voted 3 to 2 to appeal the case to the United States Supreme Court. The Housing Authority has already spent more than $5,000 in its legal fight to reverse Superior Court Judge Cronin's decision ordering the Housing Authority to admit Negroes to its public housing projects on the same basis and under the same rules, regulations and preferences as other applicants. During these appeals, the Housing Authority has maintained its policy of segregation because the court's injunction may not be enforced until the final decision in the case.

Before the United States Supreme Court will agree to consider the appeal, the Housing Authority will have to establish that a federal constitutional question is necessarily involved.

TL-SR:ZL
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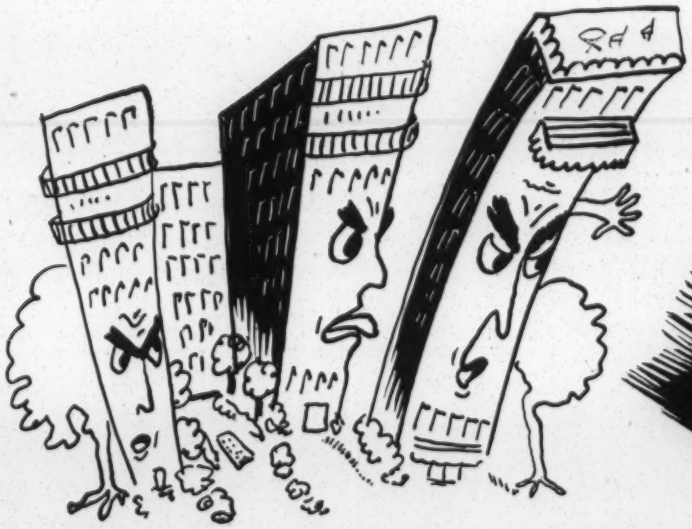

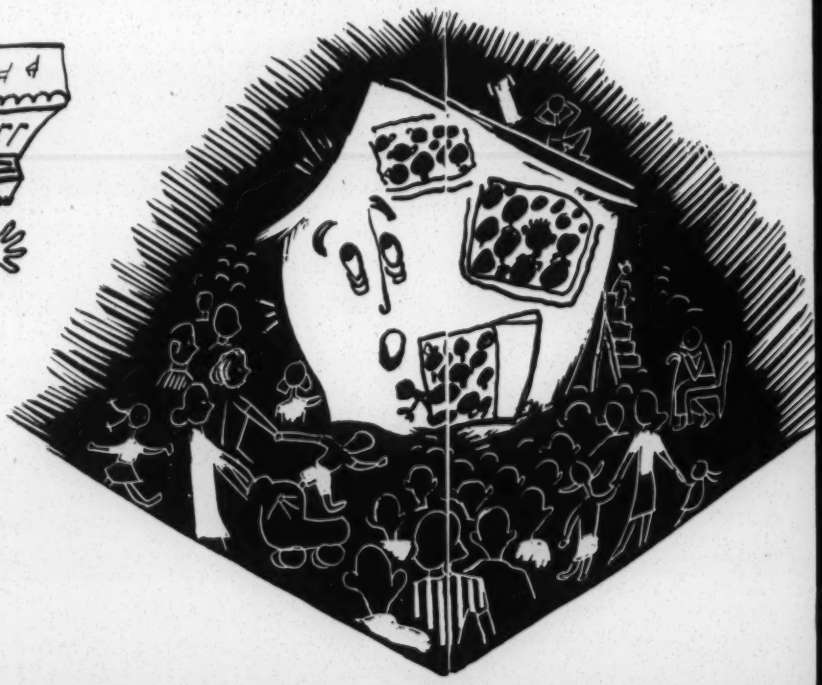

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Problems and potentials—
Some approaches by builders,
Government officials, and
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OPEN OCCUPANCY HOUSING

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This article was first published in the April 1955 issue of

house+home

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New problem for housers:

Robert Dowling

OPEN OCCUPANCY

Negro groups say segregation's day is past, press for compulsory integration. Industry argues it reflects US beliefs, hopes to ease tensions by volume output

Roy Stevens

William J. Levitt

Thurgood Marshall

The three men pictured here have been protagonists in the early rounds of a still developing legal drama that could profoundly affect the future of homebuilding.

Their tricornered fight over segregation in FHA and VA-aided housing lines up like this:

Robert Dowling of New York, president of the Natl. Urban League (and himself a big-scale city and suburban developer and investor), has been putting the heat on President Eisenhower to promulgate stringent federal regulations outlawing FHA and VA backing for housing where there is racial discrimination.

Thurgood Marshall, attorney for the Natl. Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), who won the celebrated Supreme Court decision barring school segregation last year, has now gone to the legal mat with Big Builder **William J. Levitt.** The accusation: by refusing to sell homes to Negroes in his big Levittown, Pa. development, Levitt has been illegally "discriminating" against Negroes. District Judge William H. Kirkpatrick dismissed the suit last month for lack of jurisdiction, but NAACP announced it will appeal. The judge observed: "Neither FHA nor VA [whose chiefs were codefendants] has been charged by Congress with the duty of preventing discrimination in the sales of housing project properties. What the plaintiffs are saying in effect is that these agencies ought to be charged with that duty. That is something that can only be done by Congress."

If either the Urban League or the NAACP can make its point stick, open occupancy apparently will become the price of federal aid to private housing. That would mean simply that FHA and VA would either 1) fade out of the picture or 2) become a strong spur to total integration.

Unwelcome cloak of social reform

Neither prospect is pleasant for the building fraternity to contemplate. "We can't set up a homebuilding project as a social reform," former NAHB President Dick Hughes has explained. "Nearly complete integration [is something] for which our society is not ready."

The industry's ability to sell the million-plus new homes a year that means prosperity hinges on the low down payments made possible by FHA and VA. Abandoning them is so unthinkable it is not even discussed.

So industry's answer to the clamor for open occupancy has been: build more housing. Says NAHB's Hughes: "Pressure on the courts to decree and the Congress to legislate housing for the minority groups will be reduced in direct proportion to the number of houses that we make available for them under the same financial terms and conditions as we provide housing for whites."

Advocates of moderation have an important adherent in the person of HHFAdministrator Albert M. Cole. Last fall, he warned the Urban League that federal compulsion of open occupancy "would just make everything much tougher and increase the abrasive factors that slow down the real—the permanent—progress to integration." On another occasion, Cole gave a different Negro group metaphorical suggestion that moving too far too fast may do Negro chances for housing more harm than good. Said he: "It is our responsibility . . . that we do not allow the tree of racial freedom to be chopped down out of zeal and impatience to harvest its fruit. . . . The federal government has a responsibility for leadership; it cannot sit by and merely wait for things to be different. . . . But the government cannot act for the states or communities nor force them into action they are not persuaded they should take." On a third occasion, the government's top housing man declared: "This is not primarily a federal problem. . . . The real problem lies with the citizens—the businessmen, the builders, the lenders, the realtors and the civic leaders and officials. . . ." Cole coupled this observation with a plea he has been making repeatedly: "The blockade of custom and code, of unjustified economic fears, must be breached, and the Negro family must be given access to good homes and good neighborhoods. No citizen can afford to let this minority housing pressure continue to build up to the explosion point, as it already has in some instances."

Background of covenants

Attacks on FHA's role in segregation are more understandable in the light of history. At its outset in 1934, FHA adopted racial homogeneity as a requirement for top valuations. "If a neighborhood is to retain stability," said an early underwriting manual, "it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes." Accordingly, FHA encouraged the spread of racial covenants. The policy persisted until about 1948, when the US Supreme Court held enforcement of racial covenants in court was illegal. By the time (Dec. 2, 1949) FHA agreed not to insure mortgages on properties subject to racial covenants, argue advocates of integration, a peculiarly permanent lot of damage had been done. "If any federal agency has con-

(continued on p. 6)

. . . And the occupancy that *is* open (to Negroes): transition neighborhoods

Side by side on the postwar subdivision street pictured, right, a friendly knot of white and Negro children could be found at play most any sunny day last month.

Neither the scene nor the trim little houses in it look particularly startling. For every Cicero and Trumbull Park where the spread of nonwhite population has led to ugly violence, there are scores of peaceful neighborhoods in transition. If the story of this one in San Antonio, Tex. is typical in outline, its details whisper times are changing in the South, too.

Bremer & Wilhelm's Eastlawn Addition started life in 1949 as an all-white development of $5,800 to $8,500 bungalows (from two-bedrooms in 626 sq. ft. to three-bedrooms in 832 sq. ft.). GI buyers snapped them up. Eastlawn, however, lay directly east of San Antonio's main Negro housing district. In those postwar years, little attention was being paid to the increasing ability of nonwhites to pay for better dwellings. In mid-1952, the first Negro buyer jumped the half mile of brush separating Eastlawn from the colored slums, bought a home in the project. Others followed. Today, about 3% of the 200 homes in the tract are still in white hands. Some of the white owners left are selling out, but others say they will stick to their homes. "I'm staying right where I am," one owner told HOUSE & HOME's correspondent. "The Negroes don't bother me and I don't bother them."

Realty Broker Pat Murphy, who has arranged 50 or more sales in the changing neighborhood, says some original buyers have told him they have better neighbors now. One of the first Negro occupants, Mrs. O. L. Hayes, a school cafeteria worker whose husband is a cook at a top San Antonio restaurant, agrees the transition has been devoid of bitterness or tensions. One reason, of course, may be that most white owners have been able to sell out at a profit. Mrs. Hayes paid $8,400 for her house. For a year, the going price ranged from $7,800 to $8,200 for the smaller houses; now it has dropped. Explains Murphy: "The Negroes I've dealt with . . . had no place to go. At the time they could pay more money than whites would for these homes."

The original white owners—civil service workers, policemen, railroad men, skilled labor—have now been largely supplanted by Negro civil service workers, ministers, railway postal clerks and skilled labor. Typically, most wives also work. Farm & Home Savings & Loan Assn., which made many of the original loans, still holds many of the loans. Farm & Home's L. A. Lawlor says the mortgage payment record of the new owners has been as good as in any similar white area. And nobody, driving down the street, can tell which homes are white-occupied and which are not. Except for one thing: for-sale signs.

The story of Eastlawn Addition is the story of the bulk of the Negro housing market. It will continue to be so. Existing homes are, of course, the bulk of the US housing market. Some 9 million US households move every year; only 1¼ million of them move into new units. The old house offers more space, closer in, cheaper than the new house. All these items suit the Negro market.

It is a phenomenon of segregated housing that you can add to the supply without building anything. Sometimes, as in Baltimore, this results in "great surges" providing huge (over 20,000 since 1945, statisticians figure) additions to the available supply of Negro units.

Photo: Elicson

. . . a friendly knot of white and Negro children . . .

These dynamics of blockbusting, sadly, tend to inhibit the market for new open occupancy housing. For the building industry three goals create a triple difficulty: expand Negro areas of existing housing, build new homes, create open-occupancy housing. Each works against the need for the others.

FORBIDDEN NEIGHBORS—a study of prejudice in housing.
By Charles Abrams. Harper & Bros., New York. $5

FORBIDDEN NEIGHBORS

Lawyer Charles Abrams' new book attacks bias in housing and proposes a controversial plan to move against it

Charles Abrams, the brilliant and irrepressible thinker and writer on housing matters, has flung another firecracker at the homebuilding industry.

He is in his best form—thorough, opinionated, argumentative and provocative—as he takes off after racial discrimination in housing, and blames the industry for fostering much of it.

Before he gets through the preface to his 404-page book, Lawyer Abrams is well on his controversial way. He notes that race bias, long a familiar ingredient of the South's culture, spread North in a major way exactly as the US Negro population migrated from the South during World War II and afterwards. Then:

"The most serious danger, however, lay in the political sphere. In the transition from a private to a welfare economy, private housing operations were now being implemented by public power, public credit and public subsidy. And there was the danger that the prejudices of the private market would not only be adapted and supported by the government but be backed by its coercive power. From 1935 to 1950, in fact, prejudice and public power were already well advanced toward an alliance which was challenging the fundamental values of the American system."

Abrams accuses FHA of adopting a racial policy "that could well have been culled from the Nuremberg laws"—relying, he implies, on realtor theories that property values thus were best protected. It was not until the Supreme Court struck down protective covenants in 1948 and again in 1950, he says, that FHA modified its attitude. FHA's policy, he says, had the support of thousands of realtors "bound to the antiracial code of ethics of NAREB and its thousands of allied builders." He calls the result evil of "a particularly enduring character"—thousands of new racially segregated neighborhoods.

In other exhaustively documented chapters, Abrams ticks over the gamut of segregation topics—the so-called philosophical "fallacies," the role of savings and loan associations, dynamitings and violence in Miami, Chicago, Detroit and elsewhere, the new Puerto Rican problem, discrimination in hotels and resorts. On p. 224, he even includes a rundown of segregation methods—some of which, he says, still work. Realist as well as reformer, Abrams also makes these observations:

▶ In the South, any pattern but segregation "is impractical for the time being. . . . Integration cannot be achieved overnight."

▶ Public housing has demonstrated (in the North) that integrated occupancy can work. In 1953, some 33,000 Negro families were living next door to or across the hall from white neighbors. They constituted a quarter of all the Negroes in public housing. Projects with 6 to 30% Negro occupancy, however, were "generally the successful ones." They provided security of numbers for the minority, no affront to the sense of white majority.

▶ "Outlawing discrimination [by federal action] in one- and two-family houses would probably be premature in most places and invite difficulties. But it might be ripe in large-scale private developments where the right of an owner to control the type of inhabitants is no longer considered coextensive with the right of a homeowner to regulate the conduct of his guests."

▶ "Segregation will continue when there is segregation in neighborhoods—in fact the latter may even become the new vehicle for achieving indirectly the school segregation which the courts have outlawed directly."

▶ Negro advancement groups can easily stir up so much antagonism by pressing for reform legislation too soon that battles are lost which might have been won later. Moreover, "tyranny is as unjust when practiced by the minority in the enactment of laws in which the majority does not yet believe as it is when the majority imposes laws by which the minority is to be oppressed. If protection of civil rights must depend on authoritative procedures or

(continued on p. 8)

Photos: Walter Daran

Poland-born Charles Abrams was on the Gold Coast of Africa when a cable caught up with him telling of his appointment as New York State rent control administrator. He was abroad at the behest of the United Nations to do a job he has not yet been called on to do for his adopted country: write a housing program.

Writing about housing programs is a longtime preoccupation of 54-year-old Lawyer Abrams. A former columnist for the New York Post, and a frequent contributor to national magazines, he is the author of The Future of Housing (1946) and Revolution in Land (1939). Critic Lewis Mumford called the latter "the first really important book on the subject since Henry George." Before his new state job took up all his time, Abrams also found time to lecture frequently at the New School for Social Research, the University of Pennsylvania, City College of New York and MIT. He has not had time lately for his hobby: chess.

Abrams' UN work began with a monumental study of the world's urban land problems, published in 1953. In the last 13 months, he has traveled 13,000 miles on two UN missions. The first one took him to Hongkong, Japan and India where he conducted a housing seminar for experts from 16 nations. The second took him not only to Africa, but also to England for a ten-day conference on African problems and then to Turkey where he was instrumental in persuading the government to set up a new school of architecture which the University of Pennsylvania will help run.

H&H Staff Photo

Photos below: Lawrence S. Williams

Bucks County, Pa. gets its first

INTERRACIAL SUBDIVISION

Quaker-sponsored project expects to become half Negro-, half-white occupied. Chief problem: finding enough white customers

Three-bedroom, one-bath house (1,400 sq. ft.) sells for $11,990, has $12,000 FHA valuation

"Our problem—we don't want to kid anybody—is finding white purchasers."

The speaker was Morris Milgram, executive vice president of Concord Park Homes, a handsome development of 140 ranch houses about a mile from the northern edge of Philadelphia. It is the first postwar interracial subdivision in suburban Bucks County, where, in common with most other metropolitan suburbs, the postwar housing boom has heretofore been all-white.

Milgram was talking to four couples—two Negro, two white—who are among Concord Park's first customers. They were having a get-acquainted tea last month, as new neighbors will, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. George Grier, first to move into what its sponsors as well as many a housing official hope may become a history-making project—a demonstration to the nation and the world that ethnic segregation is a dying shibboleth and that whites and Negroes can live together as well as anybody else.

If the friendly rapport so visible at the Grier's afternoon tea

(continued on p. 7)

LOCATION: Trevose, Pa.
CONCORD PARK HOMES, INC., builder
WILLIAM H. ROBERTS, architect
BEATRICE WEST, color stylist
A. C. LAMPEL, sales agent

Open-occupancy problem: hardest of all to finance

tributed to segregation, it has been FHA," according to HHFA's Dr. Frank S. Horne.

Currently, open-occupancy advocates are complaining that campaigns for "more Negro housing" threaten to substitute the polished ghetto for the sordid one that is now the lamentable lot of most urban minorities. In mid-March, for example, the Natl. Committee Against Discrimination in Housing staged a one-day conference in Washington to raise an outcry along these lines. Said the conference invitations: "We believe that housing is increasingly becoming today's No. 1 civil rights problem. Since the Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation in schools certain groups . . . have intensified their campaign for racially defined neighborhoods. If they are successful in establishing this 'shiny new ghetto' pattern throughout the country, American children will continue to go to segregated schools and the significance of the education decisions will have been nullified."

Yet even Dr. Robert Weaver, who is chairman of the Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and a passionate believer in open occupancy, has admitted "the cards are heavily stacked against you" when a builder tries to build some. Not only is it the hardest kind of minority housing to finance, but the vastly greater Negro pressure for new homes can easily lead an open-occupancy project to become almost entirely Negro-occupied. Thus it should surprise no one that the Urban League's able housing director, Reginald Johnson, recently told a conference of FHA race relations officers: "Segregated housing is growing at a faster rate than open-occupancy housing." At the same time, Johnson also reported "signs of growth in the open-occupancy field, too." Some of the evidence:

▶ In New York, which in 1950 adopted state legislation barring racial discrimination in publicly-aided housing, eight Negro families have moved into the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.'s hitherto all-white Stuyvesant Town apartment project on Manhattan's lower East side.

▶ When a Negro Air Force officer, Capt. Virgil A. Daniels, hesitated to move into an apartment he had rented in Waverly, Iowa because of "racial pressure," town residents held a meeting to present Daniels with the keys to the apartment, handed him a petition signed by all residents of the building urging him to become their neighbor. (He did.)

▶ Some 15% of the nation's public housing projects have become racially integrated, but there have been instances of white families moving out when Negroes were admitted. (Integration, as a rule, is harder to accomplish among lower-class families than in the higher income brackets, experts seem to agree, harder still between minority groups.)

▶ In Portland, Ore. a 16-unit FHA Sec. 213 "sale" cooperative recently opened on an interracial basis—ten nonwhite and six white families. FHA Commissioner Norman Mason, who has pledged aid from his agency for open-occupancy projects, has called the Willamette Heights co-op "unique in US home construction." Its two- and three-bedroom homes sold for $7,771 and $8,357, respectively. Down payments averaged $350 with 40-year amortization at $47 and $49 monthly. Mason said he hoped Willamette Heights would "point the way for other similar projects across the nation."

▶ In Milpitas, Calif. where the Ford Motor Co. has just moved its northern California auto and truck assembly plant, plans were announced for a 268-unit open-occupancy housing development. Builder Joe Kaufmann, former head of a meat packing firm in nearby San Jose, found at first that he faced an extra $500 in financing charges because occupancy would not be limited to whites. He persuaded the CIO United Auto Workers union to go to bat for him. (President Walter Reuther is a leading backer of racial integration in housing and some 225 Negro workers were involved in Ford's shift to Milpitas from Richmond, 50 mi. away.) The upshot was that Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. agreed to provide mortgage money at its prevailing San Francisco rate. At this point, a Los Angeles insurance firm offered to go 1½ points better. The houses will sell for $9,500 and $10,500.

One of the few

The Milpitas project apparently will become northern California's second interracial development. Corona Park at Stockton, which started 4½ years ago with a majority of white families, is now a mixed community including Mexican-Americans, Negroes, Filipinos and Orientals. At Sacramento, Sun-River Homes Inc. is planning an interracial project of about 200 homes, but the state real estate commission has limited it to accepting reservations, rather than making sales, because it still has unsolved water problems. About a quarter of the 53 families who have signed up for its $9,995 contemporary homes are white.

Despite such symptoms of social change, what skimpy evidence there is suggests that integration in housing is still too controversial for wide acceptance. In a recent survey, for instance, the social research laboratory of New York City College's sociology department found that 75% of suburban Westchester County residents felt better housing should be made available to nonwhites, but 55% were reluctant to have a nonwhite family next door.

It is perhaps with this in mind that FHA's race relations advisers—themselves Negroes—were given this program last fall by their boss, Dr. George Snowden: 1) concentrate on getting Negro families admitted into existing areas before trying to promote construction of new open-occupancy homes, 2) strive for the maximum amount of building of equal facilities needed by Negroes, 3) work with builders in groups and individually to push new developments free from restrictions.

Spreading transition areas

In the realm of Dr. Snowden's first priority—getting minorities into existing houses in more areas—there are ample signs of progress. In recent years, more and more experts have put forth studies debunking the once widely held notion that property values slide in transition neighborhoods. Now, evidence is accumulating that some city neighborhoods—at least in the North—are ready to accept inmigrant Negroes without fuss.

Herman C. Plummer, Portland, Ore.'s biggest Negro realty broker, told a recent conference there: "Individual nonwhite families are moving with more frequency into established integrated neighborhoods. We are getting an increased number of listings from individual white sellers in established neighborhoods. Some come to us because of an honest effort to aid integration, but some come because they want to get a premium price from Negroes."

Davis McEntire, professor of social welfare at the University of California, interviewed white residents of 16 representative neighborhoods in the San Francisco area where a few minority families had recently moved in. He found the newcomers were generally accepted without fuss or ceremony. "There is no particular antagonism," he commented, "nor is there any particular sympathy for them. They tend to be treated in the same anonymous or impersonal way as any other newcomers in a big city neighborhood." Of the 549 people McEntire and his students questioned, "more than 70% described their initial attitudes toward the newcomers as either favorable or neutral," he reported. "Of the 30% who were unhappy with the new arrivals, the majority said that, nevertheless, they did not consider moving away." Some 150 of the 549 had moved into their present homes after at least one of the nonwhite families.

McEntire did not try to measure changes in property values. But he asked home owners what they *thought* had happened. Their opinions:

Values increased	19.0%
No change	55.0%
Declined	12.5%
Did not know	13.5%

"Nearly three-quarters of the people," says McEntire, "did not spontaneously mention in the course of a 20-min. discussion about their neighborhoods that nonwhites had moved in." When the interviewers raised the subject, they were startled to learn that one-quarter of the people did not even know there were Negroes or other minority families nearby.

A similar survey was conducted in Denver under the direction of Charles Gray, a real estate man. It showed that 45% of the 101 home owners who listed their houses for sale "by owner only" in a recent Sunday paper were willing to sell to anyone with the money regardless of race. Five years ago, only 15% had expressed the same willingness.

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Interracial board of directors—six white, three Negro—directs Concord Park project. In a huddle outside a Quaker meeting house (l to r): Dr. Nathaniel Duff, Philadelphia physician who is vice president; George E. Otto, president; Morris Milgram, executive vice president.

". . . open occupancy requires the best house in the area . . ."

was a good indication, the prospects for Concord Park's success seem bright. Getting it that way, however, had been no easy job.

Milgram, 38, a second generation member of the Philadelphia building firm of Smelo-Milgram, Inc., had long been concerned over the trend toward leaving city housing to minorities while the suburbs become the exclusive domain of whites. (Up to the end of 1953, he figures, only 347 new homes in the nine-county metropolitan Philadelphia area had been open to nonwhite buyers.) In 1952, Milgram began organizing a pool of risk capital to back open occupancy. He was joined by George E. Otto, 51, of Newtown, a leader in the Society of Friends and head of a construction company with 20 years' experience in community development. They formed a corporation of more than 65 persons, mostly Quakers, who oversubscribed the $100,000 capital stock issue. Recalls Otto: "I had a wonderful time giving Friends and friends the opportunity of putting their money where beliefs were."

Late in 1953, the corporation bought 50 acres of truck farm land. The site, as sites for minority housing should be, was picked to avoid community antagonism. Otto calls it "an enclave to itself." It is bounded chiefly by the Pennsylvania Turnpike, the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, open land, a cemetery, and a small group of homes that has been Negro-occupied for two decades. "We've had some mild kicks from people in Trevose," Otto says, "but they've been much milder than if the development was across the street from them." Adds Milgram: "It was the only site I could find in Bucks County on a bus line"—which means commuting should be easy.

Even with a site so carefully chosen to minimize community resistance, Concord Park spent 17 months and $17,000 finding mortgage money. Some lending institutions which had promised financing backed out or were downright cold to the idea. Finally, Eastern Mortgage Service Co. agreed to warehouse a dozen loans, says Milgram. Bowery Savings Bank took 29. And People's Natl. Bank & Trust Co. of Langhorne (Pa.) provided funds "so we could go ahead." Some of the financing, says Milgram, was at par, some for a "modest" discount of 1½ points. Best of all, he has 100% VA loans (but with $600 closing costs).

Where would the buyers come from? The market pressure of home-seeking Negroes is so great that the usual fate of so-called "open occupancy" projects is to wind up nearly 100% Negro. Otto and Milgram were determined this should not happen to Concord Park. Milgram arranged for a study by students at Haverford College. Some 12,000 questionnaires were mailed. The 1,000 returns have not yet been fully analyzed, but Milgram reports some fascinating correlations between general social-political beliefs and acceptability of integrated housing:

- Among names on so-called "liberal" lists, 66% said they believe in open occupancy and would move into such a tract if convenient.
- Among members of "peace organizations" (i.e. pacifists), over 90% endorsed open occupancy.
- Among people picked from suburban telephone books, only 15% believed in open occupancy. Only 10% of phone book names inside Philadelphia endorse it. A third of Levittowners were for it.
- White-collar people are perhaps twice as ready as blue-collar people to accept open occupancy.

One upshot was that 25,000 pieces of direct mail advertising were sent to members of church and civic groups on record in favor of democracy in housing. But the result, so far, has been only one sale to a white family.

George Grier, the first to move in, says some potential buyers have been "inhibited by fear." One prospect, he recalls, was a former coworker at Franklin Institute (where Grier is a research psychologist). "He was afraid he would cut himself off from pay raises and promotions if he moved into Concord Park—because his superiors were pretty conservative people." Another prospect, says Grier, was willing to move in, but his Spanish wife was timid about it and so the deal fell through. Milgram recalls a lawyer who declined to move in "because he would lose face with his clients."

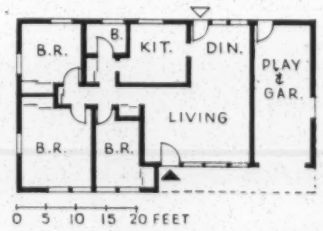
The problem, philosophizes Milgram, is that "nobody [among whites] wants to be first" in open occupancy. Fortunately, there are a few exceptions. As first-buyer Grier told a group at the project's dedication last November, he and his wife, Eunice, moved in "to put our beliefs into action." Another white buyer, Francis Saxton, a 28-year-old arc welder who recently completed a hitch as a Navy patrol bomber crewman, tells why he picked Concord Park in these terms: "I like the section. It's a beautiful home. I like the neighbors." His wife, Emma, who is a receptionist for a Negro physician who is on the project's board of directors, explains her views on integration this way: "It doesn't make any difference at all."

Most of Concord Park's white buyers have been attracted by personal contact and word of mouth. There are enough of them so Otto and Milgram think they have won their battle to produce an interracial tract. In the first section of 29 homes, currently nearing completion, occupancy will be about 55% white. In all, some 73 buyers have put down deposits. There would be more, but adverse credit reports have taken a "very heavy" toll of would-be Negro purchasers.

If hard work and determination can put open occupancy over, Concord Park will click. But its problems have been formidable enough to suggest that few builders elsewhere are likely to tackle open occupancy subdivisions now. The extra headaches mean less profit, though to dedicated men like George Otto and Morris Milgram this consideration is obviously not paramount.

As William Stansbury, FHA race relations adviser in Philadelphia, observed recently: "Open occupancy requires the best house in the area, almost." And as Milgram said at the Griers' tea: "The average builder is a pretty harassed person. It's hard enough without having to fight for a mixed development. You can't build open occupancy if you're purely interested in making money. But it will get easier as more of it is built."

Floor plan offers big living area, small bedrooms



Early customers at Griers' tea: Francis Saxton, Charles Henry, hostess Eunice Grier. Henry, 47, is a machine operator. He moved from a Philadelphia block which has lately ended a transition from white to Negro occupied.

President Otto (second from right) told customers that to be ready for integration, you must "have the internal fortitude to accept slights without losing your head, without retaliating in kind."

H & H staff photos

 (continued from p. 4)

Charles Abrams offers plan to promote racial integration

laws passed by a few to gain their ends, it simply violates one important right to achieve another. It is a weak prop on which to rest the fight for minority rights."

Where the industry will quarrel most with Abrams' ideas is his 12-point "program for action." Yet it is a program which housers ought not to dismiss lightly. Abrams, who is currently New York State rent control boss, has sometimes been called one of the brains behind public housing. His seven most important proposals:

1. A long-range housing program including 500,000 public housing units a year—some for sale and some for rent.

2. Adequate protection by law of the opportunity to secure shelter. Tread lightly here, Abrams advises.

3. An executive policy prohibiting discrimination by FHA, VA and other housing agencies and their beneficiaries. FHA, argues Abrams, "has a 'duty' to ban discrimination by lenders."

4. Reduction of slum clearance because there is a shortage of housing in the big cities with the slums. Redevelopment projects should not be approved where builders fail to offer adequate relocation housing to displaced minorities, he contends.

5. Adequate land for housing open to minorities. Abrams advocates laws forbidding home buyers to qualify for membership in neighborhood clubs — one of the still workable methods of racial exclusion. US cities, like many in Europe, should buy up reserve land and make it available for minorities. HHFA and its subordinate agencies, he argues, should ban urban renewal aid to areas where obsolete political boundaries bar intelligent land planning that includes more space for minorities.

6. Since private lenders "cannot be relied on to meet any portion of the need" for financing, the government should step in with a big direct lending program at interest rates from zero to the "going government rate." FNMA should make more direct loans to open-occupancy co-ops.

7. Improved rehabilitation programs and local laws preventing overcrowding. Abrams sees rehabilitation as a "limited tool," but concedes it is important because "the current supply will be the main source of shelter for minorities for a long time."

MINORITY GROUPS MAY GET HOUSING

Home Builders Are Pressing Plans to Promote Activity in Neglected Field

Minority headline of the year from the New York Times.

(continued from p. 6)

Integration v. segregation: thoughts from theorists

One question that usually pops up when opening up more existing housing to minorities is under discussion is this: "What about the landlord who says he is afraid to take in Negroes or Puerto Ricans for fear they'll bring in all their relatives to live with them and throw garbage into the street?" Executive Director Lester Granger of the Urban League thinks such an alibi reflects "lamentable ignorance." He explains: "The landlord who says, 'Now I'll take in Puerto Ricans' frequently drops all his standards and turns to exploitation." The real answer, says Granger, is to stick to high standards of tenant selection.

This line of argument, indeed, leads to the reasoning that one reason why racial discrimination exists is, paradoxically, that the nation's white populace has not learned to discriminate.

In its mission of preaching *against* racial discrimination and *for* individual discrimination, the Urban League sometimes likens itself to the "State Dept.," whereas the NAACP is the "War Dept." A philosophical comment embedded in a recent research report for the Urban League of Westchester (N.Y.) County reflects some of this peaceful approach. Segregation, wrote Harold Goldblatt, "is no wall of Jericho to be tumbled by a single, decisive and heroic event. It is, instead, a system of opinions and attitudes and activities [which will] require continuous effort to dissolve."

The comment of a Negro housewife who recently moved into an open-occupancy project near Philadelphia reveals much of the same thinking. "The law cannot play a decisive part in it," she mused. "Integration will come when people want it."

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Human Rel Ed

Human Relations in World Crisis

THE 9th ANNUAL

Institute of *Race Relations*

JUNE 30--JULY 12, 1952

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Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches

FISK UNIVERSITY

Nashville, Tennessee

HUMAN RELATIONS IN WORLD CRISIS

The terrible acceleration of change in America has produced a new conceptual focus for human relations. We find ourselves concerned only incidentally with the relations between racial and cultural groups, and basically with the realistic process of democracy. Race, in short, has become far more than a domestic issue. It has become the scale on which democracy is being weighed in a world that is being forced relentlessly to choose between ideologies. If democracy is to prove its case on the world scene, there is need for more than words. Some genuine acts of democratic conviction at home, resolving the long-delayed issues of civil rights and equal opportunity, would do more to strengthen our cause than the threat of superior weapons. *The time of proof has come, and race is the touchstone.*

Thus, it is upon HUMAN RELATIONS IN WORLD CRISIS that the NINTH ANNUAL RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE directs its concern. It is within this focus that the Institute continues its efforts to train community leaders to meet the ever-demanding problems of intergroup relations at home, to develop new orientations and understandings, and learn techniques for effecting constructive change. We invite your attention to this challenge and opportunity which the Institute affords. The fellowship of men of good will and congeniality; the experience of working with thoughtful citizens representing varying segments of community leadership from 33 states, north and south; and the

advice of top authorities in the field will be yours to share and enjoy.

With 30 of the nation's most notable authorities serving as lecturers and consultants, the Institute gives direction to an understanding of race relations in the inclusive context of: 1) the psychological and sociological backgrounds of group antagonism, 2) the phenomena of race and culture in world prespective, and 3) civil rights, as they concern employment, education, public accommodations, health, and housing. In an atmosphere conducive to freedom of inquiry, the intensive two weeks' Institute provides the basic information, through seminar presentations, and gives opportunity for analysis and discussion in probing clinic sessions. With workable data for interpreting and directing the course of human relations, Institute members prepare themselves to intelligently understand and affect vital issues of intergroup relations.

EDWIN A. LAHEY (*Chicago Daily News*)—"Quietly . . . with no tub thumping and no demagogery, the ripples of influence from this annual meeting lap steadily against the rocks of prejudice and discrimination in America."

SAVILLE R. DAVIS (*The Christian Science Monitor*)—"This is a quiet scene, and yet it is the center of the world for a moment. The question of whether the free world deserves to remain free is being measured here."

Course of Study

LECTURE AND SEMINAR PRESENTATIONS

First Week: June 30 - July 5

BASIC ORIENTATION TO HUMAN RELATIONS IN WORLD CRISIS

Race, Politics, and World Democracy

American Racial and Religious Minorities

Sociological and Psychological Bases of Human Relations

Civil Rights and American Public Policy

Religion as a Force in Human Relations

Second Week: July 6-12

PROBLEM AREAS IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Racial Segregation in American Institutions

The Community and Human Relations

New Areas in Racial Integration

Labor, Industry, and Full Utilization

Housing and Racial Integration

Equalization of Educational Opportunity

The Role of the Church in Racial Integration

National Defense and Racial Integration

LECTURES, CONSULTANTS, AND CLINIC LEADERS*

ADAMS, INEZ, Visiting Lecturer in Sociology and Anthropology, Fisk University

BOLLINGER, HIEL D., Secretary, Department of College and University Religious Life, Board of Education of The Methodist Church

CAMPBELL, DONALD T., Professor of Psychology, University of Chicago

COMMAGER, HENRY STEELE, Professor of History, Columbia University

EVANS, JAMES C., Civilian Assistant, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense

GINSBURGH, A. ROBERT, Brigadier General, U. S. Air Force

HOPE, JOHN II, Industrial Relations Specialist, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association

IVEY, JOHN E., JR., Director, Southern Regional Education Board

JOHNSON, CHARLES S., President, Fisk University; Director, Race Relations Institute, American Missionary Association

JOHNSON, ROBERT, Cornell Field Research Staff, Elmira, New York

KINCHELOE, SAMUEL C., Professor of Religion, the Chicago Theological Seminary

LANE, FRAYSER T., Director, Community Service Program, the Chicago Urban League, Chicago, Illinois

LAWSON, EDWARD, Division of Human Rights, United Nations

LONG, HERMAN H., Director, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association

MADISON, JAMES A., National Recreation Association

MARSHALL, THURGOOD, Special Council, N. A. A. C. P., Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

MCCULLOCH, MARGARET C., Community Organization Advisor, Memphis, Tennessee

MCCUTCHEON, ROGER P., Dean, The Graduate School, Tulane University

MILLER, ALEXANDER, Southern Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith

MILLER, LOREN, Attorney-at-Law, Los Angeles, California

MURAVCHIK, EMANUEL, National Field Director, Jewish Labor Committee

MURRAY, PAULI, Attorney at Law, New York, New York

NELSON, D. D., Public Relations Officer, Department of the Navy, Washington, D. C.

ROSEN, A. ABBOT, Director, Chicago Executive Offices, Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith

ROSEN, ALEX, Cornell Field Research Staff, Elmira, New York

SIEGEL, MORRIS, Africa Unit, Division of Economic Stability and Development, Department of Economic Affairs, United Nations

SILVERMAN, WILLIAM B., Rabbi, Vine Street Temple, Nashville, Tennessee

THOMAS, JULIUS A., Director, Department of Industrial Relations, National Urban League

THOMPSON, CHARLES H., Dean, Graduate School, Howard University

WEAVER, GALEN, Religion and Race, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association

WEAVER, GEORGE L-P., Assistant to the Administrator, Reconstruction Finance Corporation

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*Partial list.

CLINICS

The clinics are the workshops of the Institute. Specialists in the field serve as resource persons, giving guidance for constructive social action. Members of the Institute submit their community ailments for clinical analysis—to have them broken down into manageable parts. Systematic investigation weighs the technical instruments and institutional assets against the problems presented. Tackling specific stumbling blocks, the clinics compare notes on various methods and strategies, examine the latest researches and evaluate action programs in terms of positive results. Recommendations and findings come out of direct experience and scientific study. What are the most promising procedures for implementing human rights is the clinics' immediate concern.

The following clinics are scheduled for this summer's Institute:

1. *Industry and Labor Management*
2. *Community Organization*
3. *Church and Race*

OTHER RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO MEMBERS OF THE INSTITUTE

The University Library for purposes of study and research.

A special Institute library of current published and unpublished materials.

Special exhibits, audio-visual aids and planned social activities in cooperation with the University Summer School.

ACADEMIC CREDIT

Full participation in the Institute carries three-semester hours of credit. Arrangement for credit should be made with the Registrar of the University.

FEES

Tuition	$25.00
Room and Board	50.00
Institute Packet and Summary	5.00
	$80.00*

*Non-resident fee, $30.00.

CHARLES S. JOHNSON

Director of the Annual Institute

HERMAN H. LONG

Director of the Race Relations Department

For Further Information

Address

ROBERT C. SWEET

Education and Promotion

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
American Missionary Association
Congregational Christian Churches
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

For Immediate Release

9TH ANNUAL RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE AT FISK UNIVERSITY

JUNE 30-JULY 12; FOCUS UPON HUMAN RELATIONS IN WORLD CRISIS

Nashville, Tennessee (June 11)... Announcement of the 9th Annual Race Relations Institute, conducted by the Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Association at Fisk University, indicates that the dates for these important sessions will be June 30 through July 12. The concern for these two-week seminar and workshop discussions will be "Human Relations in World Crisis," in which 100 community leaders from 33 states and 37 lecture-consultants will participate.

In citing the keynote challenge, the announcement states: "If democracy is to prove its case on the world scene, there is need for more than words. Some genuine acts of democratic conviction at home, resolving the long-delayed issues of civil rights and equal opportunity, would do more to strengthen our cause than the threat of superior weapons. The time of proof has come, and race is the touchstone."

For the discussions on the world situation involving minority problems, Brigadier General Robert A. Ginsburg, United States Air Force; Professor Henry Steele Commager, Professor of History, Columbia University; Edward Lawson and Morris Siegel, both of the United States Department of State, will serve as resource personnel. And for matters concerning racial integration in the armed forces and services, James C. Evans, Civilian Assistant in the Office of Defense; Lt. Dennis Nelson, Public Relations Officer for the Navy; and James A. Madison of the National Recreations Association will be the primary discussants.

On domestic issues and problems of race relations, the partial list of consultants includes: Thurgood Marshall, Special Counsel for the NAACP; Julius Thomas, Director of Industrial Relations for the National Urban League; Dr. John Ivey, Director of the Southern Regional Educational Board; Attorney Loren Miller, Los Angeles civil rights lawyer; Emanuel Muravchik, National Field Director of the Jewish Labor Committee; A. Abbot Rosen, Chicago Director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; Dr. Charles H. Thompson, Dean of the Graduate School, Howard University; Dr. Roger P. McCutcheon, Dean, Tulane University Graduate School; and George L-P Weaver, Assistant to the Administrator of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The Institute was organized nine years ago to meet national leadership needs in World War II, arising from the increase in local racial tensions and threats of community disorder. Over this period more than 1200 leaders in business, labor, church, school and social welfare fields

have shared ideas and techniques for handling local problems. As changes occur domestically, and as the world ideological conflict heightens, the Institute continues in its purpose "to train community leaders to meet the ever-demanding problems of intergroup relations at home, to develop new orientations and understandings, and learn techniques for effecting constructive change."

.....

AGENCIES WORKING IN THE FIELD OF INTERGROUP EDUCATION

American Council on Education
1785 Mass. Ave NW
Washington 6, D C

American Jewish Committee
386 4th Ave.
New York 16, N Y

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Ave.
New York 10, N Y

Commission on Community Interrelations
American Jewish Congress
15 E. 84th St.
New York, N Y

Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations
1126 E. Fifty-Ninth Street
Chicago 37, Ill.

Community Relations Service
386 4th Ave.
New York, N Y

Governor's Commission on Human Rights
State Capitol (Particularly, "Helping Children Learn to Respect
Madison, Wis. Human Rights. Illustrations of Good Practice from
the Madison Public Schools")

Mass. Dept. of Education
Office of Fair Educational Practices Act
18 Tremont St.
Boston, Mass.

National Conference of Christiansand Jews
381 4th Ave. (Particularly, series of Intergroup Education Pamphlets)
New York 16, N Y

SUMMER WORKSHOP

OF THE CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES

JUNE 30 TO AUGUST 8, 1952
THE NEW LINCOLN SCHOOL
NEW YORK, N. Y.

1952 HUMAN RELATIONS WORKSHOP

The National Defense Program has brought about an increase of tension throughout the United States as communities have become engulfed in the insecurities attendant on moving populations and a revised plan for living. Dealing with these tensions and the underlying intergroup prejudices, which thrive in periods of stress, is the central theme of the 1952 program of the Center for Human Relations Studies.

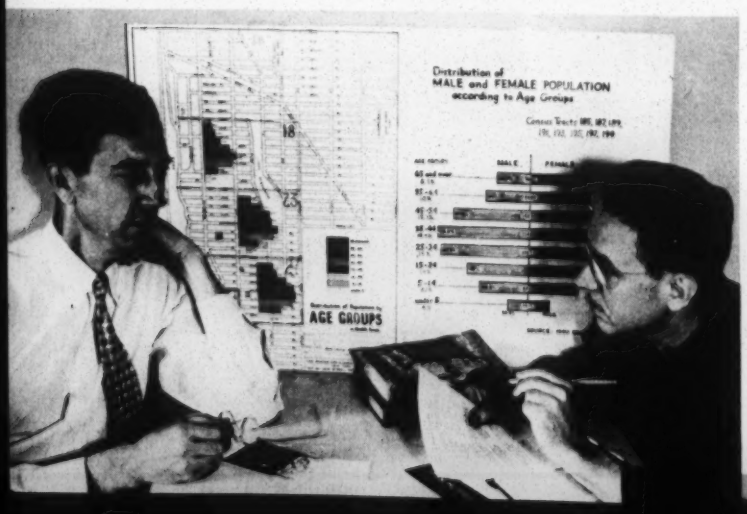
The Workshop in Intergroup Understanding is conducted at The New Lincoln School, where, in a most permissive atmosphere, teachers, administrators, and research majors have the opportunity to participate in an experience of their own planning for six weeks of intensive professional training. This adventure in learning in human relations provides seven core emphases under the guidance of outstanding leaders from the field of human relations.

These emphases include the arts, child development, group dynamics, sociological foundations, clinical examination of materials and research direction. In addition, an array of outstanding consultants provide assistance when specialized needs and interests have developed.

This variety of offerings coupled with the backgrounds and interests of the membership plus the rich resources of the metropolitan area combine to make the experience rich and broad.

SMALL-GROUP AND INDIVIDUAL ACTIVITIES

Although a regular schedule of all-workshop and section meetings is provided, the workshop is planned, with student help, to encourage small-group and individual work. It is assumed students are mature and professional in their outlook and in their ability to make wise decisions with such help as they may seek from the staff. A typical morning's activities might include: assembly with a guest speaker or a program by small workshop groups, regularly scheduled section meetings, and lunch with a period of relaxation.



The afternoon session is unscheduled, allowing freedom for a variety of individual pursuits: creative art activity, independent reading or research, trips that supplement the workshop training, review of audio-visual materials, interviews with resource persons, conferences with staff members or with other students, skill clinics. *No student should enroll for the workshop whose afternoons are not free for him to participate in these activities.*

THE WORKSHOP LUNCHEON

Luncheon, an opportunity to relax together, is another important part of the workshop experience. All students who become members of the workshop are expected to lunch with the group. The cost is approximately $15.00 for the six-week period. Lunch tickets will be available for purchase at the workshop, 9:30 A.M. on July 1.

ENROLLMENT AND CREDITS

For 1952 enrollment will be limited to approximately 130 students. Seven sections – little workshops – are offered to provide special emphasis on aspects of human relations. The Center is offering as two of the sections of the workshop a Clinical Seminar in Human Relations Education, equivalent to the seminar offered during the regular academic year (399.13,14), and the Thesis Seminar in Human Relations (399.3,4) for doctoral candidates. These sections are planned primarily for majors in human relations. Registration is limited and permission to register must be obtained from Professor Giles or Professor Dodson.

The workshop sections provide credit either in human relations or in the department whose number is in parentheses. Each section carries eight points, and students must take a course for the full six weeks and the full allowance of credits.

WORKSHOP SECTIONS

Dan W. Dodson, *Co-ordinator*

Edward Williams, *Assistant to the Co-ordinator*

199.21 (125.249). CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RELATIONS EDUCATION. Visiting Associate Professor Partridge.

299.26. SOCIOLOGICAL BASES AND TECHNIQUES IN HUMAN RELATIONS EDUCATION. Visiting Assistant Professor Clark.

299.35. ART IN THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY. Mr. Montgomery.

299.37. GROUP DYNAMICS IN HUMAN RELATIONS. Dr. Beauchamp.

299.43. HUMAN RELATIONS CURRICULUM CONSTRUCTION FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS. Mrs. Hayden.

399.13, 14. CLINICAL SEMINAR IN HUMAN RELATIONS EDUCATION. Professor Giles.

399.3, 4. THESIS SEMINAR IN HUMAN RELATIONS. Professor Dodson.

The sections *do not meet Group A* requirements. If such credit is desired, the student should obtain a substitution blank with the signature of chairman of the department concerned before registering. Sections meet *Group B* requirements only if signatures are obtained from general and special advisers.

LEADERS AND CONSULTANTS

Dan W. Dodson, A.B., A.M., Ph.D.
Co-ordinator of Summer Workshop; Professor of Education, New York University; Director of Curriculum and Research, Center for Human Relations Studies; Managing Editor of *The Journal of Educational Sociology;* Executive Director of the Mayor's Committee on Unity, New York City, 1944-1948.

Mary Beauchamp, Ph.D.
Assistant Director of the Center for Field Services, Department of Administration and Supervision, School of Education, New York University; formerly curriculum consultant, Pasadena and Minneapolis.

Kenneth M. Clark, A.B., M.S., Ph.D.
Visiting Assistant Professor of Education, New York University; Assistant Professor of Social Psychology, College of the City of New York; Associate Director, North Side Center for Child Development.

Harry H. Giles, A.B., A.M., Ph.D.
Director of the Center for Human Relations Studies, New York Universiey; Professor of Education, New York University; formerly Director of the Bureau for Intercultural Education; specialist in curriculum and methods.

Miriam A. Hayden, A.B., A.M.
Lecturer on Education, New York University; Curriculum consultant, staff member, Center for Human Relations Studies; Co-ordinator, Somerville, New Jersey, Workshop in Human Relations; formerly staff member, workshops in Kansas City and Pasadena; developing curriculum for undergraduate course in human relations, Pratt Institute.

Chandler Montgomery, A.B., A.M.
Instructor in Education, New York University; formerly Adviser in Creative Activities, Public Schools of Winnetka, Illinois.

Deborah Cannon Partridge, B.S., A.M., Ed.D.
Visiting Associate Professor of Education, New York University; Assistant Professor of Education, Queens College, Flushing, New York; Secretary, Advisory Committee, Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth.

Edward Williams, A.M.
Assistant to the Co-ordinator of the Summer Workshop; Director of Physical Education, The New Lincoln School; formerly Director of Activities, 110th Street Community Center.

LOCATION: The New Lincoln School, Fifth Avenue at 110th Street, overlooking Central Park, provides excellent classroom and conference-room space, art workshops, and recreational facilities.

FEES: Tuition: $15.50 per point, plus $3.00 University fee and $5.00 laboratory fee for each section of the Workshop, payable to New York University.

For Further Information Write:

CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
Attention: Viola M. Falmetta
157 West 13th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

INTERSESSION 1952

299.50. ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP IN HUMAN RELATIONS. Admission only by permission of the instructor. Enrollment limited to 25 students. Professor Giles. 30 hours: 3 points.

9.30-12.30 (June 16-27)

An intensive workshop in human relations administration; primarily for administrators. Meets at the Center for Human Relations Studies, 157 West 13th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

199.1,2. INTRODUCTION TO HUMAN RELATIONS. Professor Dodson and Mrs. Hayden. 60 hours: 4 points.

9.30-12.30 (June 2-27)

An attempt is made to bring the latest findings of such fields as child development, anthropology, sociology, economics, and psychology to bear on human relations problems. Those problems of a more serious nature in our society, particularly those representing intergroup conflict, receive major emphasis. Techniques for dealing with intergroup tension are also surveyed. Meets in the School of Education, Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.

Human Rel Ed

TULANE UNIVERSITY

Announces

A series of lectures on

Human Relations In the United States

Fall and Winter, 1951 - 1952

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Evening Division

A course in the

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"Our nation today is confronted with enemies who would destroy us and those democratic values which are a source of inspiration and hope for mankind.

"To meet this challenge we must use all our human and natural resources. To do so requires that we be skilled in the art of human relations. Our enemies would divide and weaken us. They cannot be permitted to succeed.

"With the knowledge that sound human and inter-group relations are vital to democracy we shall devote ourselves to promote and to develop the kind of community where people can live and work in peace and harmony."

De Lesseps S. Morrison
Mayor of New Orleans

HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

A course in the ADULT LECTURE-DISCUSSION SERIES OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, evening division of TULANE UNIVERSITY. Eleven lectures, one and a half hour each week. Tuition, $9.00. Directed by Professor William L. Kolb with the assistance of Mr. Brant Coopersmith.

A Statement of Purpose

Most of us are interested in human and inter-group relations because of our attachment to the Judeo-Christian ethic of Brotherhood and to traditional American values. However, as leaders in our congregations, as teachers and as leaders in commerce and organizational life we often find a need for more facts concerning this vital and complex subject.

This course is designed to provide pertinent facts from an ever growing body of knowledge in the field of human relations to those who share the conviction that good human relations are essential to a good society.

Below are some of the items to be discussed in the course:

Peoples of the United States, cultural, religious and biological differences.

Legal, economic and cultural disabilities and discrimination.

Psychology of prejudice; prejudice as a cultural matter.

Pressures for prejudice; personality and prejudice; frustration and prejudice; the authoritarian personality.

Struggle for power and public policy; the political arena; law as a weapon; American Japanese and World War II; the hate groups and their leaders; prejudice and power.

The South, a regional case.

Social action groups and human relations; how New Orleans' organizations meet their problems.

Professor Kolb

PROFESSOR WILLIAM L. KOLB, professor and head of the Department of Sociology, Newcomb College. Professor Kolb received his educational training at Wisconsin University and the University of Miami. He was formerly a member of the faculty at Wisconsin University and Oklahoma A. and M.

MR. BRANT COOPERSMITH, local regional director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith, one of the principle human relations agencies in the United States. He has had wide practical experience in the field and has lectured frequently on the subject of human relations.

Registration for the course HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES will be conducted October 8 and 9, from 7:00 p. m. to 9:00 p. m. at Alcee Fortier Hall. The first lecture of the series will be presented on the evening of October 10, beginning at 7 o'clock.

"University College, in offering this course, has had the full support and cooperation of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Harry M. Wilson
Regional Director, NCCJ

"No greater need exists today than the need for good human relations in our complex society and I am delighted at this step aimed at that need."

Jacqueline T. Leonhard
President, Orleans Parish School Board

"In offering the course HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, University College is recognizing one of the major problems of our day and is contributing to tthe welfare of our community."

E. S. Lotspeich
Secretary, New Orleans Council of Churches

"The struggle against bigotry and prejudice must be supported by sound knowledge. The course HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES should be of great help to us in improving human and intergroup relations in New Orleans."

William J. Guste, Sr.
Chairman, Department of Public Welfare

"University College is to be congratulated in offering a course which will place 'know how' in human relations on the sound basis of scientific knowledge."

Rabbi Emil Leipziger
President, New Orleans Rabbinical Council

"It is to be hoped that a course like this will contribute to the practical solution of our human relations problems by pointing to the moral and religious foundations of such a solution, i. e., to the equality and interdependence of all mankind who have one and the same creator."

Msgr. Charles J. Plauche
Chancellor, Archdiocese of New Orleans

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Hum Rel Ed

UNIVERSITY of VIRGINIA Extension

ANNOUNCEMENT

Human Relations for Community Leaders

1953

FALL SEMESTER

Richmond Center

Vol. XXX March 1, 1953 No. 10

HUMAN RELATIONS FOR COMMUNITY LEADERS

Purpose

The intent of this workshop is to provide community leaders, school teachers, social workers, church personnel, and Sunday school staffs with the opportunity to study and analyze realistic, everyday problems concerning human relations. A general survey of inter-group problems and conflicts will be presented by the workshop leader. Major emphasis will be placed on determining methods and activities that community leaders may utilize in dealing with local or organizational frictions and tensions.

Program

Small group meetings will be a regular part of the program in order that participants may discuss problems and techniques of their particular professional concern. Various leaders from agencies that deal with aspects of human relations will visit the class, and groups working on specific problems may confer with them.

Audio-visual materials that are useful in the teaching of good human relations will be demonstrated and discussed. A special collection of reading materials on human relations will be an important part of the workshop.

The principal topics that will be considered in this series are:

1. Inter-group relations as they apply to race, nationality, religion, community status, and racio-economic groups.
2. Democratic values and human rights.
3. Facts about race.
4. The three major religious faiths in America: Judaism, Protestantism, Roman Catholicism.
5. Facts about social learning.
6. Psychology of prejudice.

7. Discrimination: Its history and the peoples it has touched; where it appears.

8. Discrimination: Techniques, practices, covenants, quotas and many others.

9-10. Planning for the future: an evaluation in terms of original goals and purposes; a summary of personal and group action.

Workshop Leader

Dr. John H. Marion, A. B., B. D., D. D., has been engaged in private research and writing which has dealt with the whole problems-area of human relations for almost a decade. His busy life has included pastorates in several churches; studies and travels abroad in Europe and Palestine; service as field correspondent to the Christian Century Magazine; active work in human relations as Director, Department of Christian Social Relations, Presbyterian Church, U. S.; contributor to the *Yale Review, Rotarian, Negro Digest,* and several religious publications; member, Board of Trustees, Mary Baldwin College; member, Board of Directors, *Presbyterian Outlook;* Pastor, Bon Air Presbyterian Church, Bon Air, Virginia.

Workshop Consultants

Several community leaders will visit the class to aid the workshop leader and the group. These include:

Theodore Freedman, Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith. Chairman, Workshop Planning Committee.

The Reverend C. Emerson Smith, Director, Department of Christian Social Relations, Virginia Council of Churches.

Father J. L. Flaherty, Chairman, Catholic Committee of the South.

The Reverend Robert S. Seiler, Director, Department of Christian Social Relations, Episcopal Diocese.

Joseph P. Murphy, Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Wiley Hall, Executive Secretary, Richmond Urban League.

Scholarships

A limited number of scholarships, covering the tuition costs of the workshop, are available to qualified persons. For information write directly to the UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA EXTENSION DIVISION, RICHMOND CENTER, ONE WEST MAIN STREET, RICHMOND 20, or phone 7-1179.

General Information

As it may be necessary to limit the workshop enrollment, interested persons are urged to phone 7-1179 and have their names placed on a reservation list.

Persons may register for the workshop September 21-22-23-24, 7:00-9:00 P.M., Thomas Jefferson High School, 4100 West Grace Street.

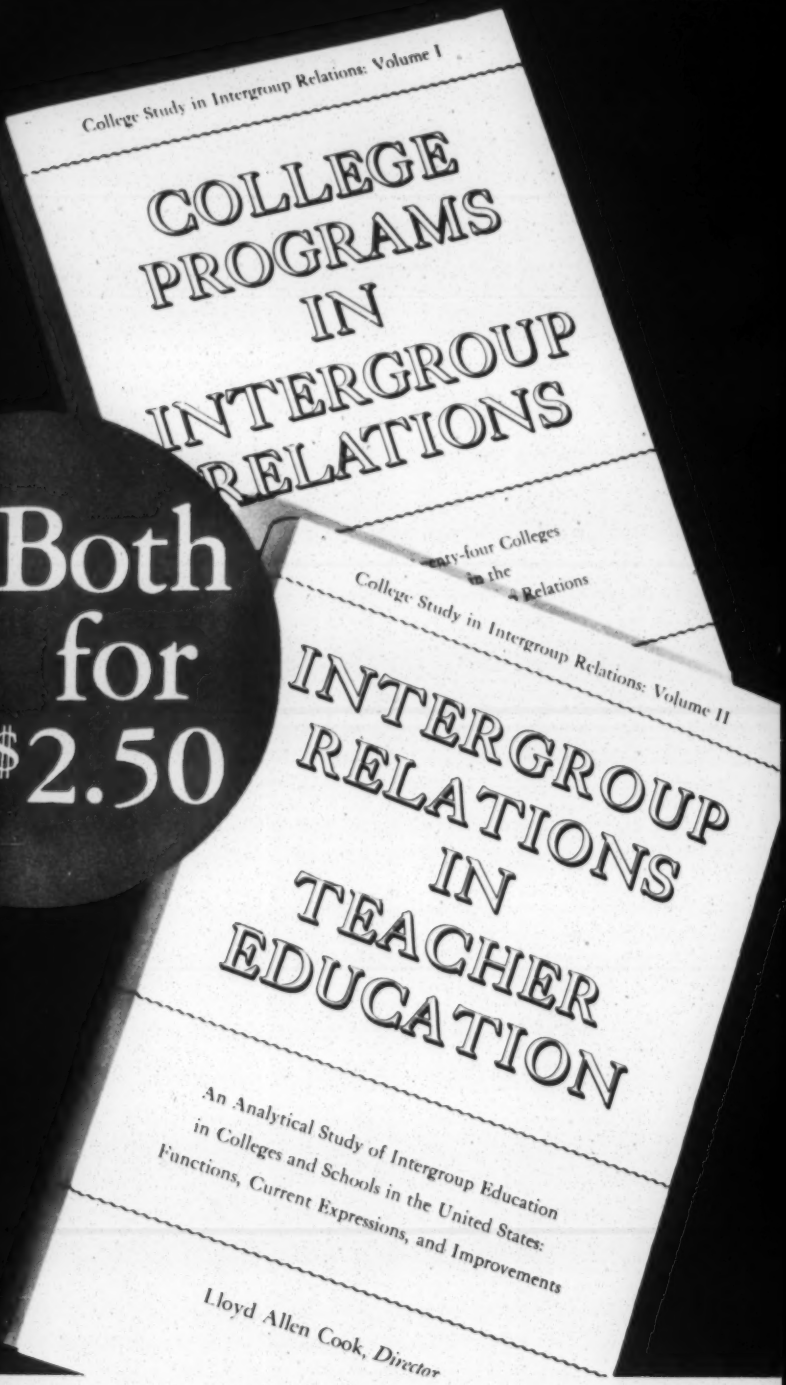
The workshop begins September 29, and meets each Tuesday evening, 7:30 to 9:30 P.M., for a period of ten weeks, at Thomas Jefferson High School.

Tuition fee: $10.00. Checks should be made payable to: BURSAR, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

University of Virginia Extension

Published monthly in October, November, December, January, February and March, and semi-monthly in August and September at Charlottesville, Va.

Entered as second-class matter October 16, 1923, at the Post Office at Charlottesville, Virginia, under Act of August 24, 1912.



Both for $2.50

This 2-volume report of a four-year experimental project carried on by 24 teacher-training institutions goes to the heart of conflicts and problems of minority groups. More than 200 concrete projects described.

PUBLISHED BY

American Council on Education

What Are Colleges and Schools Doing in Intergroup Relations?

THIS IS the question that 24 colleges, selected as a national sample, plus their cooperating schools and community agencies sought to answer in a four-year (1945-49) experimental study.

The colleges in this national Study developed their "study-action" and teacher-training programs around three interrelated purposes.

1) **To determine the role of race, creed, national origins and social class in child and adult life**

2) **To assess the effects of these factors and influences on child personality, group life and school progress**

3) **To plan in school and outside preventive and remedial educational programs**

Volume I, *College Programs in Intergroup Relations,* describes concrete college, school and community studies and programs. Each college group has written its own chapter; editor contributes introductory and concluding sections. Chapters are factual, lively, and suggestive, providing study aims, procedures and teaching plans that other colleges can follow.

Volume II, *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education,* is analytical, treating the 4-year Study as an experience to be appraised. Content is cast in the framework of intergroup relations in the nation today, fusing College Study and other data into a general picture of education's present efforts in this field of human relations.

The concrete cases used as illustrations of basic educational approaches to the reduction of prejudice and discrimination should prove useful to teachers and guidance workers in handling their practical change-problems in human relations. Both books should be read as one over-all report.

AUSPICES AND SUPPORT

The College Study in Intergroup Relations was a project of the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education of the American Council on Education. It was financed by a grant from the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The Study was directed by Lloyd Allen Cook of Wayne University, editor and author of the two-volume report.

Volume I

COLLEGE PROGRAMS IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

PART I: INTRODUCTION

1. Organizing the College Study

PART II: CONCRETE COLLEGE PROGRAMS

2. Albany's Intergroup Projects
3. The Group Relations Program at Trenton
4. West Virginia Educates for Community Participation
5. Intergroup Processes at City College
6. Marshall College, University of Pittsburgh, and Springfield College
7. Intergroup Education at Central Michigan College
8. Analysis and Change of Attitudes at Moorhead
9. Roosevelt, a College Dedicated to Equality
10. Human Relations at Wayne University
11. Eau Claire, Milwaukee, and Ohio State
12. Florida's Concern for Human Relations
13. Group Study and Action Projects at Atlanta
14. Intergroup Relations at Lynchburg College
15. Talladega Stresses Direct Action
16. College, School, and Community at Greeley
17. San Francisco Makes a Basic Self-Survey
18. Warrensburg, San Marcos, Tempe, and Denver

PART III: CONCLUSIONS

19. Some Learnings and Implications

xviii + 365 pages, Cloth $1.50

Volume II

INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN TEACHER EDUCATION

PART I: GENERAL ORIENTATION

1. Nature of Intergroup Education

PART II: PREJUDICE AND ITS REDUCTION

2. Prejudice: Nature and Development
3. Pre- and In-Service Teacher Views and Values
4. Changing Learners by Means of Academic Instruction
5. Group-Process Teaching: Cases and Theory
6. Community Education and Coordination

PART III: IMPROVING TEACHER-LEADER TRAINING

7. The College Study as In-Service Training
8. Leader Training in Centers and Workshops
9. Strategy and Tactics in Community Planning

PART IV: IN POINT OF EMPHASIS

10. A Viewpoint toward Intergroup Education

xv + 271 pages, Cloth $1.50

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Human Rights

April 7, 1953

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE PRESIDENT TODAY SENT THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT THE OPENING OF ITS SESSION APRIL 7, 1953, IN GENEVA

I am asking Mrs. Oswald B. Lord, the new Representative of the United States on the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, to express to the Commission my deep personal interest in its work. In these days of international tension and strain, it is encouraging to know that the members of the Commission on Human Rights are working to develop effective programs to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms for all people and all nations throughout the world.

The United Nations Charter states the human rights goals which the United States and the other Members of the United Nations have pledged themselves to achieve in cooperation with the United Nations--the promotion of universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

For the people of the United States as well as for people everywhere, the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a significant beacon in the steady march toward achieving human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

People everywhere are seeking freedom -- freedom to live, freedom from arbitrary restraint, freedom to think and speak as they wish, freedom to seek and find the truth. We must press ahead to broaden the areas of freedom. The United States is convinced that freedom is an indispensable condition to the achievement of a stable peace.

Unfortunately, in too many areas of the world today there is subjugation of peoples by totalitarian governments which have no respect for the dignity of the human person. This denial of the freedom of peoples, the continued disregard of human rights, is a basic cause of instability and discontent in the world today.

For these reasons, the work of the Commission on Human Rights assumes greater importance and meaning. For these reasons also, there is need for a new approach to the development of a human rights conscience in all areas of the world. I have accordingly asked Mrs. Lord to present positive UN action programs to the Commission which we feel will contribute to that recognition of human rights and fundamental freedoms which people are seeking throughout the world.

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STATEMENT BY MRS. LORD BEFORE THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
IN GENEVA, APRIL 8, 1953

As this is the first occasion in which I have had the privilege of serving in the Commission on Human Rights, I hope you will permit me to make a few general remarks about the agenda. I am happy to be a member of this Commission and to join with you in the vital task of helping to advance the cause of freedom. I accepted this appointment from the President of the United States because I personally am convinced of the importance of promoting respect for human rights through international cooperation.

At the very outset of our work, I wish to assure you that the United States Government continues to support wholeheartedly the promotion of respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Both President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles have spoken to me personally about their deep concern that the United Nations move steadily forward toward the goals laid down in the Charter.

In order to assure steady progress toward those goals, the Government of the United States is suggesting a new and urgent approach to the promotion of human rights, to take account of changed conditions in the world. Today, disregard of the basic principles of human rights is widespread and fundamental freedoms are denied peoples in many areas.

Under these circumstances, the world does not yet appear ready for a treaty of such comprehensive scope as the proposed covenants on human rights. We need to work together immediately to develop a higher moral sense of human rights values in all areas of the world. For that reason, the United States is urging that this Commission give immediate consideration to the development of human rights action programs.

The Commission on Human Rights already has made an outstanding contribution to the constructive achievements of the United Nations. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights stands as a major landmark of progress in this difficult field. It is with understandable pride that I participate in this Commission, where our two past chairmen, Mrs. Roosevelt and Mr. Malik, and their colleagues have brought intelligence and skill to bear upon some of the most challenging problems of our times.

The agenda of the Commission clearly falls into two distinct parts: the completion of the draft covenants and the consideration of a wide range of other matters.

The General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council have asked that the Commission complete the drafting of the covenants. This task will necessarily occupy a considerable portion of our time; but perhaps, if we could set May 1 as a target date for completing the remaining portions of the two covenants, we need not devote more than half of our session to this task.

Since the completion of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the Commission has been entirely engrossed in the drafting of the proposed covenants on human rights. As discussions have proceeded on the covenants, it begins to appear that they are not receiving the acceptance which had been initially anticipated and that they will not be ratified as widely as had been hoped. The climate of world opinion does not yet seem favorable to the conclusion of the covenants in the United Nations. The covenants will not have the expected effectiveness in the field of human rights. For these reasons, my Government has concluded that in the present stage of international relations it would not ratify the covenants.

Inasmuch as the United States is a loyal member of the United Nations, its delegation will continue to collaborate in the drafting of these covenants

and to make suggestions for improving them. The Covenants will be looked upon as a more precise and definitive statement of the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, irrespective of their ratification or non-ratification. My Government hopes that there will be a time when human rights will be sufficiently respected in fact and when a human rights conscience will be sufficiently developed throughout the world so that a codification of the then prevailing principles will be worthwhile. When and if such a time comes the United States may give consideration to the ratification of a covenant on human rights, and for that reason we are concerned with the drafting of the covenants now so that they will be in the most acceptable form and will require the least possible change if they are used as a model for future treaties.

It seems increasingly important, therefore, that alternative and more effective and acceptable ways be devised by the Commission to achieve the goals of the Charter for the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The remaining part of our agenda contains a large number of items not related to the draft covenants. The United States delegation endorses the listing on the provisional agenda and the order of that listing. At the appropriate time, however, I shall suggest that some of these items be given priority. A number of these items are of the utmost significance and deserve our most earnest consideration. It is for this reason that I hope that perhaps the last half of our session might be devoted to programs of practical action.

It is the view of the United States Government that the guiding principle for the work of the Commission should be to find the surest and speediest methods of raising the level of practice around the world in the observance of human rights. This would require that we initiate a number of action programs. I shall be prepared to make detailed proposals about such action programs in connection with specific agenda items. For the present I should like merely to outline the three principal proposals which my Government wishes me to submit to the Commission.

First, we will propose that the Commission institute a study of various aspects of human rights throughout the world. The Commission could undertake this with the assistance of a rapporteur. The rapporteur would consult with non-governmental organizations as well as governments and the specialized agencies for relevant data to submit to the Commission. The report of the rapporteur would be considered in the Commission, which might then make general recommendations concerning the subject under discussion. Two subjects that might well be considered first are freedom of religion and the right to a fair trial.

Second, we will propose that annual reports on developments in the field of human rights be prepared by each member Government with the assistance of a national advisory committee. These reports would be considered in the Commission at the same time as the study of the proposed rapporteur would be submitted.

Third, we will propose that the United Nations establish advisory services on specific aspects of human rights along the lines of the advisory services now being provided in the economic, social, and public administration fields. These services would be in the form of experts going to countries requesting the services, scholarships and fellowships being provided for training abroad, and arrangements for seminars.

These are action programs that the Commission can undertake now. There is no need for the Commission to limit itself to the drafting of covenants on human rights, which in any event will have limited applicability. The

MORE

Commission should give more of its attention to constructive programs which can be initiated without delay in the United Nations for the promotion of the human rights principles of the Charter. Indeed, it will be greatly to the advantage of the Commission itself if it can at this session begin work on some of these affirmative tasks even before the covenants are considered by the General Assembly. In this way the Commission could mark out the basic lines of its future action programs and establish firmly its position in this field.

With all these potential programs for immediate action at this session of the Commission, I think that you can appreciate my view that we should reserve adequate time for the consideration of these later items.

It is my earnest hope that the work of this session will be successful, especially in the launching of new programs that will contribute effectively to the safeguarding of human liberty.

* * * * * *

LETTER FROM SECRETARY DULLES TO MRS. LORD

April 3, 1953

My dear Mrs. Lord:

As you leave for Geneva to represent the United States at the Ninth Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the best wishes of our Government and of the American people go with you. The President and I are anxious that you carry a personal message to the Commission.

We believe that the American people are determined to do all within their power to make the United Nations an increasingly vigorous instrument of international order and justice. It is our earnest wish that the United Nations become an ever more effective agency for promoting, in the words of the Charter, "respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

The United States stands for full and complete enjoyment of these fundamental rights. The whole American philosophy of government is based on the conviction that man was endowed with these rights by his Creator and that they are inalienable. This conviction is expressed at many points in the legal structure of our national and state governments and is most clearly set forth in the Declaration of Independence and in the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States.

Our history demonstrates that nationwide observance of fundamental human rights did not spring into being upon the enactment of statutes. In the years that have intervened between the ratification of the Bill of Rights and the present, we in the United States have made important advances. Through education and publicity, we have developed a human rights conscience which is perhaps the strongest factor in the progress we have made. In its most recent report to the United Nations for publication in the agency's Yearbook on Human Rights, the Government of this country has submitted detailed evidence of the progress recorded in a single year. We intend that these advances shall continue.

Moreover, our Government has noted with satisfaction the improvements in the observance of human rights which have taken place in other countries; but it has noted as well that much remains to be done. We recognize that injustices occur to a greater or lesser degree in all countries, including our own. They cannot be overcome in a day. We must work to eliminate them.

In the light of our national, and recently, international experience in the matter of human rights, the opening of a new session of the Commission on Human Rights appears an appropriate occasion for a fresh appraisal of the methods through which we may realize the human rights goals of the United Nations. These goals have a high place in the Charter as drafted at San Francisco and were articulated in greater detail in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at Paris in 1948.

Since the establishment of these goals, much time and effort has been expended on the drafting of treaties, that is, Covenants on Human Rights, in which it was sought to frame, in mutually acceptable legal form, the obligations to be assumed by national states in regard to human rights. We have found that such drafts of Covenants as had a reasonable chance of acceptance in some respects established standards lower than those now observed in a number of countries.

Mrs. Oswald B. Lord,
United States Representative to the
Commission on Human Rights.

While

While the adoption of the Covenants would not compromise higher standards already in force, it seems wiser to press ahead in the United Nations for the achievement of the standards set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights through ways other than the proposed Covenants on Human Rights. This is particularly important in view of the likelihood that the Covenants will not be as widely accepted by United Nations members as initially anticipated. Nor can we overlook the fact that the areas where human rights are being persistently and flagrantly violated are those where the Covenants would most likely be ignored.

In these circumstances, there is a grave question whether the completion, signing and ratification of the Covenants at this time is the most desirable method of contributing to human betterment particularly in areas of greatest need. Furthermore, experience to date strongly suggests that even if it be assumed that this is a proper area for treaty action, a wider general acceptance of human rights goals must be attained before it seems useful to codify standards of human rights as binding international legal obligations in the Covenants.

With all these considerations in mind, the United States Government asks you to present to the Commission on Human Rights at its forthcoming session a statement of American goals and policies in this field; to point out the need for reexamining the approach of the Human Rights Covenants as the method for furthering at this time the objectives of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and to put forward other suggestions of method, based on American experience, for developing throughout the world a human rights conscience which will bring nearer the goals stated in the Charter. In making such suggestions, I am sure you will want to give special weight to the value of bringing the facts to the light of day, to the value of common discussion of problems in the international forum of the Commission on Human Rights, and to the value of each country drawing on the experience of other countries for inspiration and practical guidance in solving its own problems.

We recognize that in presenting to the Commission a change in approach, extended discussion will be required in the Commission and later in the Economic and Social Council and General Assembly as well. By reason of the considerations referred to above, the United States Government has reached the conclusion that we should not at this time become a party to any multilateral treaty such as those contemplated in the draft Covenants on Human Rights, and that we should now work toward the objectives of the Declaration by other means. While the Commission continues, under the General Assembly's instructions, with the drafting of the Covenants, you are, of course, expected to participate. This would be incumbent on the United States as a loyal Member of the United Nations.

Through the agency of the United Nations and its powerful moral influence, much has been and can be accomplished. Example and education can exert powerful influence. The United Nations can also play an important part, through health, welfare, and other technical assistance programs, in raising standards of living throughout the world and bringing a full life to millions of persons who struggle merely to exist. The removal of restraints on the rights of expression and association can release the creative energies of the human spirit.

Firm in our belief that the United Nations is the most hopeful and effective means of bringing about world peace and of promoting the welfare of mankind throughout the earth, the United States Government will support your every effort to these ends.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

* * *

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16 - Human Rights

DRAFT ARTICLES

FOR AN

INTERNATIONAL DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

AND AN

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

As Approved by the

United Nations Commission on Human Rights

at its Second Session in Geneva

December, 1947

(U. N. doc. E/600, Dec. 17, 1947)

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Compiled by the Office of Public Affairs
Department of State

DRAFT INTERNATIONAL DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Article 1

All men are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed by nature with reason and conscience, and should act towards one another like brothers.

Article 2

In the exercise of his rights everyone is limited by the rights of others and by the just requirements of the democratic State. The individual owes duties to society through which he is enabled to develop his spirit, mind and body in wider freedom.

Article 3

1. Every one is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, (which includes colour), sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, property status, or national or social origin.

2. All are equal before the law regardless of office or status and entitled to equal protection of the law against any arbitrary discrimination, or against any incitement to such discrimination, in violation of this Declaration.

Article 4

Every one has the right to life, to liberty and security of person.

Article 5

No one shall be deprived of his personal liberty or kept in custody except in cases prescribed by law and after due process. Every one placed under arrest or detention shall have the right to immediate judicial determination of the legality of any detention to which he may be subject and to trial within a reasonable time or to release.

Article 6

Every one shall have access to independent and impartial tribunals in the determination of any criminal charge against him, and of his rights and obligations. He shall be entitled to a fair hearing of his case and to have the aid of a qualified representative of his own choice, and if he appears in person to have the procedure explained to him in a manner in which he can understand it and to use a language which he can speak.

Article 7

Article 7

1. Any person is presumed to be innocent until proved guilty. No one shall be convicted or punished for crime or other offence except after fair public trial at which he has been given all guarantees necessary for his defence. No person shall be held guilty of any offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute such an offence at the time when it was committed, nor shall he be liable to any greater punishment than that prescribed for such offence by the law in force at the time when the offence was committed.

2. Nothing in this Article shall prejudice the trial and punishment of any person for the commission of any act which, at the time it was committed, was criminal according to the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations.

3. No one shall be subjected to torture, or to cruel or inhuman punishment or indignity.

Article 8

Slavery, in all its forms, being inconsistent with the dignity of man, shall be prohibited by law.

Article 9

Every one shall be entitled to protection under law from unreasonable interference with his reputation, his privacy and his family. His home and correspondence shall be inviolable.

Article 10

1. Subject to any general law not contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and adopted for specific reasons of security or in general interest, there shall be liberty of movement and free choice of residence within the border of each State.

2. Individuals shall have the right to leave their own country and, if they so desire, to acquire the nationality of any country willing to grant it.

Article 11

Every one shall have the right to seek and be granted asylum from persecution. This right will not be accorded to criminals nor to those whose acts are contrary to the principles and aims of the United Nations.

Article 12

Article 12

Every one has the right everywhere in the world to recognition as a person before the law and to the enjoyment of fundamental civil rights.

Article 13

1. The family deriving from marriage is the natural and fundamental unit of society. Men and women shall have the same freedom to contract marriage in accordance with the law.

2. Marriage and the family shall be protected by the State and Society.

Article 14

1. Every one has the right to own property in conformity with the laws of the State in which such property is located.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 15

Every one has the right to a nationality.

All persons who do not enjoy the protection of any government shall be placed under the protection of the United Nations. This protection shall not be accorded to criminals nor to those whose acts are contrary to the principles and aims of the United Nations.

Article 16

1. Individual freedom of thought and conscience, to hold and change beliefs is an absolute and sacred right.

2. Every person has the right, either alone or in community with other persons of like mind and in public or private, to manifest his beliefs in worship, observance, teaching and practice.

(Concerning the following two Article, 17 and 18, the Commission decided not to elaborate a final text until it had before it the views of the Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of the Press and of the International Conference on Freedom of Information.)*

(Article 17

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*The Subcommission on Freedom of Information and of the Press at its second session (held in January, 1948, subsequent to the publication of the report of the second session of the Commission on Human Rights)

Continued in footnote on following page -

(Article 17)

(1. Every one is free to express and impart opinions, or to receive and seek information and the opinion of others from sources wherever situated.)

(2. No person may be interfered with on account of his opinions.)

(Article 18)

(There shall be freedom of expression either by word, in writing, in the press, in books or by visual, auditive or other means. There shall be equal access to all channels of communication.)

Article 19

Every one has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and to participate in local, national and international associations for purposes of a political, economic, religious, social, cultural, trade union or any other character, not inconsistent with this Declaration.

Article 20

Every one has the right, either individually, or in association with others, to petition or to communicate with the public authorities of the State of which he is a national or in which he resides, or with the United Nations.

Article 21

Every one without discrimination has the right to take an effective part in the Government of his country. The State shall conform to the will of the people as manifested by elections which shall be periodic, free, fair and by secret ballot.

Article 22

1. Every one shall have equal opportunity to engage in public employment and to hold public office in the State of which he is a citizen or a national.

2. Access to public employment shall not be a matter of privilege or favour.

Article 23

(Continued from page 3)
recommended the following article in substitution for Articles 17 and 18 of the Declaration:

> Every one shall have the right to freedom of thought and expression: this shall include freedom to hold opinions without interference; and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas by any means and regardless of frontiers. (U.N. Doc. E/CN.4/80, Feb. 6, 1948, p. 4.)

Article 23

1. Every one has the right to work.

2. The State has a duty to take such measures as may be within its power to ensure that all persons ordinarily resident in its territory have an opportunity for useful work.

3. The State is bound to take all necessary steps to prevent unemployment.

Article 24

1. Every one has the right to receive pay commensurate with his ability and skill, to work under just and favourable conditions and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests in securing a decent standard of living for himself and his family.

2. Women shall work with the same advantages as men and receive equal pay for equal work.

Article 25

Every one without distinction as to economic and social conditions has the right to the preservation of his health through the highest standard of food, clothing, housing and medical care which the resources of the State or community can provide. The responsibility of the State and community for the health and safety of its people can be fulfilled only by provision of adequate health and social measures.

Article 26

1. Every one has the right to social security. The State has a duty to maintain or ensure the maintenance of comprehensive measures for the security of the individual against the consequence of unemployment, disability, old age and all other loss of livelihood for reasons beyond his control.

2. Motherhood shall be granted special care and assistance. Children are similarly entitled to special care and assistance.

Article 27

Every one has the right to education. Fundamental education shall be free and compulsory. There shall be equal access for higher education as can be provided by the State or community on the basis of merit and without distinction as to race, sex, language, religion, social standing, financial means, or political affiliation.

Article 28

Article 28

Education will be directed to the full physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual development of the human personality, to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and to the combating of the spirit of intolerance and hatred against other nations or racial or religious groups everywhere.

Article 29

1. Every one has the right to rest and leisure.

2. Rest and leisure should be ensured to every one by laws or contracts providing in particular for reasonable limitations on working hours and for periodic vacations with pay.

Article 30

Every one has the right to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in the benefits that result from scientific discoveries.

(Article 31)

(The Commission did not take a decision on the two texts below. They are reproduced here for further consideration.)

(Text proposed by the Drafting Committee:)

(In States inhabited by a substantial number of persons of a race, language or religion other than those of the majority of the population, persons belonging to such ethnic, linguistic or religious minorities shall have the right, as far as compatible with public order, to establish and maintain schools and cultural or religious institutions, and to use their own language in the press, in public assembly and before the courts and other authorities of the State.)

(Text proposed by the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities:)

(In States inhabited by well-defined ethnic, linguistic or religious groups which are clearly distinguished from the rest of the population, and which want to be accorded differential treatment, persons belonging to such groups shall have the right, as far as is compatible with public order and security, to establish and maintain their schools and cultural or religious institutions, and to use their own language and script in the press, in public assembly and before the courts and other authorities of the State, if they so choose.)

Article 32

Article 32

All laws in any State shall be in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations as embodied in the Charter, insofar as they deal with human rights.

Article 33

Nothing in this Declaration shall be considered to recognize the right of any State or person to engage in any activity aimed to the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms prescribed herein.

DRAFT INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

PART I

Article 1

The States parties hereto declare that they recognize the principles set forth in Part II hereof as being among the human rights and fundamental freedoms founded on the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations.

Article 2

Every State, party hereto, undertakes to ensure:

(a) that its laws secure to all persons under its jurisdiction, whether citizens, persons of foreign nationality or stateless persons, the enjoyment of these human rights and fundamental freedoms;

(b) that such laws, respecting these human rights and fundamental freedoms, conform with the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;

(c) that any person whose rights or freedoms are violated shall have an effective remedy, notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity;

(d) that such remedies shall be enforceable by a judiciary whose independence is secured; and

(e) that its police and executive officers shall act in support of the enjoyment of these rights and freedoms.

Article 3

On receipt of a request to this effect from the Secretary-General of the United Nations made under the authority of a resolution of the General Assembly, the Government of any party to this Covenant shall supply an explanation as to the manner in which the law of that State gives effect to any of the provisions of this Covenant.

Article 4

1. In time of war or other public emergency, a State may take measures derogating from its obligations under Article 2 above to the extent strictly limited by the exigencies of the situation.

2. Any

2. Any State party hereto availing itself of this right of derogation shall inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations fully of the measures which it has thus enacted and the reasons therefor. It shall also inform him as and when the measures cease to operate and the provisions of Article 2 are being fully executed.

PART II

Article 5

It shall be unlawful to deprive any person of his life save in the execution of the sentence of a court following his conviction of a crime for which this penalty is provided by law.

Article 6

It shall be unlawful to subject any person to any form of physical mutilation or medical or scientific experimentation against his will.

Article 7

No person shall be subjected to torture or to cruel or inhuman punishment or to cruel or inhuman indignity.

Article 8

1. No person shall be held in slavery or servitude.

2. No person shall be required to perform forced or compulsorylabour in any form other than labour exacted as a punishment for crime of which the person concerned has been convicted by due process of law.

3. For the purposes of this Article, the term "forced or compulsory labour" shall not include:

(a) any service of a purely military character, or service of a non-military character in the case of conscientious objectors, exacted in virtue of compulsory military service laws;

(b) any service exacted in cases of emergency created by fire, flood, famine, earthquake, violent epidemic or epizootic disease, invasion by animals, insect or vegetable pests, or similar calamities or other emergencies threatening the life or well-being of the community;

(c) any minor communal services considered as normal civic obligations incumbent upon the members of the community, provided that these obligations have been accepted by the members of the community concerned directly or through their directly elected representatives.

Article 9

Article 9

1. No person shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention.

2. No person shall be deprived of his liberty save in the case of:

(a) the arrest of a person effected for the purpose of bringing him before a court on a reasonable suspicion of having committed a crime or which is reasonably considered to be immediately necessary to prevent his committing a crime;

(b) the lawful arrest and detention of a person for non-compliance with the lawful order or decree of a court;

(c) the lawful detention of a person sentenced after conviction to deprivation of liberty;

(d) the lawful detention of persons of unsound mind;

(e) the parental or quasi-parental custody of minors;

(f) the lawful arrest and detention of a person to prevent his effecting an unauthorized entry into the country;

(g) the lawful arrest and detention of aliens against whom deportation proceedings are pending.

3. Any person who is arrested shall be informed promptly of the charges against him. Any person who is arrested under the provisions of sub-paragraphs (a) of (b) of paragraph 2 of this Article shall be brought promptly before a judge, and shall be tried within a reasonable time or released.

4. Every person who is deprived of his liberty shall have an effective remedy in the nature of "habeas corpus" by which the lawfulness of his detention shall be decided speedily by a court and his release ordered if the detention is not lawful.

5. Every person shall have an enforceable right to compensation in respect of any unlawful arrest or deprivation of liberty.

Article 10

No person shall be imprisoned or held in servitude in consequence of the mere breach of a contractual obligation.

Article 11

Article 11

1. Subject to any general law not contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and adopted for specific reasons of security or in the general interest, there shall be liberty of movement and free choice of residence within the borders of each state.

2. Any person who is not subject to any lawful deprivation of liberty or to any outstanding obligations with regard to national service shall be free to leave any country including his own.

Article 12

No alien legally admitted to the territory of a State shall be arbitrarily expelled therefrom.

Article 13

1. In the determination of any criminal charge against him or of any of his civil rights or obligations, every person is entitled to a fair hearing before an independent and impartial tribunal and to the aid of a qualified representative of his own choice.

2. No person shall be convicted or punished for crime except after public trial.

Article 14

No person shall be held guilty of any offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute such an offence at the time when it was committed, nor shall he be liable to any greater punishment than that prescribed for such offence by the law in force at the time when the offence was committed.

2. Nothing in this Article shall prejudice the trial and punishment of any person for the commission of any act which, at the time it was committed, was criminal according to the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations.

Article 15

No person shall be deprived of his juridical personality.

Article 16

1. Every person shall have the right to freedom of religion, conscience and belief, including the right, either alone or in community with other persons of like mind, to hold and manifest any religious or other belief, to change his belief, and to practice any form of religious worship and observance, and he shall not be required to do any act which is contrary to such worship and observance.

2. Every

2. Every person of full age and sound mind shall be free, either alone or in a community with other persons of like mind, to give and receive any form of religious teaching, and in the case of a minor the parent or guardian shall be free to determine what religious teaching he shall receive.

3. The above rights and freedoms shall be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public order and welfare, morals and the rights and freedoms of others.

(Article 17)

(The Commission decided not to elaborate a final text on this Article until it had before it the views of the Sub-Commission on the Freedom of Information and of the Press and of the International Conference on Freedom of Information. The texts reproduced below have been proposed by the Drafting Committee and by the Representative of the United States respectively.)*

(Text

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*The Subcommission on Freedom of Information and of the Press at its second session (held in January, 1948, subsequent to the publication of the report of the second session of the Commission on Human Rights) recommended the following article in substitution for Article 17:

1. Every person shall have the right to freedom of thought and expression without interference by governmental action: this right shall include freedom to hold opinions, to seek, receive and impart information and ideas, regardless of frontiers, either orally, by written or printed matter, in the form of art, or by legally operated visual or auditory devices.

2. The right to freedom of expression carries with it duties and responsibilities. Penalties, liabilities or restrictions limiting this right may therefore be imposed for causes which have been clearly defined by law, but only with regard to:

(a) matters which must remain secret in the vital interests of the State;

(b) expressions which incite persons to alter by violence the system of government;

(c) expressions which directly incite persons to commit criminal acts;

(d) expressions which are obscene;

Continued in footnote on page 6

(Text proposed by the Drafting Committee:)

(1. Every person shall be free to express and publish his ideas orally, in writing, in the form of art or otherwise.)

(2. Every person shall be free to receive and disseminate information of all kinds, including facts, critical comment and ideas, by the medium of books, newspapers, oral instructions or any other lawfully operated device.)

(3. The freedoms of speech and information referred to in the preceding paragraphs of this Article may be subject only to necessary restrictions, penalties or liabilities with regard to: matters which must remain secret in the interests of national safety; publications intended or likely to incite persons to alter by violence the system of Government, or to promote disorder or crime; obscene publications; (publications aimed at the suppression of human rights and fundamental freedoms); publications injurious to the independence of the judiciary or the fair conduct of legal proceedings; and expressions or publications which libel or slander the reputations of other persons.)

(Text proposed by the Representative of the United States:)

(Every one shall have the right to freedom of information, speech and expression. Every one shall be free to hold his opinion without molestation, to receive and seek information and the opinion of others from sources wherever situated, and to disseminate opinions and information, either by work, in writing, in the press, in books or by visual, auditive or other means.)

Article 18

(Continued from footnote on page 5)

(e) expressions injurious to the fair conduct of legal proceedings;

(f) expressions which infringe rights of literary and artistic property;

(g) expressions about other persons which defame their reputations or are otherwise injurious to them without benefiting the public.

Nothing in this paragraph shall prevent a State from establishing on reasonable terms a right of reply or a similar corrective remedy.

3. Previous censorship of written and printed matter, the radio and newsreels shall not exist.

4. Measures shall be taken to promote the freedom of information through the elimination of political, economic, technical and other obstacles which are likely to hinder the free flow of information. (U.N. Doc. E/CN.4/80. Feb. 6, 1948, p. 4)

Article 18

All persons shall have the right to assemble peaceably for any lawful purpose including the discussion of any matter on which under Article 17 any person has the right to express and publish his ideas. No restrictions shall be placed on the exercise of this right other than those necessary for:

(a) the protection of life or property;

(b) the prevention of disorders; or

(c) the prevention of the obstruction of traffic or the free movement of others.

Article 19

All persons shall be free to constitute associations, in whatever form may be appropriate under the law of the State, for the promotion and protection of their legitimate interests and of any other lawful object, including the dissemination of all information of which under Article 17 the dissemination is unrestricted. The rights and freedoms set forth in Articles 16 and 17 shall be enjoyed by such associations.

Article 20

Every person shall be entitled to the rights and freedoms set forth in this Covenant, without distinction as to race, (which includes colour), sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, property status, or national or social origin. Every person, regardless of office or status, shall be entitled to equal protection under the law against any arbitrary discrimination or against any incitement to such discrimination in violation of this Covenant.

Article 21

Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hostility that constitutes an incitement to violence shall be prohibited by the law of the State.

Article 22

Nothing in this Covenant shall be considered to give any person or State the right to engage in any activity aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms prescribed herein:

PART III

Article 23

1. This Covenant shall be open for accession to every State Member of the United Nations or party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice and to every other State which the General Assembly of the United Nations shall, by resolution, declare to be eligible.

2. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and as soon as two-thirds of the States Members of the United Nations have deposited such instruments the Covenant shall come into force between them. As regards any State which accedes thereafter, the Covenant shall come into force on the date of the deposit of its instrument of accession.

3. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall inform all members of the United Nations and the other States referred to in paragraph 1 above of the deposit of each instrument of accession.

Article 24

In the case of a Federal State, the following provisions shall apply:

(a) With respect to any Articles of this Covenant which the federal government regards as wholly or in part appropriate for federal action, the obligations of the federal governments shall, to this extent, be the same as those of parties which are not federal states;

(b) In respect of Articles which the federal government regards as appropriate under its constitutional system, in whole or in part, for action by the constituent States, Provinces or Cantons, the federal government shall bring such provisions, with a favourable recommendation, to the notice of the appropriate authorities of the States, Provinces or Cantons.

Article 25

1. This Covenant shall apply in respect of any colony or overseas territory of a State party hereto, or any territory subject to the suzerainty or protection of such State, or any territory in respect of which such State exercises a mandate or trusteeship, when that State has acceded on behalf and in respect of such colony or territory.

2. The State concerned shall, if necessary, seek the consent at the earliest possible moment of the governments of all such colonies and territories to this Covenant and accede on behalf and in respect of each such colony and territory immediately its consent has been obtained.

Article 26

Article 26

1. Amendments to this Covenant shall come into force when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the Members of the General Assembly of the United Nations and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the parties to this Covenant.

2. When such amendments come into force they shall be binding on those parties which have ratified them, leaving other parties still bound by the provisions of the Covenant which they have accepted by accession, including earlier amendments which they have ratified.

Article 27

In construing the Articles of this Covenant, the several Articles shall be regarded in their relation to each other.

16 - Human Rights

To Organization Leaders:

Attached is a copy of the International Declaration of Human Rights as approved by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights at its Third Session at Lake Success in May and June of 1948. Chairman of the Commission is the United States Representative, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

This Declaration is on the agenda of the UN Economic and Social Council for consideration at its Seventh Session in Geneva opening July 19, 1948. The Economic and Social Council will consider the Declaration and determine whether it will be forwarded to the General Assembly of the UN in Paris this fall.

The Declaration is not a legally binding document but a "common standard of achievement" as pointed out in its Preamble. The Commission on Human Rights is expected to meet again early in 1949 to proceed with the drafting of a Covenant on Human Rights which will include the basic civil rights set forth in the Declaration. The Covenant will be in the form of a treaty or international convention which will be legally binding on the countries which adhere to it.

Draft International Declaration of Human Rights

(as approved by the UN Commission on Human Rights at its Third Session at Lake Success on June 18, 1948)

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, and

WHEREAS disregard and contempt for human rights resulted, before and during the second world war, in barbarous acts which outraged the conscience of mankind and made it apparent that the fundamental freedoms were one of the supreme issues of the conflict, and

WHEREAS it is essential, if mankind is not to be compelled as a last resort to rebel against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by a regime of law, and

WHEREAS the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter determined to re-affirm faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom; and

WHEREAS Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the Organization, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms; and

WHEREAS a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now therefore the General Assembly

PROCLAIMS this Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the population of Member States themselves and among the population of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed by nature with reason and conscience, and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, property or other status, or national or social origin.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

1. No one shall be held in slavery or involuntary servitude.

2. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 5

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 6

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement of such discrimination.

Article 7

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention.

Article 8

In the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him, everyone is

entitled in full equality to a fair hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal.

Article 9

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute an offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed.

Article 10

No one shall be subjected to unreasonable interference with his privacy, family, home correspondence or reputation.

Article 11

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own.

Article 12

1. Everyone has the right to seek and be granted, in other countries, asylum from persecution.

2. Prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations do not constitute persecution.

Article 13

No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality or denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 14

1. Men and women of full age have the right to marry and to found a family and are entitled to equal

rights as to marriage.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the full consent of both intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 16

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 17

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of assembly and association.

Article 19

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through his freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of access to public employment in his country.

3. Everyone has the right to a government which conforms to the will of the people.

Article 20

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to the realisation, through national effort and international cooperation, and in accordance with the organisation and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights set out below.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to work, to just and favourable conditions of work and pay and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone is free to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 22

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living, including food, clothing, housing and medical care, and to social services, adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family and to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Mother and child have the right to special care and assistance.

Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to education. Elementary and fundamental education shall be free and compulsory and there shall be equal access on the basis of merit to higher education.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of human personality, to strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and to combating the spirit of intolerance and hatred against other nations and against racial and religious groups everywhere.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure.

Article 25

Everyone has the right to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement.

Article 26

Everyone is entitled to a good social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set out in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 27

1. Everyone has duties to the community which enables him freely to develop his personality.

2. In the exercise of his rights, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are necessary to secure due recognition and respect for the rights of others and the requirements of morality, public order and general welfare in a democratic society.

Article 28

Nothing in this Declaration shall imply the recognition of the right of any State or person to engage in any activity aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms prescribed herein.

16 - Human Rights (New File)

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

RECEIVED
AUG 23
Southern Regional Council

In reply refer to
PL

August 20, 1948

To Organizations Interested in the International Covenant on Human Rights:

Enclosed is a copy of the draft International Covenant on Human Rights which was prepared by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights at its Second Session at Lake Success in May 1948. There are also enclosed documents relating to the implementation of the Covenant.

You will observe that the draft Covenant is in rough form, since it was prepared by the Drafting Committee of the Commission as a working paper only, with the expectation that the Commission would review it at its Third Session (May 24 to June 18, 1948). Since the entire time of the Commission at its four-weeks' Third Session was required for the completion of the draft International Declaration of Human Rights, unfortunately no time remained for the consideration of the Covenant.

The Commission at its Third Session recommended to the Economic and Social Council that the next session of the Commission be held early in 1949 for the completion of the Covenant and measures for its implementation.

In preparation for the next session of the Commission on Human Rights, the Department of State would appreciate receiving any views which your Organization may wish to submit with regard to the draft International Covenant on Human Rights and measures for its implementation.

At the next session of the Commission, one of the most pressing questions to be resolved concerning the Covenant is whether detailed limitations should be set forth in each article of the Covenant or whether detailed limitations should be omitted and instead a general overall limitation article should be included in the Covenant along the lines of the proposal submitted by the Representative of the United States under Article 4. This proposal reads: "The obligations imposed by Articles 1 and 2 shall not affect the right of States parties to this Covenant to take action reasonably necessary for the promotion of the general welfare. Such action may be taken only by or pursuant to law, in conformity with Article 20 hereof."

The United States expressed the view at the meetings of the Drafting Committee that detailed limitations should not be set forth in the Covenant but that instead there should be only one overall limitation article applicable to articles in the Covenant requiring limitations. It will be observed that specific limitations are not enumerated in the articles of the draft International Declarations of Human Rights but that instead Article 27 serves as an overall limitation on all the rights in the Declaration. A copy of the Declaration is also enclosed. As you know, after the Declaration was approved by the Commission on June 18, 1948, it was forwarded to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, where it is currently being discussed.

In a brief discussion concerning the implementation of the Covenant on the last day of the Third Session of the Commission, representatives of Chile, Egypt, Panama, the United Kingdom and Uruguay supported in general the principles of the proposal of China and the United States. Enclosed is a copy of this proposal (UN document E/CN.4/145) together with copies of other proposals on implementation submitted to the Third Session and extracts from the Summary Record of the 81st meeting of the Commission when implementation was discussed.

If your organization wishes to present its views to the Department concerning the draft Covenant and measures for its implementation, it is suggested that they be submitted prior to November 1, 1948.

Sincerely yours,

Francis H. Russell

Francis H. Russell
Director
Office of Public Affairs

Enclosures:

1. Draft International Covenant on Human Rights
2. Draft International Declaration of Human Rights
3. Extracts from Summary Record of the 81st meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. (UN document E/CN.4/SR81)
4. Proposal of China and United States on Implementation (UN document E/CN.4/145)
5. Amendment Proposed by India on Implementation (UN document E/CN.4/151)
6. Statement by India on Implementation (UN document E/CN.4/153)
7. Statement by Professor Cassin, Representative of France on Implementation (UN document E/CN.4/147)
8. French Proposal on Implementation (UN document E/CN.4/82/Add.10)
9. Australian Proposal for International Court of Human Rights
10. Statement by U.S.S.R. Delegation on Implementation (UN document E/CN.4/154)

DRAFT INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON HUMAN RIGHTS*

(prepared by the Drafting Committee on An International Bill of Human Rights, being Annex "B" of document E/CN.4/95 and Annex "B" of UN document E/800.)

PART I

PREAMBLE**

The States parties hereto, bearing in mind the general principles proclaimed in the United Nations Charter and in the Declaration of Human Rights, agree to give effect in this Covenant to certain of the principles specified in the Declaration, as follows:

Article 1

The States parties hereto declare that they recognize the rights and freedoms set forth in Part II hereof as being among the human rights and fundamental freedoms founded on the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations.

Article 2

Every State party hereto undertakes to ensure:

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* The Drafting Committee agreed to point out in its Report its view that the Covenant is not self-operative.

** It was agreed by the Drafting Committee that the ideas contained in this text should be included in a Preamble when one is written. It was also agreed to draw attention to the following text submitted by the representative of France: "The States parties hereto, being resolved to give effect to the general principles proclaimed in the United Nations Charter and specified in the International Declaration on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on _____, have agreed to conclude a preliminary convention, defining the practical scope of certain of these principles".

(a) through

(a) through adequate laws and procedures to all individuals within its jurisdiction, whether citizens, nationals, persons of foreign nationality or stateless persons, the rights and freedoms set forth in Part II of this Covenant, and further undertakes that such rights and freedoms where not now provided under existing laws and procedures be given effect in its domestic law through the adoption of appropriate laws and procedures;
(b) that any persons whose rights or freedoms as herein defined are violated shall have an effective remedy, notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity;
(c) that such remedy shall be enforceable by a judiciary whose independence is secured; and
(d) that the police and executive authorities shall act in support of the enjoyment of these rights and freedoms;

Article 3

(Note: The Drafting Committee decided not to consider the following Geneva text until articles on implementation had been drafted)*:

On receipt of a request to this effect from the Secretary-General of the United Nations made under the authority of a resolution of the General Assembly, the Governement of any party to this Covenant shall supply an explanation as to the manner in which the law of that State gives effect to any of the provisions of this Covenant.

Article 4

(No decision was made as to which of the following alternative texts was preferred.)

I. Text originally submitted by the Commission on Human Rights

1. In time of war or other public emergency, a State may take measures derogating from its obligations under Article 2 above to the extent strictly limited by the exigencies of the situation.
2. (Left over until implementation articles have been drafted.)

II. Text submitted by the Representative of the United States

The obligations imposed by Articles 1 and 2 shall not effect the right of State parties to this Covenant to take action reasonably necessary for the preservation of peace, order or security or the promotion of the general welfare. Such action may be taken only by or pursuant to law, in conformity with Article 20 hereof:

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* The limitations suggested by the representative of the United States were submitted in each case as illustrative of the problems arising in the absence of a general limitation clause, which the United States prefers.

(Note: The delegation of the United States pointed out:
(1) that the limitations set forth in the Covenant without the additions suggested by other Governments are not all-inclusive;
(2) that certain Governments which have suggested further limitations have stated that their lists are not all-inclusive; and
(3) that the matter of restricting the rights and freedoms of the Covenant arises from many sources of law and that the Commission on Human Rights must find the solution for dealing with the problem caused by the omission of further probable limitations not yet enumerated.)*

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* The limitations suggested by the representative of the United States were submitted in each case as illustrative of the problems arising in the absence of a general limitation clause, which the United States prefers.

PART II

Article 5

No one shall be deprived of his life save in the execution of the sentence of a court following his conviction of a crime for which this penalty is provided by law.

(Note: The Drafting Committee decided to forward this text to the Commission together with a list of possible additional limitations. The list is as follow:

1. Suppression of rebellion or riots (Union of South Africa)
Deprivation of life by the military or state officers in a national emergency (United States of America).
2. Self-defense and defense of another (Union of South Africa) (United States of America)
3. Killing in attempting to affect arrests for certain offences. (Union of South Africa)
4. Killing by accident (United States of America)
5. Killing for violation of honour (United States of America)
6. Killing of persons caught in the commission of a felony (United States of America)
7. Killing to prevent an escape (United States of America)
8. Killing by medical operation in absence of gross negligence or malpractice. (United States of America)
9. Killing through a voluntary medical experiment (United States of America)
10. Killing by officers of the law to prevent the commission of a crime (see also supra 6) (United States of America)
11. Killing by officers of the law in a local emergency (United States of America)
12. Killing by a military in time of war (United States of America)

Article 6

No one shall be subjected to any form or physical mutilation or medical or scientific experimentation against his will.

(Note: The Drafting Committee decided to forward this text to the Commission together with a list of possible additional limitations. This list is as follows:

1. Compulsory vaccination. (United States of America)
2. Legitiamte medical and scientific experimentation in hospitals for the insane, with the consent of a parent or guardian of the patient (United States of America)

3. Emergency operations

3. Emergency operations undertaken to save the life of a patient, where the pateint is unable to give his consent or where a person empowered to give consent on behalf of the patient gives such consent. (United States of America)
4. Other limitations may be developed later. (United States of America)

Article 7

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel or inhuman punishment or to cruel or inhuman indignity.

Article 8*

1. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.
2. No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labor, except as a consequence of a conviction of crime by a competent court.
3. For the purposes of this Article, the term "forced or compulsory labor" shall not include:
   (a) Any service of a purely military character, or service in the case of conscientious objectors, exacted in virtue of compulsory military service laws, provided that the service of conscientious objectors be compensated with maintenance and pay not inferior to what a soldier of the lowest rank receives;
   (b) Anvservice exacted in cases of emergencies or calamities threatening the life or well-being of the community;
   (c) Any minor communal services considered as normal civic obligations incumbent upon the members of the community, provided that these obligations have been accepted by the members of the community concerned directly or through their directly elected representatives.

(Note: (1) The following text, which follows the wording of a relevant article of the International Labour Organization's Forced Labour Convention of 1930 was suggested by the representative of the International Labour Organization, and the Committee decided to forward it to the Commission as an alternative text for paragraph 3 (c):

"Minor communal services of a kind, which, being performed by the members of the community in the direct interest of the said community, can therefore be considered as normal civic obligations incumbent upon the members of the community, provided that the members of the community or their direct representatives shall have the right ot be consulted in regard to the need for such services."

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* The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics proposed that the following text be added after the first sentence of this Article: "The slave trade is forbidden in all its forms."

(2) The Commi ee also decided to forward to the Commission, as possible additions to paragraph 3, two further possible limitations submitted by the delegation of the United States;

(d) Service exacted from deserting seamen returned to their ships, having entered into voluntary contracts for a period of service;

(e) Services performed by minors, either in the course of normal family life or pursuant to contracts made in their behalf either by parents or guardians.)

Article 9

(The Drafting Committee voted in favour of the first of the following texts).

I. Text originally forwarded by the Commission on Human Rights, as Amended:

1. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention.

2. In consequence, no person shall be deprived of his liberty save in the case of:

(a) the arrest of a person effected for the purpose of bringing him before a court on a reasonable suspicion of having committed a crime or which is reasonably considered to be immediately necessary to prevent his committing a crime;

(b) the lawful arrest and detention of a person for non-compliance with lawful order or decree of a court;

(c) the lawful detention of a person sentenced after conviction to deprivation of liberty;

(d) the lawful detention of persons of unsound mind;

(e) the parental or quasi-parental custody of minors;

(f) the lawful arrest and detention of a person to prevent his effecting an unauthorized entry into the country;

(g) the lawful arrest and detention of aliens against whom deportation proceedings are pending.

3. Any person who is arrested shall be informed promptly of the charges against him. Any person who is arrested under the provisions of sub-paragraph (a) or (b) of paragraph 2 of this Article shall shall be brought promptly before a judge, and shall be tried within a reasonable time or released.

4. Every one who is deprived of his liberty by arrest or detention shall have an ef ective remedy in the nature of "habeas Corpus" by which the lawfulness of his detention shall be decided speedily by a court and his release ordered if the detention is not lawful.

5. Every person shall have an enforceable right to compensation in respect of any unlawful arrest or deprivation of liberty.

(Note:

(Note: A list of all the possible limitation suggested by various governments, together with an analysis of this list, follows the text of this Article proposed by the United States, below).

II. Text Proposed by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The inviolability of the human person shall be guaranteed by law. No person shall be subjected to arrest except by order of a court or a prosecuting authority.

Any person who is arrested shall be informed promptly of the charges against him. Every person who is deprived of his liberty shall be brought promptly before a court for an order for the trial of his case within a reasonable time or for his release.

Every person shall have an enforceable right to compensation in respect of any unlawful arrest or deprivation of liberty.

III. Text Proposed by the United States

No one salll be deprived of liberty without due process of law.

No one shall be arrested or detained without being promptly informed of the reasons for the arrest or detention and without being entitled to a fair hearing within a reasonable time or to release.

LIST AND ANALYSIS OF SUGGESTED LIMITATIONS TO ARTICLE 9 OF THE COVENANT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

I. In document E/CN.4/AC.1/23 of 7 May 1948 a list of items suggested by Governments for addition to the enumeration contained in Article 9 (2) of the Draft Covenant (document E/600) was circulated, embodying the items suggested in written comments by Governments and, orally, by representatives in the twenty-third meeting of the Committee on 6 May 1948. These limitations are as follows:

1. Arrest and detention of persons suffering from serious contagious disease. (Netherlands, United Kingdom, Norway.)
2. Arrest and detention of alcoholics (Norway).
3. Arrest "flagrante delicto" (Brazil); probably covered by item (a) of Article 9 (2).
4. Arrest for the purpose of removal from one province to another (Union of South Africa).
5. Arrest for the purpose of removal of persons other than aliens (Union of South Africa).
6. Arrest of witnesses in order to bring them before a court (Union of South Africa) or for their protection (United States)
7. Detention of children in need of care (Union of South Africa).
8. Arrests for breach of military discipline (Chile; oral observation in the twenty-third meeting meeting of the Committee on 5 May 1948).
9. Arrest in civil cases usually involving wrong-doing (fraud etc.),in the commencement of an action (United States, oral observations, 5 May 1948).
10. Arrest as a means of satisfaction of a judgement in such actions or by way of punishment in such cases (United States; oral observations, 5 May 1948).
11. Detention of persons listed under Article 8, paragraph 3 of the Geneva draft of the Covenant (this relates to the class of persons who may be subjected to forced or conpulsory labour in connection with military or emergency service, etc.) (United States; oral observations, 5 May 1948).
12. Detention of enemy aliens (United States; oral observations, 5 May 1948).

Subsequently the French Draft Covenant was presented to the Committee (document E/CN.4/82/Add.8) and in the meeting of the Drafting Committee, held on 12 May 1948, the Chairman in her capacity of United States Representative suggested some additional specific limitations of the rights safeguarded in Article 9 of the Draft Covenant.

II. The list

II. The list of restrictions contained in Article VIII of the French Draft is as follows:

(a) the arrest and detention of a person effected for the purpose of bringing him before a court on suspicion of having committed a crime or of preventing the imminent commission of a crime or offence;
(b) the arrest and detention of a person; as provided by law, for non-compliance with the lawful order of a court;
(c) lawful detention in pursuance of a sentence of imprisonment;
(d) the lawful detention of persons of unsound minds;
(e) the lawful arrest and detention of a person to prevent his effecting an unauthorized entry into a country;
(f) the lawful arrest and detention of aliens against whom deportation or extradition proceedings are pending;
(g) the educational supervision of minors.

III. The list of additional specific limitations prepared by the United States Representative and presented on 12 May 1948 is as follows:

(h) the arrest and detention of a person suffering from a serious contagious disease;
(i) the arrest and detention of an alcoholic;
(j) the arrest of witnesses in order to bring them before a court or for their protection;
(k) arrest and detention for breach of military discipline;
(l) arrest and detention in civil cases (tort, or contract cases involving wrong-doing such as fraud, etc.) by way of commencing an action or as a means of satisfaction of a judgment in such cases or by way of punishment in such cases;
(m) the detention of enemy aliens;
(n) the detention of persons under the authority of Article 8, paragraph 3 of the Covenant (relating to the classes of persons who may be subjected to compulsory labour in connection with military or emergency service);
(o) other situations to be enumerated.

IV. The Chinese delegation suggested the following list of possible limitations (E/CN.4/AC.1/23/Add.2):

1. Arrest of persons who violate the provisions of the Covenant;
2. Arrest of persons suspected as spies;
3. Arrest of persosn who trespass prohibited property or areas;
4. Arrest of persons who attempt to or destroy public property;
5. Arrest of persons for disturbing public order such as shouting "Fire" in a theatre when there is no fire;
6. Arrest of persons for speeding while driving through a crowded street in the city;
7. Arrest of persons who attempt to commit suicide.

V. This

V. This analysis is based on the following enumeration of limitations:

1. the limitation already contained in Article 9, sub-paragraph 2 (a) to (g) of the Draft Covenant as adopted at the second session of the Commission in Geneva;
2. the items suggested by Governments and enumerated in document E/CN.4/AC.1/23;
3. the additional specific limitations suggested by the United States of America on 12 May 1948;
4. the limititions suggested by France;
5. the limitations suggested by China.

According to these different lists the Covenant would contain the following limitations of the right to liberty:

(a) Arrest for the purpose of criminal proceedings or prevention of a crime

This item covers item (a) of the Geneva Draft, item (a) of the French Draft and the Brazilian suggestion concerning arrest "flagrante delicto", item 3 of document E/CN.4/AC.1/23. In formulating the final text the Commission may wish to have regard to items 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 of the Chinese limitations.

(b) Arrest and detention for non-compliance with a court order

This item covers item (b) of the Geneva Draft and item (b) of the French Draft. In formulating its text regard should be had of item 10 of document E/CN.4/AC.1/2 3, "arrest as a means of satisfaction of a judgement in actions or by way of punishment in civil cases" (United States) and the analogous item (1) of the United States list and further of item (9) of document E/CN.4/AC.1/23, "arrest in civil cases."

(c) The detention of a person sentenced after conviction to deprivation of liberty.

This item covers item (c) of the Geneva Draft and item (c) of the French Draft. In drafting the text, the Committee may wish to have regard to the Chilean proposal listed under item 8 of document E/cn.4/AC.1/23 and the United States proposal listed under (k) which are to the effect that arrests and detentions for breach of military discipline should also be covered.

(d) Detention of persons of unsound mind.

This item covers item (d) of the Geneva Draft and item (d) of the French proposal. With regard to this item note should be taken of the Norwegian proposal, document E/CN.4/AC.1/2; item (2) and the United States proposal, item (i) above, suggested that the Covenant should also cover the case of the arrest and detention of alcoholics.

(e) The parental or quasi-parental custody of minors

This item corresponds to item (e) of the Geneva Draft and to item (g) of the French proposal. It is submitted that, in its formulation, regard should be had to item 7 of document E/CN.4/AC.1/23, the South African proposal concerning the detention of children in need of care.

Restrictions on

Restrictions on aliens

(f) The lawful arrest and detention of a person to prevent his effecting an unauthorized entry into the country;

(g) The lawful arrest and detention of aliens against whom deportation proceedings are pending.

In formulating these two items the Committee may wish to have regard to items (e) and (f) of the French proposal and to item (m) of the United States list. Closely connected with these two items are also the suggestions made by South Africa, items 4 and 5 of document E/CN.4/AC.1/23, suggesting an extension of these provisions to cover also arrests for the purpose of removal from one province to another and the removal of persons other than aliens.

VI. Remaining Items

The following three additional items remain:

1. Arrest and detention of persons suffering from serious contagious disease (Netherlands, United Kingdom and United States).

It covers item 1 of document E/CN.4/AC.1/23 and item (h) of the United States list.

2. Arrest of witnesses (Union of South Africa and United States)

Item 6 of document E/CN.4/AC.1/23 and item (g) of the United States list.

3. Arrest and detention in connection with services exacted under Article 8 (3).

The United States proposal, item 11 of document E/CN.4/AC.1/23 and item (n) of the United States list, concerns the detention of persons liable to military service, service in cases of emergency and minor communal services.

Here the Committee may wish to consider to what extent this limitation is covered by the provision to be made for detentions for the breach of military discipline and further, whether services in an emergency, or "Minor communal services" could be considered exceptions from a rule prohibiting arbitrary arrest or detention.

The United States list further contains the item:

4. Other situations to be enumerated;

Article 10

No one shall be imprisoned merely on the grounds of inability to fulfil a contractual obligation.

Article 11

(No decision was made as to which of these texts was preferred.)

(Geneva text)

1. Subject to any general law not contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and adopted for specific reasons of security or in the general interest, there shall be

liberty of

liberty of movement and free choice of residence within the borders of each State.

2. Any person who is not subject to any lawful deprivation of liberty or to any outstanding obligations with regard to national service shall be free to leave any country including his own.

Alternative text

1. No one shall be denied freedom of movement or residence within the borders of a Contracting State.

2. Any one shall be free to leave any country including his own.

(Note: The Drafting Committee decided to forward this text to the Commission together with a list of possible limitations. The list is as follows:

1. Restrictions imposed for the well being of helpless or dependent persons. (United States)
2. Restrictions imposed with respect to land or water constituting a public highway. (United States)
3. Restrictions imposed in the interest of public order, morals, health (e.g. quarantine) or safety. (United States)
4. Restrictions imposed by reason of lawful detentions. (France)
5. Restrictions imposed in accordance with articles 8 and 9. (United States)
6. Restrictions imposed because criminal proceedings are pending against him. (France)
7. Restric ions imposed because his departure must be prohibited in order to prevent the imminent commission of a crime or offence. (France)
8. Restrictions imposed on individuals who are "subject to any lawful deprivation of liberty or to any outstanding obligations with regard tonational service tax liabilities or voluntarily contracted obligations binding the individual to the Government". (Netherlands.)
9. Restrictions imposed on an individual because of National Service, or of a judicial order restraining his departure without giving security on account of other alleged outstanding obligations. (United Kingdom)
10. Restrictions imposed on emigration to assist a neighbor country to control ille l immigration. (United Kingdom)
11. Restrictions imposed on emigration in the interest of protecting primitive or unsophisticated communities from exploitation abroad. (United Kingdom)
12. Restrictions imposed where labour has to be controlled and individuals required to work in specified industries and even in specific localities. (Union of South Africa)
13. Restrictions imposed where it is necessary in the interests of peace and good government to proclaim reserved areas in favour of the different sections of the population, and to restrict and control the free movement and free choice of residence on the part of individuals belonging to different sections of the population. (Union of South Africa)

14. Restrictions imposed in the interests of the general welfare and good government ot restrict the influx of large numbers of unskilled labourers into urban areas in circumstances where an adequate supply of labour already exists, and housing accommodation is inadequate. (Union of South Africa))

(Note 2: The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics suggested that the words "subject to the laws of his own country" be added to the second paragraph of this Article)

Article 12

No alien legally admitted to the territory of a State shall be expelled therefrom except in accordance with procedure prescribed by law.

Article 13

(The Drafting Co mittee voted in favour of the first of the following texts.)

A. 1. In the determination of any criminal charge against him or of any of his civil rights or obligations, every one is entitled to a fair hearing before an independent and impartial tribunal.

2. In the determination of any criminal charge against him every one is entitled to:

a) A public trial, though the press and public may be excluded from all or some of the portions thereof, other than the judgment, where considerations of security or morals are involved or the preservation of order in the court requires. Exceptions may be made in the interest of juveniles;

(b) Legal assistance of his own choosing; and

(c) The services of an interpreter to assist the accused if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court.

B. Text submitted by the Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

1. All persons shall be equal before the court or tribunals. Judges shall be independent and subject only to the law. Legal procedure in every State shall be based on democratic principles. The trial of cases in all courts shall be public, subject to exceptions prescribed by law for the protection of public morals and national security, and the accused person shall be assured the right of defense.

2. When any person who does not know the National language is prosecuted, he shall be assured full knowledge of all the material in the cases through an interpreter and shall also have the right to address the court in his native tongue.

Article 14

1. No one shall be held guilty of any offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute such an offence

at the time when it was committed, nor shall he be liable to any greater punishment than that prescribed for such offence by the law in force at the time when the offence was committed.
2. Nothing in this Article shall prejudice the trial and punishment of any person for the commission of any act which, at the time it was committed, was criminal according to the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations.

Article 15

No one shall be deprived of his juridical personality.

Article 16

1. No one shall be denied freedom of thought, belief, conscience and religion, including freedom to hold any religious or other belief, and to change his belief.
2. No one shall be denied freedom, either alone or in association, to give and receive any form of religious teaching, and to endeavour to persuade other persons of the truth of his beliefs.
3. No one shall be denied freedom, either alone or in association, to manifest his belief in practice, and in worship and observance, and no one shall be required to do any act which is contrary to such worship and observance.
4. The above rights and freedoms shall be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public order and health, morals and the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

(Note: The representative of the Soviet Union proposed to replace Article 16 by the following text (unofficial translation):

"Every person shall have the right to freedom of thought and freedom to practice religious observances in accordance with the laws of the country and the dictates of public morality.")

Article 17

(The Drafting Committee did not decide which of the following texts it preferred.)

A. Text submitted by the Representative of France

1. Speech is free. Every person shall be free to express and publish his ideas in any way he chooses.
2. Every person shall be free to receive and disseminate information of all kinds, including facts, critical comment and ideas, by the medium of books, newspapers, oral instructions or in any other manner.
3. The freedoms referred to in the preceding paragraphs may be subject only to the restrictions, penalties or liabilities provided by law for the protection of public order, national security, good morals, respect for law and the reputation or rights of other persons.

B. Text submitted

19. Other statements, expressions or publications which constitute offences or parts of offences under the common law or in terms of statuets, such as blasphemy, trasonable statements, uttering a forged instrument, perjury, contempt of court (covered in the drafts only to the extent to which it may be injurious to the independence of the judiciary or the fair conduct of legal proceedings), the use of indecent, abusive or threatening language in public places, fraudulent statments, statements amounting to crimen injurice, false statements in a prospectus, the offer of any inducement to enter into a hire purchase agreement. (Union of South Africa)

20. The restrictions imposed upon the publications of preparatory examination and trial proceedings, where the offence charged involves any indecent act or an act in the nature of extortion, or upon the publication of information which is likely to reveal the identify of an accused person under nineteen years of age or of a child concerned in proceedings before a children court. (Union of South Africa).

21. The prohibition of the disclosure of information obtained in an official or semi-official capacity, whether or not the disclosure will affect the national safety or the "vital" interests of the State. (Union of South Africa).

22. Restrictions upon the publication of a picture or a public entertainment, where the picture or entertainment is calculated to give offence to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the public, or where it is calculated to bring any section of the public into ridicule or contempt, or is contrary to the public interest or good morals. (Union of South Africa).

23. Restrictions upon the publication of certain electoral matters. (Union of South Africa)

24. The restrictions imposed by the laws relating to copyright. (Union of South Africa).

25. Restrictions which it may be considered necessary to impose in order to eliminate or control subversive ideological propganada. (Union of South Africa).

Article 18

All persons shall have the right to assemble peaceable for any lawful purpose including the discussion of any matter on which, under Article 17, any person has the right to express and publish his ideas. No restrictions shall be placed on the exercise of this right other than those prescribed by law and necessary to assure:

(a) national security;
(b) the protection of persons or property;
(c) the prevention of the obstruction of traffic or the free movement of others; or
(d) the protection of health or morals.

(Note: 1. An additional restriction was suggested as follows:

The prevention of foreign political interference. (Netherlands)

Note: 2. The Government of the Netherlands suggested:

(a) That a clause be added making public meetings subject to official authorization; and

B. Text submitted by the Representative of the Soviet Union

1. In accordance with the principles of democracy and in the interests of strengthening international co-operation and world peace, every person shall be guaranteed by the law the right to the free expression of his opinions and, in particular, to freedom of artistic representation. The use of freedom of speech and of the press for the purposes of propagating Fascism and aggression or of inciting war between nations shall not be tolerated.

2. In order to ensure the right of the free expression of opinion for large sections of the peoples and for their organizations, State assistance and co-operation shall be given in providing the material resources (premises, printing presses, paper and the like) necessary for the publication of democratic organs of the press.

C. Text submitted by the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information.

1. Every person shall have the right to freedom of thought and the right to freedom of expression without interference by governmental action; these rights shall include freedom to hold opinions, to seek, receive and impart information and ideas, regardless of frontiers, either orally, by written or printed matter, in the form of art, or by legally operated visual or auditory devices.

2. The right to freedom of expression carries with it duties and responsibilities and may, therefore, be subject to penalities liabilities or restrictions clearly defined by law, but only with regard to:

(a) matters which must remain secret in the interests of national safety.
(b) expressions which incite persons to alter by violence the system of Government;
(c) expressions which directly incite persons to commit criminal acts;
(d) expressions which are obscene;
(e) expressions injurious to the fair conduct of legal proceedings;
(f) infringements of literary or artisitic rights
(g) expressions about other persons natural or legal which defame their reputations or are otherwise injurious to them without benefiting the public;
(h) the systematic diffusion of deliberately false or distorted reports which undermine friendly relations between peoples and states.

A State may establish on reasonable terms a right to reply or a similar corrective remedy.

3. Measures shall be taken to promote the freedom of information through the elimination of political, economic, technical and other obstacles which are likely to hinder the free flow of information.

4. Nothing in this Article shall be deemed to affect the right of any State to control the entry of persons into its territory or the period of their residence therein.

(Note: The Drafting Committee decided to forward this text to the Commission together with a list of possible additional limitations.

The list is as follows:

1. The disclousres of professional secrets contrary to law.
2. Disclosures arising out of marital and personal relationships.
3. Expressions which are fraudlent or part of a fraudulent scheme.
4. Expressions detrimental to public decency or morals (for example, detailed crime stories, reports on executions and suicides, sensational court reports.)
5. Matters of contract.
6. Control of advertising or economic matters
7. Proper conduct of political elections or campaigns.
8. Matters affecting the civil service.
9. Disclosures of governmental information (other than in cases involving national safety, for example, in economic and social matters, such as crop reports, income tax reports, recipients of unemployment relief, and pending judicial decisions).
10. Communications with foreign governments.
11. Profanity in public places.
12. Operation of radio broadcasting and similar media without a license.
13. Statements by corporations, partnerships or individuals, in the issue of bonds and shares ot stock.
14 Unforseeable future matters relating to development of new media of information or new social practices.)
(These fourteen possible limitations arose out of discussions at the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information).
15. Expressions about governmental or public authorities, or groups or persons who are all or in part nationals of High Contracting Party or who belong all or in part to a certain race. (Netherlands)
16. The prohibition of the dissemination of information calculated to engender feelings of hostility among inhabitants of various races (Union of South Africa)
17. The prohibition of probibited meetings. (Union of South Africa)
18. The prohibition of opprobrious epithets, jeers or jibes in connection with the fact that any person has continued or returned to work or has refused to work for any employer, or the sending of information as to any such fact to any person in order to prevent any other person from obtaining or retaining employment, etc., etc. (Union of South Africa.)

PART III

Article 23

1. This Covenant shall be open for accession to every State Member of the United Nations or party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice and to every other State which the General Assembly of the United Nations shall, by resolution, declare to be eligible.

2. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and as soon as _____ of the States Members of the United Nations have deposited such instruments the Covenant shall come into force between them. As regards any State which accedes thereafter, the Covenant shall come into froce on the date of the deposit of its instrument of accession.

3. The Secretary General of the United Nations shall inform all members of the United Nations and the other States referred to in paragraph 1 above of the deposit of each instrument of accession.

Article 24

In the case of a Federal State, the following provisions shall apply:

(a) With respect to any Articles of this Covenant which the Federal Government regards as wholly or in part appropriate for federal action, the obligations of the Federal Governments shall, to this extent, be the same as those of parties which are not Federal States;

(b) In respect of Articles which the Federal Government regards as appropriate under its constitutional system, in whole or in part, for action by the constituent States, Provinces, or Cantons, the Federal Government shall bring such provisions, with favourable recommendation, to the notice of the appropriate authorities of the States, Provinces or Cantons at the earliest possible moment.

Article 25

(The Drafting Committee voted in favour of the first of the following texts).

A State party to this Covenant may be at the same time of its accession thereto or at any time thereafter by notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations declare that this Covenant shall extend to any of the territories for the international relations of which it is responsible, and the Covenant shall extend to the teritories named in the notification as from the thirtieth day after the date of receipt by the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the notification. The Contracting States undertake, with respect to those territories on behalf of which they do not accede to this Covenant at the time of their accession, to see the consent at the earliest possible moment of the Governments of such territories and to accede forthwith on behalf of and in respect of each such territory, if and when its consent has been obtained.

Text Proposed by the Representative of the Soviet Union

The conditions of the present Covenant shall extend or be applicable both to the metropolitan territory which is signatory to the present Covenant, as well as to all the other territories (non-self-governing, trust, and colonial territories) which are being administered or governed by the metropolitan power in question.

Article 26

(The Drafting Committee decided not to discuss the following Geneva text until the question of implementation has been considered).

1. Amendments to this Covenant shall come into force when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the Members of the General Assembly of the United Nations and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the parties to this Covenant.

2. When such amendments come into force they shall be binding on those parties which have ratified them, leaving other parties still bound by the provisions of the Covenant which they have accepted by accession, including earlier amendments which they have ratified.

Article 27 (deleted)

(In construing the Articles of this Covenant the several Articles shall be regarded in their relation to each other).

Proposed Additional Article

(The Drafting Committee took no action on the following text, proposed as an additional article by the representative of the United States).

The rights and freedoms set forth in Part II of this Covenant are in addition to and not in derogation of such rights and freedoms as may be guaranteed to all under the laws of any Contracting State. In agreeing to this Covenant, the Contracting Parties recognize that there are other rights and freedoms which may be made the subject of future covenants or conventions.

(b) That it should be understood that the right to assemble does not include the right to hold pageants or processions in the streets.

Note: 3. The Government of the Union of South Africa pointed out that the exceptions did not cover prohibition of a public gathering where the Minister of Justice had reason to apprehend that the gathering would endanger feelings of hostility between different sections of the population of the Union of South Africa).

Article 19

The right of association is recognized provided that right is exercised in whatever form may be appropriate under the law of the State and is directed to lawful aims including the defense and protection of the legitimate interests of the members of the association or the dissemination of information under Article 17. Associations shall enjoy the rights and freedoms set forth in Articles 16 and 17.

Article 20

Equal protection of the law with respect to the enjoyment of any of the rights and freedoms set forth in Part II of this Covenant shall not be denied to any one on account of race (which includes colour), sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, property status, or national or social origin.

Article 21 (deleted)

(Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hostility that constitutes an incitement to violence shall be prohibited by the law of the State).

Article 22

Nothing in this Covenant shall be considered to give any person or State the right to engage in any activity aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms prescribed herein.

Draft International Declaration of Human Rights

(as approved by the UN Commission on Human Rights at its Third Session at Lake Success on June 18, 1948)

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, and

WHEREAS disregard and contempt for human rights resulted, before and during the second world war, in barbarous acts which outraged the conscience of mankind and made it apparent that the fundamental freedoms were one of the supreme issues of the conflict, and

WHEREAS it is essential, if mankind is not to be compelled as a last resort to rebel against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by a regime of law, and

WHEREAS the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter determined to re-affirm faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom; and

WHEREAS Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the Organization, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms; and

WHEREAS a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now therefore the General Assembly

PROCLAIMS this Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the population of Member States themselves and among the population of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed by nature with reason and conscience, and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, property or other status, or national or social origin.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

1. No one shall be held in slavery or involuntary servitude.

2. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 5

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 6

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement of such discrimination.

Article 7

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention.

Article 8

In the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him, everyone is

entitled in full equality to a fair hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal.

Article 9

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute an offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed.

Article 10

No one shall be subjected to unreasonable interference with his privacy, family, home correspondence or reputation.

Article 11

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own.

Article 12

1. Everyone has the right to seek and be granted, in other countries, asylum from persecution.

2. Prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations do not constitute persecution.

Article 13

No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality or denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 14

1. Men and women of full age have the right to marry and to found a family and are entitled to equal

rights as to marriage.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the full consent of both intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 16

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 17

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of assembly and association.

Article 19

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through his freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of access to public employment in his country.

3. Everyone has the right to a government which conforms to the will of the people.

Article 20

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to the realisation, through national effort and international cooperation, and in accordance with the organisation and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights set out below.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to work, to just and favourable conditions of work and pay and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone is free to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 22

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living, including food, clothing, housing and medical care, and to social services, adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family and to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Mother and child have the right to special care and assistance.

Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to education. Elementary and fundamental education shall be free and compulsory and there shall be equal access on the basis of merit to higher education.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of human personality, to strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and to combating the spirit of intolerance and hatred against other nations and against racial and religious groups everywhere.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure.

Article 25

Everyone has the right to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement.

Article 26

Everyone is entitled to a good social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set out in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 27

1. Everyone has duties to the community which enables him freely to develop his personality.

2. In the exercise of his rights, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are necessary to secure due recognition and respect for the rights of others and the requirements of morality, public order and general welfare in a democratic society.

Article 28

Nothing in this Declaration shall imply the recognition of the right of any State or person to engage in any activity aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms prescribed herein.

UNRESTRICTED
UN Doc. E/CN.4/SR.81
1 July 1948

EXTRACT FROM
SUMMARY RECORD OF THE EIGHTY-FIRST MEETING

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Third Session

Lake Success, New York
Friday 18 June 1948, at 2:30 p.m.

Chairman:	Mrs. Franklin D. ROOSEVELT	United States of America
Rapporteur:	Mr. MALIK	Lebanon
Members:	Mr. HOOD	Australia
	Mr. LEBEAU	Belgium
	Mr. STEPANENKO	Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic
	Mr. LARRAIN	Chile
	Mr. CHANG	China
	Mr. LOUTFI	Egypt
	Mr. ORDONNEAU	France
	Mrs. MEHTA	India
	Mr. QUIJANO	Panama
	Mr. CARPIO	Philippine Republic
	Mr. KLEKOVKIN	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist
	Mr. PAVLOV	Union of Soviet/Republic Socialist Republic
	Mr. WILSON	United Kingdom
	Mr. FONTAINA	Uruguay
	Mr. VILFAN	Yugoslavia

Consultants from Non-Governmental Organizations:

Miss SENDER	American Federation of Labor
Mr. VANISTENDAEL	International Federation of Christian Trade Unions
Mr. ROBINOW	World Federation of United Nations Associations

Miss DRENNAN

	Miss DRENNAN	Catholic International Union for Social Service
	Mr. NOLDE	Commission of the Churches on International Affairs
	Mr. MOSKOWITZ	Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations
	Mrs. Van den BERG	International Women's Alliance
	Mrs. PARSONS	International Council of Women
	Miss SCHAEFER	International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues
	Miss ROBB	Liaison Committee of Women's International Associations
	Mr. BIENENFELD	World Jewish Congress
Secretariat:	Mr. HUMPHREY	Director of the Division of Human Rights
	Mr. LAWSON	Secretary of the Commission

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...the CHAIRMAN asked members of the Commission to express briefly their views on the question of implementation.

Speaking as representative of the United States, she read out document E/CN.4/145 containing the joint proposals of the United States and Chinese delegations on the implementation of the Covenant. She emphasized that those recommendations had been put forward in the form of general principles. As regards implementation proper, the Chinese and United States delegations had tried to confine themselves to as simple a programme as possible, for they felt that, in that particular field, it was necessary to act with caution and only in the light of experience. To make the Covenant acceptable to all -- and the United States hoped that it would be -- the measures proposed for its implementation had, above all, to be realistic.

Mr. HOOD (Australia) was surprised that a proposal concerning implementation, which was in no way related to the work done in Geneva by the Working Group, should be referred to the Commission at a time when it was completing its work.

The Australian delegation felt that the ground had already been prepared and that the Commission had sufficient material at

its

its disposal to begin drafting the articles concerning implementation. The report drawn up by the Working Group in Geneva should serve as a starting point for the drafting of those texts. That was the meaning of the resolution adopted by the last session of the Economic and Social Council.

Pointing out that several Governments had already announced their approval of the Working Group's recommendation, he reminded the Commission of the plan put forward by Professor Cassin and of the useful memorandum prepared by the Secretariat on the question of petitions.

On the whole, the Australian delegation regarded Professor Cassin's document as extremely constructive, particularly as regards the difficult question of the setting up of a standing Committee.

The Australian Government favoured the creation of an International Court of Human Rights. Plans for such a Court had been approved by a majority at Geneva and its functioning would be directly linked with the system of petitions. The Australian delegation had drawn up proposals for the statute of that Court, corresponding as far as possible to the statue of the International Court of Justice. The document was included among those that would be referred to the Economic and Social Council. If document E/CN.4/145 was a new proposal concerning implementation, it could also be referred to the Council, but he did not see why it had been referred to the Commission at that stage.

Mrs. MEHTA (India) said that her delegation had always laid great stress on the question of implementation. The question could be divided into two stages: after drafting the Covenant, which provided for the measures to be taken by the States to ensure implementation within their territories, the Commission would have to turn to the setting up of international machinery to deal with cases of non-implementation and violation of the Covenant, questions which were all the more difficult as they involved the question of national sovereignty.

The League of Nations used to receive individual petitions. The peoples of the world expected that the United Nations would undertake the same function. The United Nations had already received a large number of representations, and there was a demand, therefore, for an organization to deal with those petitions, not necessarily judicially but in a spirit of conciliation.

The Working Group at Geneva had suggested the creation of a tribunal and of a Standing Committee. The setting up of an ad hoc tribunal had not been viewed with favour by most Governments,

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while that of a Standing Committee had, on the contrary, been supported by the majority. The new proposal submitted by the Chinese and United States delegations and relating mostly to the disputes over the violation of Human Rights, did not, however, view the question from the wider angle of the implementation of the Covenant at the request of an individual or a group of individuals; it envisaged the establishment of a committee which would not, however, be authorized to receive individual petitions.

To fill in that gap the Indian delegation proposed that document E/CN.4/145 should be amended as suggested in document E/CN.4/151.

The Indian delegation realized the difficulties raised by dealing with representations from individuals, which were not always from reliable sources. In spite of those apparent difficulties, however, the right to petition the United Nations in connection with the defence of human rights and of fundamental freedoms should not be denied to anyone.

Mr. KLEKOVKIN (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) objected on a point of procedure. He felt that, if the Commission were to discuss the question of implementation in general, its debate should be based on the Working Group's report; if the discussion dealt only with new United States and Chinese proposal, then it was not in order, for, in that case, the Commission should also examine the proposals put forward by other delegations.

The CHAIRMAN recalled that, in conformity with the decision taken the previous day, she had asked members of the Commission to state their views on the question of implementation for the Economic and Social Council's information. Document E/CN.4/145 would be forwarded to the Council on the same basis as other plans referred to the Commission, namely proposals of the French delegation, of the Australian delegation and the amendment just proposed by the Indian delegation.

Mr. MALIK (Lebanon) surveyed the history of the question of implementation since the Commission's initial group began work. Recalling the considerable work already accomplished, he suggested that the Commission should decide then and there to draft the articles relating to implementation at its next session. The position of the Working Group dealing with the question of implementation was comparable to that of the Drafting Committee which was drawing up the articles of the Declaration and of the Covenant: The Commission had based its decisions concerning the Declaration on the work of the Drafting Committee, and there was no reason why it should not take any decision on implementation

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on the basis of the Geneva Working Group's report.

Mr. MALIK reserved the right to submit a draft resolution to that effect.

Mr. LEBEAU (Belgium) remarked that there was no need to stress the importance which his delegation attached to the question of implementation. It would suffice if he recalled that the Rapporteur of the Working Group had been Mr. Dehousse, the Belgian member of that Group.

The stand taken by the Belgian delegation was the one that Mr. Dehousse had always defended, namely that the Declaration on Human Rights might remain a dead letter unless positive measures were initiated to ensure its application by means of the ratification of the Covenant and the adoption of definite articles relating to its implementation.

Mr. Lebeau entirely agreed with the opinion expressed by Mr. Malik, which corresponded closely to the view of his delegation.

Mr. PAVLOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) wished to know who was responsible for the decision to transmit to the Economic and Social Council the assortment of documents representing the point arrived at in a question on which the Commission was not in a position to take a decision or make recommendations.

Mr. Pavlov stated that it appeared from a perusal of those documents that the idea of implementation did not have the same meaning for all members of the Commission. He noted moreover that it was proposed to set up a whole series of international organs; but there had not yet been any study of the question, and a discussion by the Commission on that subject could only be premature. The Commission should first reach agreement on the Covenant, which it had not yet begun to examine. It would be illogical to begin the examination of the question of implementation before that of the Covenant.

Apart from that point, Mr. Pavlov had two objections of principle to the various proposals submitted during the meeting. The first was that all those proposals infringed upon national sovereignty. They opened the way to inadmissible interference in the domestic affairs of any State by granting to a committee the right to make recommendations to member Governments, a right which belonged to the General Assembly alone. The second objection was that, according to those proposals, international investigations could be conducted on the basis of individual cases, which was likely to increase the causes of friction among the nations.

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The USSR delegation would, however, put forward only its objection on the question of procedure. It thought that it would be a mistake to discuss implementation at the present stage of the Commission's work. The USSR delegation therefore made a formal proposal to adjourn the examination of the question of implementation, to postpone the transmission of that question to the Economic and Social Council until the Commission itself had studied the questions which had been referred to it, and to append no annexes to the report.

Mr. WILSON (United Kingdom) stated that his delegation agreed on the whole with the joint China-United States proposal, and reserved the right to make a more detailed statement in that connection at a later time.

The United Kingdom delegation appreciated the work accomplished by the various delegations, although it did not in all cases agree with the substance of their proposals.

The application and observance of human rights depended, in the final analysis, on world public opinion and on the way in which the Covenant was received. The implementation measures under discussion concerned only one phase of the application of the Covenant; they might be compared to the penal code in international law, namely penalties laid down for individual cases of violation. Mr. Wilson agreed with the USSR representative that implementation measures would restrict the national sovereignty of each State; but that was an unavoidable concomitant of the Covenant which each State could accept or not. The Covenant would be binding upon States in so far as they agreed to be bound by it; it was for the Commission to decide whether it wished to take a further step by providing for the possibility of action against a State in cases of violation. The Commission should, however, exercise great discernment if it decided to take that step, because the various Governments should not be made to feel that any loss of their authority was involved and because it was primarily those Governments which had to ensure the Covenant's application.

Lastly, Mr. Wilson observed that it was impossible at present to foresee which States would sign the Covenant, or what would be their number. In view of that fact, the United Kingdom delegation expressed particular satisfaction with paragraph 3 of the joint China-United States proposal providing for a gradual formulation of implementa tion measures but leaving the actual development of those measures to the States which undertook to apply them, in other words to the signatories to the Covenant.

Mr. BIENENFELD

Mr. BIENENFELD (World Jewish Congress), while recognizing the excellence of the report submitted by the Geneva Working Group, drew the Commission's attention to the fact that any measures taken to ensure the implementation of the Declaration and the Covenant on Human Rights should apply equally to the implementation of the United Nations Charter, inasmuch as the Charter proclaimed the sanctity of fundamental human rights and in particular the observance of those rights regardless of race, sex, language and religion. There was in fact no reason why the procedure which would be adopted in respect of violations of the Covenant should not apply likewise to violations of the Charter. Mr. Bienenfeld thought, from the discussions which he had had with Mr. Dehousse and Professor Cassin, that they would both have raised that point.

On behalf of his organization, Mr. Bienenfeld expressed the wish that a delegation would sponsor the memorandum published by the World Jewish Congress on that subject on 28 April 1948, and submit it to the next session of the Economic and Social Council.

Mr. CHANG (China) stated that, generally speaking, the Declaration on Human Rights could be said to represent the application of the Charter, while the Covenant was the application of the Declaration. The creation of committees of conciliation or of tribunals to deal with cases of violation was a further degree of implementation. Though the Commission had agreed on the importance of the problem, it had not yet had time to study it in detail. The various proposals which had been submitted in that connection, and in particular the one submitted by Professor Cassin, deserved the Economic and Social Council's attention. In view of those facts, Mr. Chang supported the Rapporteur's proposal that the various proposals received should be transmitted to the Council with the explanation that the Commission had not had time to study them.

Mr. LOUTFI (Egypt) thought that it would be regrettable if the documents transmitted to the Economic and Social Council contained reference to provisions relating to implementation.

For its part, the Egyptian delegation would be in favour of the creation of a permanent committee for the examination of any petitions that might be submitted. Such a committee would fulfil the functions of a conciliator rather than that of judge or umpire. While the Egyptian delegation would have no objection if that committee examined individual petitions, it thought that the committee's work would be facilitated if, in the beginning at least, only petitions sent in by States were accepted, as had been suggested by the Chinese and United States delegations.

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It would be a lengthy process to draw up in detail the rules for the presentation and examination of petitions.

As regards the creation of an international court which would pronounce judgment in disputes on human rights, the Egyptian delegation thought that the plan was premature for several reasons, particularly because it would give individuals direct access to international jurisdiction, a principle which few States were as yet prepared to accept.

Mr. FONTAINA (Uruguay) supported the views of the representatives of China and the United States. The delegation of Uruguay agreed with the suggestion that the joint China-United States proposal should be transmitted to the Economic and Social Council at the same time as the other documents relating to the question of implementation; but it wished it to be clearly understood, as the USSR representative had pointed out, that those documents did not in any way represent the views of the Commission as a whole.

Mr. LARRAIN (Chile) announced his delegation's support of the joint China-United States proposal. The fact that the Commission had not examined the Draft Covenant should not prevent it from transmitting to the Economic and Social Council any documents that were available on the question of implementation. The work which had already been accomplished could prove to be of great use in the Council's debates, and the objections which had been raised were, in the opinion of the Chilean delegation, only of a secondary character. The more comprehensive the documentation submitted to the Economic and Social Council was, the more useful it would be. The Chilean delegation was all the more willing to support the inclusion of document E/CN.4/145 as it thought that the document contained some highly acceptable ideas corresponding to its own views.

Mr. VILFAN (Yugoslavia) understood that the report was to refer to all questions referred by the Economic and Social Council to the Commission for consideration. He wondered, however, whether it would not be exaggerating the importance of the documents, which the Commission had not even had time to study, to reproduce them in extenso in the annex. He suggested as a compromise that the report should contain a short summary of the work accomplished so far on the question of implementation, and should merely indicate the various proposals received by giving their symbol numbers.

Mr. MALIK (Lebanon) stated that he had understood that such a procedure should be applied to Annex C which dealt with the subject of implementation. Annex B, however, being devoted to the Draft Covenant, should contain the whole of the Drafting Committee's report.

Mr. STEPANENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) thought that, if reference was going to be made to proposals submitted in writing, there

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was no reason why arguments presented orally by other representatives, such as those of the Soviet Union and Egypt, should not also be noted.

As regards the joint China-United States proposal, Mr. Stepanenko felt that it contained questions of principle which should at least be subjected to a thorough examination by the Commission. In his delegation's opinion, some of the provisions contained in that proposal were not acceptable, such as the creation of a committee vested with the right to make recommendations, which belonged to the General Assembly alone.

The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR thought therefore that the Commission should confine itself to informing the Council that, owing to lack of time, it had been unable to examine the various documents which it had received in connection with the Draft Covenant and its implementation.

Mr. CARPIO (Philippines) thought, together with the representatives of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, that any discussion on implementation would merely be a waste of time at the present stage of the Commission's work. The Covenant was the only part of the Charter on Human Rights which required implementation measures, and as long as the Draft Covenant had not been dealt with, discussion on its implementation could only be regarded as premature. Mr. Carpio proposed that a vote should be taken on the Rapporteur's report without consideration of the annexes, which were unnecessary in the present circumstances.

Mr. QUIJANO (Panama) stated that his delegation supported the joint China-United States proposal. It thought, however, that, in view of the large number of proposals of which the Commission on Human Rights was seized, the Commission was not in a position to make any recommendation on the subject of implementation. It should therefore inform the Economic and Social Council that it had not had time to study the question and that it thought that its examination should be postponed until the Covenant itself was examined.

The CHAIRMAN put to the vote the USSR representative's proposal that no annexes should be appended to the report.

The USSR proposal was rejected by 6 votes to 4, with 5 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN next put to the vote the first suggestion made by the Rapporteur to the effect that Annex B of the Drafting Committee's report should be appended to the report with a statement to the effect that the Commission had had no time to examine the part of the report concerning the Draft Covenant.

The Rapporteur's

The Rapporteur's proposal was adopted by 12 votes to 4.

The CHAIRMAN next put to the vote the second proposal made by the Rapporteur to the effect that paragraph 12 of the report should include a reference to the third part of the Commission's last report to the Economic and Social Council (Geneva session) stating that the Commission had had no time to examine the question of implementation, but that it was appending in Annex C the statement made by Professor Cassin on the question as well as the proposals submitted by the representatives of the United States, of China and of Australia.

Mr. PAVLOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) asked that statements on implementation made by certain delegations at the present meeting should also be appended to the report.

Mr. MALIK (Lebanon) suggested that the annex dealing with the question of implementation should include only references to the appropriate documents specifying their symbol numbers. Delegations which wished their statements to be mentioned could have them distributed as Commission documents.

The Commission decided by 14 votes, with 2 abstentions, that delegations which wished that the report should include mention of their statements on the question of implementation should have those statements distributed as Commission documents.

The Commission decided by 12 votes to 3, with 1 abstention, that the annex to the report dealing with the question of implementation should include only references to documents concerning implementation indicating their symbol numbers.

Mr. MALIK (Lebanon) asked the Commission to state its views on the following draft resolution, on the basis of which it could, at its next session, start drafting articles concerning implementation.

> "The Commission decides that further work on implementation is of the utmost importance and that therefore it should embark on this work at its fourth session on the basis of the Report of the Working Group on implementation at the second session of the Commission, taking into account the other documentation [listed] in Annexes B and C."

In reply to a question by Mr. WILSON (United Kingdom), Mr. Malik made it clear that his resolution by no means excluded any other documents which might be submitted at a later stage.

Mr. PAVLOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) recalled that his delegation had always held that the question of implementation should be

 studied

studied on parallel lines with the Covenant. For that reason he suggested that the words: "together with work on the Covenant" should be inserted after the words: "it should embark on this work".

The USSR representative's proposal was adopted unanimously. The resolution submitted by the representative of Lebanon was adopted by 13 votes, with 4 abstentions.

UNRESTRICTED

UN DOC. E/CN.4/145
16 June 1948

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Third Session

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CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES: PROPOSAL ON IMPLEMENTATION

FOR THE COVENANT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

1. Procedures for dealing with violations of the Covenant should be developed gradually in the light of experience.

2. To start with, provision may be made on the following lines for dealing with complaints by Covenanting States of violations of the Covenant:

(a) Covenanting States shall settle complaints arising under the Covenant so far as possible by direct negotiation;
(b) Provision for the appointment of a Committee by Covenanting States shall be made in the Covenant, to which a matter not settled by negotiation or otherwise within a reasonable time should be referred by a Covenanting State or States concerned. The Committee shall consider a complaint referred to it and, in view of all the circumstances, make a recommendation addressed to the State or States concerned, looking to an amicable solution;

(c) States may in any event have such recourse to the International Court of Justice as is provided in the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the Court;
(d) Any State charged with a violation of the Covenant or the Committee referred to in paragraph (b) may request the Economic and Social Council to secure an Advisory Opinion from the International Court of Justice, as provided in the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the Court, on any legal question involved.

3. A reasonable time after the coming into force of the Covenant, Covenanting States should consider whether further measures of implementation are desirable, including measures concerning petitions from individuals, organizations and groups.

4. It is not necessary to create an International Court of Human Rights or a special chamber of the International Court of Justice at least until some experience has been gained of the operation of the Covenant and of the implementation machinery described above.

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UN Doc. E/CN.4/151
17 June 1948

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Third Session

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INDIA: AMENDMENT TO CHINA-UNITED STATES OF AMERICA PROPOSAL ON IMPLEMENTATION FOR THE COVENANT ON HUMAN RIGHTS (E/CN.4/145)

Add after the words "Covenanting State or States concerned" in Item (b) the following:

(b1) Provision shall also be made in the Covenant whereby the Committee shall have like power in regard to complaints referred to it by individuals, organizations, or groups concerning a community or body of persons generally.

(b2) The Committee shall consider a complaint referred to it and, in view of all the circumstances, make a recommendation addressed to the State or States concerned, looking to an amicable solution.*

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* As in the original text.

UNRESTRICTED
UN Doc. E/CN.4/153
21 June 1948

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Third Session

INDIA: PROPOSAL ON IMPLEMENTATION

The Indian delegation has always laid great stress on implementation of human rights. These rights have to be implemented in the first instance by the States themselves, and provision for the state machinery for implementation has been made in the draft covenant. We are here concerned with an international machinery which it is felt is necessary when the States fail to do so. This is a difficult question as it involves the question of national sovereignty.

Among the schemes so far received, the Australian scheme was the most comprehensive. This scheme was examined by the working group appointed at the second session of the Commission at Geneva. It is unfortunate that the report of the working group has not been considered by the Commission due to lack of time.

We have now the United States-China proposals before us. They deal with disputes between two States over the violation of human rights or fundamental freedoms. The machinery for liquidation of such disputes is already there in the Charter. Further, a covenant between States is in the nature of things enforceable between the States inter se under International Law. The scheme, therefore, merely deals with a matter of detail concerning the covenant. It leaves aside the more momentous question of implementing human rights and fundamental freedoms at the instance of aggrieved humanity.

The League of Nations used to receive representations from individuals or groups in a certain description of cases. The peoples of the world expect that this function of the League of Nations should be undertaken by the United Nations. The result has been that the United Nations has received a large number of representations from individuals and organizations regarding the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. There is a demand, therefore, for an organization to deal with these petitions not necessarily judicially but in a spirit of conciliation.

It was this consideration which moved the working group at Geneva to put forward a scheme for dealing with these representations judicially by a tribunal, and extra-judicially through a Standing Committee. The scheme was sent for comments to various Governments. The comments received up to now demonstrate that though the setting up of a tribunal

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is not viewed with favour, the setting up of a Standing Committee is considered a not unsatisfactory solution for dealing with the representations.

The United States-China scheme has also accepted the principle of setting up a committee, but it is not empowered to receive representations from individuals, groups of individuals or organizations to begin with. This is a lecuna which I have tried to remove by my amendment.

I realize the difficulties in the way of dealing with representations from individuals. Such representations will not always be reliable. They may be malicious and even frivolous. But it will not be difficult to weed out such petitions. The committee will not be a judicial committee but a conciliation committee. In spite of these apparent difficulties, therefore, the right to petition the United Nations should not be denied to the individuals, and the committee proposed to be set up should in my opinion be empowered to receive such petitions.

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Third Session

Meeting held on 15 June 1948

STATEMENT BY MR. RENE CASSIN, REPRESENTATIVE OF FRANCE

ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Madam Chairman,

I want first to thank you and all my colleagues on the Commission for granting me this opportunity - before my quite unavoidable premature departure - of broaching the question of the "implementation" of human rights which appeared under Item 2 of our agenda, and allowing me to hold up for a few moments the approaching completion of our laborious discussions on the International Declaration, the Preamble, Articles 2 and 20, and the last but extremely important articles designed to link the Declaration to the Conventions between States, the first of which has been studied by the Drafting Committee.

1. As has been well said, we must not only proclaim the essential human rights and briefly specify on whom the obligations rest, but also delimit these rights and specify how respect for them can be ensured.

This last part of our work is by no means irrelevant to the Declaration, for the human rights which existed before the Charter of the United Nations, a fortiori exist long before we formulate them in the Declaration. Nor must it be forgotten that a Declaration, basic instrument of the General Assembly, implies certain aspects which are binding per se, for example, the decision of the United Nations to offer its assistance to States Members and the specialized agencies in drawing up future Conventions, or the decision to set up an auxiliary body. In other respects, however, the Declaration will have the character of a recommendation. Such will be the case when it calls on States Members gradually to bring their legislation into conformity with the principles formulated in it, and to set up, within the sphere of their jurisdiction, systems of appeal to judicial and administrative bodies, in order to prevent and, if necessary, correct or suppress such violations of human rights as may have been committed within their territory.

2. The French Government attaches major importance to the active cooperation with the United Nations to which the States Members pledged themselves jointly and severally under Article 56 of the Charter.

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Nor does my Government fail to appreciate what a significant innovation it will be if the United Nations establishes a body of positive measures designed to ensure some degree of international supervision over the respect actually accorded to human rights in each State.

However, in the Constitution adopted in France in October 1946, my country declared herself ready, "on condition of reciprocity, to accept the limitations of sovereignty necessary to the organization and defense of peace."

The events preceding the Second World War, in which millions of men lost their lives, have proved that the organization of peace may require some limitation, on the basis of reciprocity, of the traditional sovereignty of States in this respect. I was personally present at the dramatic debates which took place at Geneva between March and October 1933. At that time the only way in which the criminal actions of Hitler Germany towards her own nationals could be brought to the notice of the Council of the League of Nations was to resort to the indirect procedure of invoking the Polish-German treaty on the protection of minorities concluded in 1922. On the day on which the Assembly dared to refer to the general principles authorizing the legally organized international community to protect human rights, even in a sphere not covered by some special minority treaty, Hitler took advantage of the Third Reich's absolute sovereignty over its citizens and denied the League of Nations any right of inspection; and on 14 October 1933, Germany left the League. It is well known what attacks against the national independence and what massacres sprang from the impunity with which Hitler's first great crimes were committed.

The United Nations has a new Charter, deliberately more comphrensive than the former Covenant of the League of Nations, precisely in order that this right of the international community to keep an eye on national affairs may no longer be contested and in order that it should be much more difficult for the errors which jeopardized peace between 1933 and 1939 to recur.

The legal competence of the United Nations is therefore, in principle, incontestable under the Charter. Precedent in General Assembly and even in the Economic and Social Council has already affirmed this in connection with certain important matters brought to the Assembly's notice by States as early as 1946. There is even less doubt of the Security Council's competence as soon as the Council has established that peace is endangered; for when that happens the application of the measures provided for in Chapter VII wholly neutralizes the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter.

3. Yet, when international law takes cognizance of the individual with a view to protecting him (just as the Statute of the Military Tribunal of Nuremberg took direct cognizance of the major war criminals as individuals with a view to punishing them) any programme for the international implementation of human rights must, at the present stage of the law of nations, be in a form acceptable to States.

The French Government which is responsible for security and peace in territories inhabited by more than 100 million human beings belonging to civilizations of the most varied types and which has decided to apply, as scrupulously as possible in its own territories, the principles of human rights of which France has been so long the champion, has for this reason decided to submit to the Commission, as a continuation of the work of our Working Group in Geneva and as a pendant to its draft of a first Covenant on Human Rights, a number of proposals (Articles 27 to 37) relating to implementation (document E/CN/4/82,Add.10 17 May 1948).

4. I shall not make long comments on these articles. Their main purpose is to establish a Commission of 11 members, directly elected for a period of three years by the General Assembly of the United Nations, on the basis of their personal competence and standing, responsible for ensuring that the human rights and fundamental freedoms defined in the previous articles of the Draft Covenant are respected.

The Commission will be assisted by a permanent Secretary-General, who is also elected and will have a threefold task:

(a) In the first place it will consider the provisions of the laws and regulations in force in the various States, and of the agreements bet een them, and administrative, executory and final decisions, with a view to verifying that they are consistent with the provisions of the Covenant.

In this respect the work of the new Commission (which will meet at least three times a year) will be even more important that that carried out within the International Labour Organization, with a view to checking the application by members of ratified conventions and, more specifically, examining the annual reports referred to in the new Article 22 of the ILO Constitution and making recommendations to States which have not yet ratified particular conventions. This precedent might be used as a model for a system of periodical reports.

(b) The Commission spoken of in the French Government's proposal has another andeven more delicate task, that of examining applications submitted not only by States, parties to the Covenant but by non-governmental organizations or by private persons, even when such applications deal with particular cases.

To carry out this task, the Commission is to be empowered to conduct investigations. It may draw on any sources of information it deems necessary. It may, if authorized to do

so by

so by the Assembly of the United Nations '(Article 96, paragraph 2 of the Charter) request the International Court of Justice to give advisory ooinions on legal questions arising within the scope of its activities.

Finally it may make recommendations, based upon its investigations and after discussions with the party or parties concerned, to the Contracting Parties to other organs of the United Nations or to other international organs.

(c) The Commission may propose to the General Assembly of the United Nations any draft recommendations, relating to the Covenant under which it is established.

The Secretary-General will be responsible for the preparation and execution of the work of the Commission, will draw up an annual report on its activities and have the right to submit proposals to the Commission for action.

5. Members of the Commission on Human Rights will see at once that, under Article 36 of the French proposal, the Covenant will not affect the operation of organization established by the Economic and Social Council within the sphere of its jurisdiction and, hence, will not effect the Commission's own activity.

The reason for this provision is that in practice the Economic and Social Council has so far given no organ - not even the Commission on Human Rights - the power to make a full investigation of communications or petitions, which it was requested to grant in May 1946 pending the establishment of an ad hoc organization. Moreover, during the last two years the Economic and Social Council has shown no desire itself to examine all these communications or petitions many of which border on the political in character. The present system for examining communications and petitions affecting human rights cannot be described as satisfactory.

The establishment of the Commission proposed by France would therefore not only meet the desires of eminent jurists and publicists and the suggestions made by the Working Group of our Commission at Geneva in December 1947, but would meet the wishes expressed in the written comments of some governments, such as the Netherlands Government, and satisfy the Economic and Social Council itself, which, as early as June 1946, recognized the necessity of securing a practical implementation of human rights. On many occasions, and again in February 1948, the Council instructed our Commission to submit detailed recommendation on this subject. Nor should we, on the difficult question of petitions, omit to mention the Secretariat studies issued on 19 May (E/CN/.4/92 and 93). The second of these documents is, it may be said, an anticipated set of regulations; it is much more detailed than the French draft which is intentionally expressed in summary form.

6. The institution

6. The institution contemplated in the French draft has the further characteristic that it is open not only to the States parties to the Covenant but also to non-governmental organizations and even to private individuals, on condition, however, that the application or petition concerns respect for human rights The connection between this provision and Article 20 of the Draft International Declaration has already been noticed; this connection is clarified and limited in the French Government's own draft.

We know that in the drafts, as they now stand, of the Governments of several great nations, States alone are given rights of submitting to an ad hoc Committee of Conciliation between the parties concerned complaints respecting manifest and serious violations of human rights in another State (E/CN.4/AC.1/19).

The system advocated also differs from that laid down in the Consititution of the International Labour Organization (Articles 24, 26, 27 and 1 of the Constitution), under which questions are submitted to the Governing Body either by a State or by representatives at the Labour Conference.

The dominant idea is that in questions concerning huma rights it is morally impossible to declare petitions a priori inadmissible unless they are sponsored by a State. The situation differs from that arising when labour conventions are violated, because there collective interests are affected whenever an individual worker is injured.

7. Moreover, the system advocated in the French draft is the beginning of a system of common law applicable to all cases except those for which private proceedings are prescribed by convention in such matters as the regulation of labour (Article 35), the protection of the right to life (draft convention on genocide) or any other similar case.

Its chosen field is that of the rights and freedoms defined in this first Covenant. It may be extended to other rights but only if, owning to the special nature of such rights, as for example the right to nationality, to sanctuary, etc., private proceedings cannot be resorted to.

As thus contemplated, the French draft may seem bold to some. Yet the very short experience of the investigating powers given to the Trusteeship Council under the Charter (Article 87) is quite encouraging. While not wishing to identify the organization and the powers of the future commission with those of the Trusteeship Council, its incomparable value as precedent cannot be rejected out of hand. At the present time there are no human rights better guaranteed internationally that those of the inhabitants of territories entrusted to the administration of a Power under a régime of international trusteeship.

The French

The French Government is moreover conscious of the enormous burden which might weigh on the new commission if it had, indiscriminately, to deal with thousands of petitions of very minor importance or futile. Hence my Government would welcome any reasonable suggestions which, in conformity with the views of the Working Group, would favour the establishment of one or more agencies to screen the petitions either according to their origin (cases of groups or individuals, resident in countries not parties to the Covenant, and who voice grievances about matters originating on the teritory of a contracting party, for example), or to the registration and degr-e of priority to be given to any one complaint either automatically (complaints supported by a contracting State) or Cognita causa (complaints supported by a non-governmental organization enjoying consultative status A or B), etc.

8. The French draft plan for implementation does not for the time being go beyond the stage of enquiry, conciliation and recommendation at any rate in so far as the future examining commission is concerned. The functions of the Security Council will not, of course, be infringed.

We are not, however, ruling out the possibility of considering the establishment of international judicial guarantees of human rights as a human being's last remedy. Not only the great civic organizations (like the Ligue francaise des droits de l'homme* but out own Working Group at Geneva have declared themselves in favour of a court to try such matters. The French Government highly esteems the idea behind the Australian Government's draft proposal for the creation of an International Court of Human Rights. It also knows that at Bogata the American Republics decided that the draft proposal for an Inter-American Regional Court of Human Rights should be studied. The European Congress held at the Hague early in May this year expressed a similar wish.

The French Government realizes, however, that progress should be gradual along a path in which justice must be supported not only by possible emotion but by experience and courage on the part of the nations: hence it does not believe that the time has yet come for it to make positive proposals in this direction. There are too many federal States in the world in which the central authority cannot review judicially the actions and decisions of States or provinces.

Moreover, it is very important not to dissipate our efforts. If, as we hope, the Draft Convention on Genocide soon becomes a reality, the first task will be to organize the criminalchamber of the International Court or the Crminal Court which will be responsible for the punishment of the worst cases.

As things

* French League for Human Rights (Unofficial translation)

As things are, legal questions concerning the breach of the proposed Covenant may in any case be submitted to the Hague Court, even without any special clauses, by the mere application of Article 36 of its Statute. The procedure of obtaining advisory opinions, moreover, may be set in motion by the new examining commission, if the United Nations General Assembly follows the French suggestions.

What I am in a position to say is that as soon as our Government finds it possible to advocate the establishment of special international judicial proceedings in matters of human rights, without prejudice to the universal or regional, general or special character of the tribunal declared competent or to the possible exclusion of the Court of Justice at The Hague, to which our country is very attached - the only way in which we can visualize the organization of such a mode of redress is that there will have to be a United Nations Attorney-General.

There are three reasons for this: the first is the very great importance of the precedent of the international Prosecution at Nuremberg, a fortunate precendent which cannot be limited to penal matters;

The second is the need for precations lest the delicate and often very serious disputes liable to arise on the subject of human rights be laid open to the charge of being fomented by one State politically interested in bringing another State into disrepute with its own nationals. It is essential that the authority which has the formidable responsibility of bringing before the Court of International Justice a case of violation of human rights not settled by a recommendation of the investigating commission, should be a true incarnation of the international juridical community and not a personally 'interested' party;

The third reason is that in the present state of international law the Court of International Justice only decides cases between States. Whilst it is proposed to enable the individual to appear in an international court in proceedings against his own State, there are objections to carrying out an ill-prepared revolution in the law, an upheaval which would be all the more dangerous, if ill-prepared, on account of the great interests involved. The 'cover' of the United Nations Attorney-General would be a necessary transition for an unforeseeable period but it would be the <u>sine qua non</u> of the institution of any appellate proceedings in these matters.

9. I have finished, although the subject is one which should receive much fuller development, both as regards the French proposal and the outline which I have given of it.

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I should like to stress the following conclusions: first, the States Members of the United Nations, in signing the Charter, have given a positive pledge to work for the effective respect of human rights in co-operation with the United Nations; that is the unshakeable foundation of any measure to be applied internationally.

Secondly, it is our duty to submit positive proposals to the Economic and Social Council and through it to the United Nations General Assembly. The hour has come to give some practical effect to the mandate enstrusted to us. At a time when many illusions are falling to the ground, the Human Rights Commission cannot be a cause of disillusionment.

Thirdly, the terrible prcedent of 1933 must always be present in our minds. In order to get States into the habit of bringing their legislation and their administrative measures into line with the General Declaration on Human Rights and this or that Covenant designed to facilitate respect for human rights, the first step must be to rely on their good faith and good will and to help them to achieve the necessary evolution. At the internationa level, the carefully organized machinery for both voluntary contact and conciliation is a powerful agent in transforming ideas and customs.

Fourthly, the organization of a complete international society in which international law takes cognizance of the individual, postulates the establishment of appellate proceedings for his benefit. We must begin here and now to study the matter, follow up the progress made in some spheres, and contemplate the creation of institutions of general interest like the United Nations Attorney-General, as a part of any such structure.

The French Government wishes at this juncture to offer a positive contribution capable of being put into effect within a short time. It would be happy if, thanks to the support of other governments, its amended plan could provide one of the bases for the future Charter of human rights, which would itself always be perfectible.

There are so many abuses, so much injustice and suffering that we cannot delay any longer in proceeding with our task.

UNRESTRICTED

UN DOC. E/CN.4/AC.1/27
10 May 1948

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

DRAFTING COMMITTEE

SECOND SESSION

AUSTRALIA: DRAFT PROPOSALS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The following proposals are intended to give effect to the decisions of the Commission's working group on implementation.

It is proposed that the following draft articles relating to the Court of Human Rights be inserted in the Covenant:

"Draft Articles for Inclusion in Covenant
International Court of Human Rights

1. There is established an International Court of Human Rights. The Court shall be constituted and shall function in accordance with the Statute of the Court, which forms an integral part of this Covenant.

2. All parties to this Covenant are ipso facto parties to the Statute of the Court.

3. (1) Each party to this Covenant undertakes to comply with the decision of the Court in any case to which it is a party.
(2) If any party fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party or the Commission on Human Rights may have recourse to the General Assembly of the United Nations, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations as to measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.

4. The Commission on Human Rights may request the Court to give an advisory opinion on any question relating to human rights or fundamental freedoms.

5. The Court shall make an annual report to the Economic and Social Council on the working of the Court in relation to the rights and freedoms within its jurisdiction. The Court may also make other reports to the Economic and Social Council if and when it thinks proper to do so."

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The following is a draft Statute of the Court. It is based to a large extent on the Statute of the International Court of Justice although it has not been thought necessary to make detailed provisions as to its procedure. It appears to us that the Court of Human Rights is a new concept and the procedure adopted by it should be as flexible as is necessary to ensure its adequate functioning in the field which is assigned to it.

Article 1

The International Court of Human Rights established by the Covenant on Human Rights shall be constituted and shall function in accordance with the provisions of the present Statute.

Organization of the Court

Article 2

The Court shall be composed of a body of independent judges, elected regardless of their nationality from among persons of high moral character who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices.

Article 3

1. The Court shall consist of six members, no two of whom may be nationals of the same State.
2. A person who for the purposes of membership in the Court could be regarded as a national of more than one State shall be deemed to be a national of the one in which he ordinarily exercises civil and political rights.

Article 4

1. The members of the Court shall be elected by the General Assembly of the United Nations on the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council.

2. The members of the Court shall be recommended and elected from a list of candidates nominated by States Members of the United Nations, each of whom shall be entitled to nominate one candidate.

Article 5

1. The members of the Court shall be elected for nine years and may be re-elected; provided however that of the judges elected at the first election, the terms of two judges shall expire at the end of three years; and the terms of two more judges shall expire at the end of six years.
2. The judges whose terms are to expire at the end of the above-mentioned periods of three and six years shall be chosen by lot to be drawn by the Secretary-General immediately after the first election has been completed.
3. The members of the Court shall continue to discharge their duties until their places are filled. Though replaced, they shall finish any cases which they may have begun.
4. In the case of resignation of a member of the Court, the resignation

 shall

shall be addressed to the President of the Court for transmission to the Secretary-General. This last notification makes the place vacant.

Article 6

1. Vacancies shall be filled by the same method as that laid down for the first election.

2. A member of the Court elected to replace a member whose term of office has not expired shall hold office for the remainder of his predecessor's term.

Article 7

1. No member of the Court may exercise any political or administrative function, or engage in any other occupation of a professional nature.

2. No member of the Court may act as agent, counsel or advocate in any case.

3. Any doubt on these matters shall be settled by decision of the Court.

Article 8

1. No member of the Court can be dismissed unless, in the unanimous opinion of the other members, he has ceased to fulfil the required conditions.

2. Formal notification thereof shall be made to the Secretary-General by the Registrar.

3. This notification makes the place vacant.

Article 9

The members of the Court, when engaged on the business of the Court, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immuhities.

Article 10

Every member of the Court shall, before taking up his duties, make a solemn declaration in open Court that he will exercise his powers impartially and conscientiously.

Article 11

1. The Court shall elect its President and Vice-President for three years; they may be re-elected.

2. The Court shall appoint its Registrar and may provide for the appointment of such other officers as may be necessary.

Article 12

Article 12

The seat of the Court shall be established at The Hague. This, however, shall not prevent the Court from sitting and exercising its functions elsewhere whenever the Court considers it desirable.

Article 13

1. The Court shall remain permanently in Session, except during the judicial vacations, the dates and duration of which shall be fixed by the Court.

2. Members of the Court are entitled to periodic leave, the dates and duration of which shall be fixed by the Court.

3. Members of the Court shall be bound, unless they are on leave or prevented from attending by illness or other serious reasons duly explained to the President, to hold themselves permanently at the disposal of the Court.

Article 14

A quorum of three judges shall suffice to constitute the Court.

Article 15

1. Each member of the Court shall receive an annual salary.

2. The President shall receive a special annual allowance.

3. The Vice-President shall receive an allowance for every day on which he acts as President.

4. These salaries and allowances shall be fixed by the General Assembly. They shall not be decreased during the term of office.

5. The salary of the Registrar shall be fixed by the General Assembly on the proposal of the Court.

6. Regulations made by the General Assembly shall fix the conditions under which retirement pensions may be given to members of the Court and to the Registrar, and the conditions under which members of the Court and the Registrar shall have their travelling expenses paid.

7. The above salaries and allowances shall be free of all taxation.

Article 16

Article 16

The expenses of the Court shall be borne by the United Nations in such a manner as shall be decided by the General Assembly.

Competence of the Court

Article 17

1. The following may be parties in cases before the Court:

(a) States
(b) individuals
(c) groups of individuals
(d) associations, whether national or international.

2. The Court, subject to and in conformity with its rules, may request of public international organizations information relevant to cases before it, and shall receive such information presented by such organizations on their own initiative.

Article 18

1. The Court shall be open to the States or nationals of States parties to the present Statute.

2. The conditions under which the Court shall be open to other States or their nationals, shall, subject to the special provisions contained in treaties in force, be laid down by the Economic and Social Council, but in no case shall conditions place the parties in a position of inequality before the Court.

3. Where a State which is not a member of the United Nations or a national of such a State, is a party to a case, the Court shall fix the amount which that party is to contribute towards the expenses of the Court.

Article 19

1. The jurisdiction of the Court shall comprise the following:

(i) All disputes arising out of the interpretation and application of the Covenant on Human Rights referred to it by any party to such Covenant;
(ii) All disputes arising out of the interpretation and application of Articles concerning human rights in any treaty or convention between States referred to it by any party to such treaty or convention;
(iii) All matters concerning the observance of human rights by the parties to such Covenant or to any such treaty or Convention

referred

referred to it by the Commission on Human Rights.

2. In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court.

Article 20

1. The Court may refer the whole or part of a dispute which is before it, or any matter arising out of the dispute, to the Commission on Human Rights for investigation and report, and may delegate to that Commission such of the powers of the Court as the Court may deem desirable to enable the Commission to reach a settlement of the dispute by amicable agreement, and may at any time revoke such reference.

2. The Court may also, in relation to any matter referred to it by the Commission on Human Rights, request that Commission to investigate and report to it on the matter in such respects as may be specified by the Court, and for that purpose may delegate to the Commission such of the powers of the Court as the Court may deem desirable, and may at any time revoke such request.

Article 21

The Court in reaching its decision shall apply:

(a) international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting or interested states;
(b) international customs, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;
(c) the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;
(d) subject to Article 26, judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law;
(e) general principles of equity and justice.

Procedure

Article 22

1. The official languages of the Court shall be French and English.

2. The Court shall, at the request of any party, authorize a language other than French or English to be used by that party.

Article 23

1. The Court shall frame rules for carrying out its functions. In

 particular

particular, it shall lay down its own rules of procedure, including the method of presentation of matters to the Court, the procedure to be followed in the conduct of the proceedings and the delivery and promulgation of the judgment. So far as they may be applicable, the procedures adopted by the International Court of Justice shall be followed.

2. The Court may amend such rules from time to time as occasion may require, and may, if it considers it desirable in the interest of a speedy and just determination, suspend any such rule.

Article 24

1. All questions shall be decided by a majority of the judges present.

2. In the event of an equality of votes, the President or the judge who is authorized by him to act in his place, shall have a casting vote.

Article 25

1. The judgment shall state the reasons on which it is based.

2. It shall contain the names of the judges who have taken part in the decision.

3. If the judgment does not represent in whole or in part the unanimous opinion of the judges, any judge shall be entitled to deliver a separate opinion.

Article 26

The decision of the Court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case.

Article 27

The judgment is final and without appeal. In the event of dispute as to the meaning or scope of the judgment, the Court shall construe it upon the request of any party.

Article 28

Unless otherwise decided by the Court, each party shall bear its own costs.

Advisory Opinions

Article 29

1. The Court may give an advisory opinion on any question relating to

 human

human rights at the request of the Commission on Human Rights.

2. Questions upon which the advisory opinion of the Court is asked shall be laid before the Court by means of a written request containing an exact statement of the question upon which an opinion is required, and accompanied by all documents likely to throw light upon the question.

Article 30

The court shall adopt rules of procedure for the purpose of carrying out its functions with respect to advisory opinions, and, in so doing, shall be guided by the provisions of the present Statute which apply in contentious cases to the extent to which it recognizes them to be applicable.

Amendment

Article 31

Amendments to the present Statute shall be effected by decision of the General Assembly made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting.

Article 32

The Court shall have power to propose such amendments to the present Statute as it may deem necessary, through written communications to the Secretary-General, for consideration in conformity with the provisions of Article 31.

UN.DOC. E/CN.4/Add.10
17 May 1948

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

THIRD SESSION

COMMENTS BY GOVERNMENTS ON THE DRAFT INTERNATIONAL DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THE DRAFT INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND IMPLEMENTATION

COMMUNICATION RECEIVED FROM THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT

Please add the following articles to the Draft Covenant communicated by the French Government and reproduced as document E/CN.4/ 82/Add.8.

Article XXl

A Special Commission consisting of eleven members and established by the General Assembly of the United Nations shall be responsible for ensuring that the human rights and fundamental freedoms as defined in the foregoing articles are respected.

Article XXll

The members of the said commission shall be appointed by a two-thirds majority of the Assembly for their competence and standing, subject to equitable geographical distribution. They shall be elected from a panel of candidates submitted by the Members of the United Nations on the basis of one candidate for each Member. They shall be elected for three years and be re-eligible.

Article XXlll

By the same majority the Assembly shall appoint a permanent Secretary-General to the Commission who shall serve for a period of five years and be re-eligible.

Article XXlV

The Commission shall consider the provisions of the laws and regulations in force in the various States, and of the agreements between them, and administrative, executory and final judicial decisions, with a view to verifying that they are consistent with the provisions of the present Covenant.

Article XXV

The Commission shall be moved by application submitted by a Contracting Party, a non-governmental organization or a private person.

Article XXVl

Article XXVI

The Commission, in cosidering applications, may draw upon any sources of information which it may deem necessary.

Article XXVII

The Commission shall make recommendations to the contracting parties based upon its investigations and after holding discussions with the party or parties concerned.

Such recommendations may be accompanied by all or part of the documents on which they are based.

The Commission may also make recommendations to the other organs of the United Nations and to other international organizations.

Article XXVIII

The Commission may propose draft recommendations to the General Assembly for amendments to the present Covenant.

Article XXIX

The Commission shall establish its own rules of procedure. It shall meet three times a year. Should circumstances so require, it may hold special sessions. Such special sessions shall be called by the Secretary-General at the request of a majority of the members of the Commission.

Article XXX

The Secretary-General shall attend all the meetings of the Commission.

He shall submit an annual report to the Commission on its activities.

He shall classify the applications addressed to the Commission.

He shall be generally responsible for the preparation and execution of the work of the Commission.

He may submit proposals to the Commission for action.

Article XXXI

The Secretary-General shall appoint the staff of the Secretariat in conformity with the staff regulations to be submitted to the Commission for its approval.

Article XXXII

Article XXXII

The Commission, after being duly authorized to do so by the General Assembly of the United Nations in accordance with Article 96, paragraph 2, of the Charter, may request advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice on legal questions arising within the scope of its activities.

Article XXXIII

Article XXIV

The headquarters of the Commission and its Secretariat shall be at Geneva.

The Commission may meet elsewhere if it should desire.

Article XXXV (new)

The Provisions of Articles 21 to 33 shall not be construed as excluding private proceedings which may be prescribed by convention in such matters as the protection of the right to life or the regulation of labour.

Article XXXVI (New)

The present Covenant shall not affect the operation of Organizations established by the Economic and Social Council within the sphere of its jurisdiction.

Article XXXVII

Subject to the provisions of Chapters XII and XIII of the Charter of the United Nations, the present Covenant shall apply to any territory not enjoying full independence in international relations when the State on which it is dependent has acceded to the Convention in its name. If necessary the responsible State shall endeavour to obtain the consent of the competent authorities of such territories for this purpose.

Article XXXVIII

In the case of federal States the provisions of the Present Covenant shall be binding upon the federal State as well as upon the individual States, provinces or cantons.

Article XXXIX

1. Amendments to this Covenant shall come into force when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the Members of the General Assembly of the United Nations and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the parties to this Covenant.

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When such amendments come into force they shall be binding on those parties which have ratified them, leaving other parties still bound by the provisions of the Covenant which they have accepted by accession, including earlier amendments which they have ratified.

Article XL

1. (a) This Covenant shall be opened for accession to every Member of the United Nations or State party to the Statue of the International Court of Justice and to any other State which the General Assembly of the United Nations shall, by resolution, have invited to accede.

(b) Accession to the present Covenant shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

(c) The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify the Members of the United Nations and the other States mentioned in paragraph 1 above of the deposit of each instrument of accession.

2. As regards the States which have acceded, this Covenant shall come into force as soon as two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations have deposited their instruments of accession. As regards any State acceding subsequently, the Covenant shall come into force at the date of the deposit of its instrument of accession.

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UNRESTRICTED

UN DOC. E/CN.4/154
24 June 1948

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

THIRD SESSION

STATEMENT

MADE BY THE USSR DELEGATION IN THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS ON

18 MAY 1948 WITH REGARD TO THE DRAFTS AND PROPOSALS ON IMPLEMENTATION

The Soviet delegation has studied the drafts and implementation proposals presented to the Commission on Human Rights, in particular, those submitted by the United States, China, France, Australia and the Working Committee set up by the Commission at its second session. It notes that all these drafts and proposals interpret implementation to mean not a system of measures for ensuring that human rights are implemented and guaranteed in every country by the State and society, but rather, a system of international methods of pressure to be exercised through special organs established for this purpose (e.g. an international court, international committee or a United Nations public prosecutor, etc.), and intended to force individual States to take particular steps connected with execution of the Convention on Human Rights.

It is clear, therefore, that such "implementation" may become a means of interfering in the internal affairs of a State party to the Convention, and of undermining the sovereignty and independence of particular States.

The implementation plan entails the establishment of various international instances in which communications and complaints with regard to the violation of human rights, from both States and Governments and private individuals or associations of such individuals, would be considered. It thus conflicts with the whole system of international public law regulating the relations between States. In addition the plan, if it is adopted, will have the effect of transforming a dispute between a private individual or group of individuals and their State or Government into an international dispute, thereby substantially enlarging the area of international differences, frictions and incidents, unnecessarily burdening and aggravating international relations and undermining the foundations of peace.

Furthermore, the transference to a special committee, special international court or even, as contemplated in some implementation plans to the Commission on Human Rights of the prerogative conferred upon the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council of making

recommendations

recommendations to States on questions of human rights would upset the powers as established by the Charter and the distribution of those powers as between the main and auxiliary organs of the United Nations, and would, further encourage interference in the internal affairs of Members of the United Nations which is contrary to the Charter.

Since what is required is an international document calculated to serve the purpose of maintaining and strengthening international peace and developing good neighborly relations between nations, the Soviet delegation disapproves of all the drafts and proposals on implementation presented to the Commission and considers them unsatisfactory.

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16 - Human Rights

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Office of Public Affairs
Division of Public Liaison
Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED
SEP 29 1948
Southern Regional Council

ANNOUNCEMENT

September 22, 1948

To Organizations Interested in the Draft International Covenant on Human Rights:

Under cover of Mr. Francis B. Russell's letter of August 20, 1948 you were forwarded as enclosure No. 1 the Draft International Covenant on Human Rights. Mechanical errors which affected the continuity of the text from page 14 to page 20 were made in the pagination and assembling of this document.

In the attached document the pages are numbered and assembled in correct order. This copy should be substituted for enclosure No. 1 of Mr. Russell's letter of August 20, 1948.

DRAFT INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON HUMAN RIGHTS*

(prepared by the Drafting Committee on An International Bill of Human Rights, being Annex "B" of document E/CN.4/95 and Annex "B" of UN document E/800.)

PART I

PREAMBLE**

The States parties hereto, bearing in mind the general principles proclaimed in the United Nations Charter and in the Declaration of Human Rights, agree to give effect in this Covenant to certain of the principles specified in the Declaration, as follows:

Article 1

The States parties hereto declare that they recognize the rights and freedoms set forth in Part II hereof as being among the human rights and fundamental freedoms founded on the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations.

Article 2

Every State party hereto undertakes to ensure:

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* The Drafting Committee agreed to point out in its Report its view that the Covenant is not self-operative.

** It was agreed by the Drafting Committee that the ideas contained in this text should be included in a Preamble when one is written. It was also agreed to draw attention to the following text submitted by the representative of France: "The States parties hereto, being resolved to give effect to the general principles proclaimed in the United Nations Charter and specified in the International Declaration on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on _____, have agreed to conclude a preliminary convention, defining the practical scope of certain of these principles".

(a) through

(a) through adequate laws and procedures to all individuals within its jurisdiction, whether citizens, nationals, persons of foreign nationality or stateless persons, the rights and freedoms set forth in Part II of this Covenant, and further undertakes that such rights and freedoms where not now provided under existing laws and procedures be given effect in its domestic law through the adoption of appropriate laws and procedures;
(b) that any persons whose rights or freedoms as herein defined are violated shall have an effective remedy, notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity;
(c) that such remedy shall be enforceable by a judiciary whose independence is secured; and
(d) that the police and executive authorities shall act in support of the enjoyment of these rights and freedoms.

Article 3

(Note: The Drafting Committee decided not to consider the following Geneva text until articles on implementation had been drafted)*:

On receipt of a request to this effect from the Secretary-General of the United Nations made under the authority of a resolution of the General Assembly, the Governement of any party to this Covenant shall supply an explanation as to the manner in which the law of that State gives effect to any of the provisions of this Covenant.

Article 4

(No decision was made as to which of the following alternative texts was preferred.)

I. Text originally submitted by the Commission on Human Rights

1. In time of war or other public emergency, a State may take measures derogating from its obligations under Article 2 above to the extent strictly limited by the exigencies of the situation.
2. (Left over until implementation articles have been drafted.)

II. Text submitted by the Representative of the United States

The obligations imposed by Articles 1 and 2 shall not effect the right of State parties to this Covenant to take action reasonably necessary for the preservation of peace, order or security or the promotion of the general welfare. Such action may be taken only by or pursuant to law, in conformity with Article 20 hereof:

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* The limitations suggested by the representative of the United States were submitted in each case as illustrative of the problems arising in the absence of a general limitation clause, which the United States prefers.

(Note: The delegation of the United States pointed out:
(1) that the limitations set forth in the Covenant without the additions suggested by other Governments are not all-inclusive;
(2) that certain Governments which have suggested further limitations have stated that their lists are not all-inclusive; and
(3) that the matter of restricting the rights and freedoms of the Covenant arises from many sources of law and that the Commission on Human Rights must find the solution for dealing with the problem caused by the omission of further probable limitations not yet enumerated.)*

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* The limitations suggested by the representative of the United States were submitted in each case as illustrative of the problems arising in the absence of a general limitation clause, which the United States prefers.

PART II

Article 5

No one shall be deprived of his life save in the execution of the sentence of a court following his conviction of a crime for which this penalty is provided by law.

(Note: The Drafting Committee decided to forward this text to the Commission together with a list of possible additional limitations. The list is as follow:

1. Suppression of rebellion or riots (Union of South Africa)
Deprivation of life by the military or state officers in a national emergency (United States of America).
2. Self-defense and defense of another (Union of South Africa) (United States of America)
3. Killing in attempting to affect arrests for certain offences. (Union of South Africa)
4. Killing by accident (United States of America)
5. Killing for violation of honour (United States of America)
6. Killing of persons caught in the commission of a felony (United States of America)
7. Killing to prevent an escape (United States of America)
8. Killing by medical operation in absence of gross negligence or malpractice. (United States of America)
9. Killing through a voluntary medical experiment (United States of America)
10. Killing by officers of the law to prevent the commission of a crime (see also supra 6) (United States of America)
11. Killing by officers of the law in a local emergency (United States of America)
12. Killing by a military in time of war (United States of America)

Article 6

No one shall be subjected to any form or physical mutilation or medical or scientific experimentation against his will.

(Note: The Drafting Committee decided to forward this text to the Commission together with a list of possible additional limitations. This list is as follows:

1. Compulsory vaccination. (United States of America)
2. Legitiamte medical and scientific experimentation in hospitals for the insane, with the consent of a parent or guardian of the patient (United States of America)

3. Emergency operations

3. Emergency operations undertaken to save the life of a patient, where the pateint is unable to give his consent or where a person empowered to give consent on behalf of the patient gives such consent. (United States of America)
4. Other limitations may be developed later. (United States of America)

Article 7

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel or inhuman punishment or to cruel or inhuman indignity.

Article 8*

1. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.
2. No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labor, except as a consequence of a conviction of crime by a competent court.
3. For the purposes of this Article, the term "forced or compulsory labor" shall not include:
   (a) Any service of a purely military character, or service in the case of conscientious objectors, exacted in virtue of compulsory military service laws, provided that the service of conscientious objectors be compensated with maintenance and pay not inferior to what a soldier of the lowest rank receives;
   (b) Anvservice exacted in cases of emergencies or calamities threatening the life or well-being of the community;
   (c) Any minor communal services considered as normal civic obligations incumbent upon the members of the community, provided that these obligations have been accepted by the members of the community concerned directly or through their directly elected representatives.

(Note: (1) The following text, which follows the wording of a relevant article of the International Labour Organization's Forced Labour Convention of 1930 was suggested by the representative of the International Labour Organization, and the Committee decided to forward it to the Commission as an alternative text for paragraph 3 (c):

"Minor communal services of a kind, which, being performed by the members of the community in the direct interest of the said community, can therefore be considered as normal civic obligations incumbent upon the members of the community, provided that the members of the community or their direct representatives shall have the right ot be consulted in regard to the need for such services."

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* The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics proposed that the following text be added after the first sentence of this Article: "The slave trade is forbidden in all its forms."

(2) The Commi ee also decided to forward to the Commission, as possible additions to paragraph 3, two further possible limitations submitted by the delegation of the United States;

(d) Service exacted from deserting seamen returned to their ships, having entered into voluntary contracts for a period of service;

(e) Services performed by minors, either in the course of normal family life or pursuant to contracts made in their behalf either by parents or guardians.)

Article 9

(The Drafting Committee voted in favour of the first of the following texts).

I. Text originally forwarded by the Commission on Human Rights, as Amended:

1. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention.

2. In consequence, no person shall be deprived of his liberty save in the case of:

(a) the arrest of a person effected for the purpose of bringing him before a court on a reasonable suspicion of having committed a crime or which is reasonably considered to be immediately necessary to prevent his committing a crime;

(b) the lawful arrest and detention of a person for non-compliance with lawful order or decree of a court;

(c) the lawful detention of a person sentenced after conviction to deprivation of liberty;

(d) the lawful detention of persons of unsound mind;

(e) the parental or quasi-parental custody of minors;

(f) the lawful arrest and detention of a person to prevent his effecting an unauthorized entry into the country;

(g) the lawful arrest and detention of aliens against whom deportation proceedings are pending.

3. Any person who is arrested shall be informed promptly of the charges against him. Any person who is arrested under the provisions of sub-paragraph (a) or (b) of paragraph 2 of this Article shall shall be brought promptly before a judge, and shall be tried within a reasonable time or released.

4. Every one who is deprived of his liberty by arrest or detention shall have an effective remedy in the nature of "habeas Corpus" by which the lawfulness of his detention shall be decided speedily by a court and his release ordered if the detention is not lawful.

5. Every person shall have an enforceable right to compensation in respect of any unlawful arrest or deprivation of liberty.

(Note:

(Note: A list of all the possible limitation suggested by various governments, together with an analysis of this list, follows the text of this Article proposed by the United Sta es, below).

II. Text Proposed by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The inviolability of the human person shall be guaranteed by law. No person shall be subjected to arrest except by order of a court or a prosecuting authority.

Any person who is arrested shall be informed promptly of the charges against him. Every person who is deprived of his liberty shall be brought promptly before a court for an order for the trial of his case within a reasonable time or for his release.

Every person shall have an enforceable right to compensation in respect of any unlawful arrest or deprivation of liberty.

III. Text Proposed by the United States

No one salll be deprived of liberty without due process of law.

No one shall be arrested or detained without being promptly informed of the reasons for the arrest or detention and without being entitled to a fair hearing within a reasonable time or to release.

LIST AND ANALYSIS OF SUGGESTED LIMITATIONS TO ARTICLE 9 OF THE COVENANT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

I. In document E/CN.4/AC.1/23 of 7 May 1948 a list of items suggested by Governments for addition to the enumeration contained in Article 9 (2) of the Draft Covenant (document E/600) was circulated, embodying the items suggested in written comments by Governments and, orally, by representatives in the twenty-third meeting of the Committee on 6 May 1948. These limitations are as follows:

1. Arrest and detention of persons suffering from serious contagious disease. (Netherlands, United Kingdom, Norway.)
2. Arrest and detention of alcoholics (Norway).
3. Arrest "flagrante delicto" (Brazil); probably covered by item (a) of Article 9 (2).
4. Arrest for the purpose of removal from one province to another (Union of South Africa).
5. Arrest for the purpose of removal of persons other than aliens (Union of South Africa).
6. Arrest of witnesses in order to bring them before a court (Union of South Africa) or for their protection (United States)
7. Detention of children in need of care (Union of South Africa).
8. Arrests for breach of military discipline (Chile; oral observation in the twenty-third meeting meeting of the Committee on 5 May 1948).
9. Arrest in civil cases usually involving wrong-doing (fraud etc.),in the commencement of an action (United States, oral observations, 5 May 1948).
10. Arrest as a means of satisfaction of a judgement in such actions or by way of punishment in such cases (United States; oral observations, 5 May 1948).
11. Detention of persons listed under Article 8, paragraph 3 of the Geneva draft of the Covenant (this relates to the class of persons who may be subjected to forced or conpulsory labour in connection with military or emergency service, etc.) (United States; oral observations, 5 May 1948).
12. Detention of enemy aliens (United States; oral observations, 5 May 1948).

Subsequently the French Draft Covenant was presented to the Committee (document E/CN.4/82/Add.8) and in the meeting of the Drafting Committee, held on 12 May 1948, the Chairman in her capacity of United States Representative suggested some additional specific limitations of the rights safeguarded in Article 9 of the Draft Covenant.

II. The list

II. The list of restrictions contained in Article VIII of the French Draft is as follows:

(a) the arrest and detention of a person effected for the purpose of bringing him before a court on suspicion of having committed a crime or of preventing the imminent commission of a crime or offence;
(b) the arrest and detention of a person; as provided by law, for non-compliance with the lawful order of a court;
(c) lawful detention in pursuance of a sentence of imprisonment;
(d) the lawful detention of persons of unsound minds;
(e) the lawful arrest and detention of a person to prevent his effecting an unauthorized entry into a country;
(f) the lawful arrest and detention of aliens against whom deportation or extradition proceedings are pending;
(g) the educational supervision of minors.

III. The list of additional specific limitations prepared by the United States Representative and presented on 12 May 1948 is as follows:

(h) the arrest and detention of a person suffering from a serious contagious disease;
(i) the arrest and detention of an alcoholic;
(j) the arrest of witnesses in order to bring them before a court or for their protection;
(k) arrest and detention for breach of military discipline;
(l) arrest and detention in civil cases (tort, or contract cases involving wrong-doing such as fraud, etc.) by way of commencing an action or as a means of satisfaction of a judgment in such cases or by way of punishment in such cases;
(m) the detention of enemy aliens;
(n) the detention of persons under the authority of Article 8, paragraph 3 of the Covenant (relating to the classes of persons who may be subjected to compulsory labour in connection with military or emergency service);
(o) other situations to be enumerated.

IV. The Chinese delegation suggested the following list of possible limitations (E/CN.4/AC.1/23/Add.2):

1. Arrest of persons who violate the provisions of the Covenant;
2. Arrest of persons suspected as spies;
3. Arrest of persosn who trespass prohibited property or areas;
4. Arrest of persons who attempt to or destroy public property;
5. Arrest of persons for disturbing public order such as shouting "Fire" in a theatre when there is no fire;
6. Arrest of persons for speeding while driving through a crowded street in the city;
7. Arrest of persons who attempt to commit suicide.

V. This

V. This analysis is based on the following enumeration of limitations:

1. the limitation already contained in Article 9, sub-paragraph 2 (a) to (g) of the Draft Covenant as adopted at the second session of the Commission in Geneva;
2. the items suggested by Governments and enumerated in document E/CN.4/AC.1/23;
3. the additional specific limitations suggested by the United States of America on 12 May 1948;
4. the limititions suggested by France;
5. the limitations suggested by China.

According to these different lists the Covenant would contain the following limitations of the right to liberty:

(a) Arrest for the purpose of criminal proceedings or prevention of a crime

This item covers item (a) of the Geneva Draft, item (a) of the French Draft and the Brazilian suggestion concerning arrest "flagrante delicto", item 3 of document E/CN.4/AC.1/23. In formulating the final text the Commission may wish to have regard to items 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 of the Chinese limitations.

(b) Arrest and detention for non-compliance with a court order

This item covers item (b) of the Geneva Draft and item (b) of the French Draft. In formulating its text regard should be had of item 10 of document E/CN.4/AC.1/2 3, "arrest as a means of satisfaction of a judgement in actions or by way of punishment in civil cases" (United States) and the analogous item (1) of the United States list and further of item (9) of document E/CN.4/AC.1/23, "arrest in civil cases."

(c) The detention of a person sentenced after conviction to deprivation of liberty.

This item covers item (c) of the Geneva Draft and item (c) of the French Draft. In drafting the text, the Committee may wish to have regard to the Chilean proposal listed under item 8 of document E/cn.4/AC.1/23 and the United States proposal listed under (k) which are to the effect that arrests and detentions for breach of military discipline should also be covered.

(d) Detention of persons of unsound mind.

This item covers item (d) of the Geneva Draft and item (d) of the French proposal. With regard to this item note should be taken of the Norwegian proposal, document E/CN.4/AC.1/23 item (2) and the United States proposal, item (i) above, suggested that the Covenant should also cover the case of the arrest and detention of alcoholics.

(e) The parental or quasi-parental custody of minors

This item corresponds to item (e) of the Geneva Draft and to item (g) of the French proposal. It is submitted that, in its formulation, regard should be had to item 7 of document E/CN.4/AC.1/23, the South African proposal concerning the detention of children in need of care.

Restrictions on

Restrictions on aliens

(f) The lawful arrest and detention of a person to prevent his effecting an unauthorized entry into the country;

(g) The lawful arrest and detention of aliens against whom deportation proceedings are pending.

In formulating these two items the Committee may wish to have regard to items (e) and (f) of the French proposal and to item (m) of the United States list. Closely connected with these two items are also the suggestions made by South Africa, items 4 and 5 of document E/CN.4/AC.1/23, suggesting an extension of these provisions to cover also arrests for the purpose of removal from one province to another and the removal of persons other than aliens.

VI. Remaining Items

The following three additional items remain:

1. Arrest and detention of persons suffering from serious contagious disease (Netherlands, United Kingdom and United States).

It covers item 1 of document E/CN.4/AC.1/23 and item (h) of the United States list.

2. Arrest of witnesses (Union of South Africa and United States)

Item 6 of document E/CN.4/AC.1/23 and item (g) of the United States list.

3. Arrest and detention in connection with services exacted under Article 8 (3).

The United States proposal, item 11 of document E/CN.4/AC.1/23 and item (n) of the United States list, concerns the detention of persons liable to military service, service in cases of emergency and minor communal services.

Here the Committee may wish to consider to what extent this limitation is covered by the provision to be made for detentions for the breach of military discipline and further, whether services in an emergency, or "Minor communal services" could be considered exceptions from a rule prohibiting arbitrary arrest or detention.

The United States list further contains the item:

4. Other situations to be enumerated;

Article 10

No one shall be imprisoned merely on the grounds of inability to fulfil a contractual obligation.

Article 11

(No decision was made as to which of these texts was preferred.)
(Geneva text)

1. Subject to any general law not contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and adopted for specific reasons of security or in the general interest, there shall be

liberty of

liberty of movement and free choice of residence within the borders of each State.

2. Any person who is not subject to any lawful deprivation of liberty or to any outstanding obligations with regard to national service shall be free to leave any country including his own.

Alternative text

1. No one shall be denied freedom of movement or residence within the borders of a Contracting State.

2. Any one shall be free to leave any country including his own.

(Note: The Drafting Committee decided to forward this text to the Commission together with a list of possible limitations. The list is as follows:

1. Restrictions imposed for the well being of helpless or dependent persons. (United States)
2. Restrictions imposed with respect to land or water constituting a public highway. (United States)
3. Restrictions imposed in the interest of public order, morals, health (e.g. quarantine) or safety. (United States)
4. Restrictions imposed by reason of lawful detentions. (France)
5. Restrictions imposed in accordance with articles 8 and 9. (United States)
6. Restrictions imposed because criminal proceedings are pending against him. (France)
7. Restrictions imposed because his departure must be prohibited in order to prevent the imminent commission of a crime or offence. (France)
8. Restrictions imposed on individuals who are "subject to any lawful deprivation of liberty or to any outstanding obligations with regard tonational service tax liabilities or voluntarily contracted obligations binding the individual to the Government". (Netherlands.)
9. Restrictions imposed on an individual because of National Service, or of a judicial order restraining his departure without giving security on account of other alleged outstanding obligations. (United Kingdom)
10. Restrictions imposed on emigration to assist a neighbor country to control illegal immigration. (United Kingdom)
11. Restrictions imposed on emigration in the interest of protecting primitive or unsophisticated communities from exploitation abroad. (United Kingdom)
12. Restrictions imposed where labour has to be controlled and individuals required to work in specified industries and even in specific localities. (Union of South Africa)
13. Restrictions imposed where it is necessary in the interests of peace and good government to proclaim reserved areas in favour of the different sections of the population, and to restrict and control the free movement and free choice of residence on the part of individuals belonging to different sections of the population. (Union of South Africa)

14. Restrictions imposed in the interests of the general welfare and good government ot restrict the influx of large numbers of unskilled labourers into urban areas in circumstances where an adequate supply of labour already exists, and housing accommodation is inadequate. (Union of South Africa))

(Note 2: The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics suggested that the words "subject to the laws of his own country" be added to the second paragraph of this Article)

Article 12

No alien legally admitted to the territory of a State shall be expelled therefrom except in accordance with procedure prescribed by law.

Article 13

(The Drafting Co mittee voted in favour of the first of the following texts.)

A. 1. In the determination of any criminal charge against him or of any of his civil rights or obligations, every one is entitled to a fair hearing before an independent and impartial tribunal.

2. In the determination of any criminal charge against him every one is entitled to:

a) A public trial, though the press and public may be excluded from all or some of the portions thereof, other than the judgment, where considerations of security or morals are involved or the preservation of order in the court requires. Exceptions may be made in the interest of juveniles;

(b) Legal assitance of his own choosing; and

(c) The services of an interpreter to assist the accused if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court.

B. Text submitted by the Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

1. All persons shall be equal before the court or tribunals. Judges shall be independent and subject only to the law. Legal procedure in every State shall be based on democratic principles. The trial of cases in all courts shall be public, subject to exceptions prescribed by law for the protection of public morals and national security, and the accused person shall be assured the right of defense.

2. When any person who does not know the National language is prosecuted, he shall be assured full knowledge of all the naterial in the cases through an interpreter and shall also have the right to address the court in his native tongue.

Article 14

1. No one shall be held guilty of any offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute such an offence

at the time when it was committed, nor shall he be liable to any greater punishment than that prescribed for such offence by the law in force at the time when the offence was committed.
2. Nothing in this Article shall prejudice the trial and punishment of any person for the commission of any act which, at the time it was committed, was criminal according to the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations.

Article 15

No one shall be deprived of his juridical personality.

Article 16

1. No one shall be denied freedom of thought, belief, conscience and religion, including freedom to hold any religious or other belief, and to change his belief.
2. No one shall be denied freedom, either alone or in association, to give and receive any form of religious teaching, and to endeavour to persuade other persons of the truth of his beliefs.
3. No one shall be denied freedom, either alone or in association, to manifest his belief in practice, and in worship and observance, and no one shall be required to do any act which is contrary to such worship and observance.
4. The above rights and freedoms shall be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public order and health, morals and the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

(Note: The representative of the Soviet Union proposed to replace Article 16 by the following text (unofficial translation):

"Every person shall have the right to freedom of thought and freedom to practice religious observances in accordance with the laws of the country and the dictates of public morality.")

Article 17

(The Drafting Committee did not decide which of the following texts it preferred.)

A. Text submitted by the Representative of France

1. Speech is free. Every person shall be free to express and publish his ideas in any way he chooses.
2. Every person shall be free to receive and disseminate information of all kinds, including facts, critical comment and ideas, by the medium of books, newspapers, oral instructions or in any other manner.
3. The freedoms referred to in the preceding paragraphs may be subject only to the restrictions, penalties or liabilities provided by law for the protection of public order, national security, good morals, respect for law and the reputation or rights of other persons.

B. Text submitted

B. Text submitted by the Representative of the Soviet Union

1. In accordance with the principles of democracy and in the interests of strengthening international cooperation and world peace, every person shall be guaranteed by law the right to free expression of his opinions, and, in particular, to freedom of speech and of the press, freedom of assembly and freedom of artistic representation. The use of freedom of speech and of the press for the purposes of propagating Fascism and aggression or of inciting war between nations shall not be tolerated.

2. In order to insure the right of the free expression of opinion for large sections of the peoples and for their organizations, State assistance and cooperation shall be given in providing the material resources (premises, printing press, paper, and the like) necessary for the publication of democratic organs of the press.

C. Text submitted by the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information

1. Every person shall have the right to freedom of thought and the right to freedom of expression without interference of governmental action; these rights shall include freedom to hold opinions, to seek, receive and impart information and ideas, regardless of frontiers, either orally, by written or printed matter, in the form of art, or by legally operated visual or auditory devices.

2. The right to freedom of expression carries with it duties and responsibilities and may, therefore, be subject to penalties, liabilities, or restrictions clearly defined by law, but only with regard to:

(a) matters which must remain secret in the interests of safety;
(b) expressions which incite persons to alter by violence the system of government;
(c) expressions which directly incite persons to commit criminal acts;
(d) expressions which are obscence;
(e) expressions injurious to the fair conduct of legal proceedings.
(f) infringements of literary or artistic rights;
(g) expressions about other persons natural or legal which defame their reputations or are otherwise injurious to them without benefiting the public;
(h) the systematic diffusion of the deliberately false or distorted reports which undermine friendly relations between peoples and states.

A state may establish on reasonable terms a right to reply or a similar corrective remedy.

3. Measures shall be taken to promote the freedom of information through the elimination of political, economic, techinical and other obstacles which are likely to hinder the free flow of information.

4. Nothing in this Article shall be deemed to affect the right of any State to control the entry of persons into its territory or the period of their residence therein.

(Note: The Drafting Committee decided to forward this text to the Commission together with a list of possible additional limitations.

The list is as follows:

1. The disclosures of professional secrets contrary to law.
2. Disclosures arising out of martial and personal relationships.
3. Expressions which are fraudlent or part of a fraudulent scheme.
4. Expressions detrimental to public decency or morals (for example, detailed crime stories, reports on executions and suicides, sensational court reports.)
5. Matters of contract.
6. Control of advertising or economic matters.
7. Proper conduct of political elections or campaigns.
8. Matters affecting the civil service.
9. Disclosures of governmental information (other than in cases involving national safety, for example, in economic and social matters, such as crop reports, income tax reports, recipients of unemployment relief, and pending judicial decisions.
10. Communications with foreign governments.
11. Profanity in public places.
12. Operation of radio broadcasting and similar media without a license.
13. Statements by corporations, partnerships or individuals, in the issue of bonds and shares of stock.
14. Unforseeable future matters relating to development of new media of information or new social practices.

These fourteen possible limitations arose out of discussions at the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information).

15. Expressions about governmental or public authorities or groups or persons who are all or in part nationals of High Contracting Party or who belong all or in part to a certain race. (Netherlands).
16. The prohibition of the dissemination of information calculated to engender feelings of hostility among inhabitants of various races (Union of South Africa).
17. The prohibition of/notices of prohibited meetings. (Union of S.A.)
18. The prohibition of opprobrious epithets, jeers, or jibes in connection with the fact that any person has continued or returned to work or has refused to work for any employer, or the sending of information as to any such fact to any person in order to prevent any other person from ontaining or retaining employment, etc., etc (Union of South Africa.)

19. Other statements, expressions or publications which constitute offences or parts of offences under the common law or in terms of statuets, such as blasphemy, treasonable statements, uttering a forged instrument, perjury, contempt of court (covered in the drafts only to the extent to which it may be injurious to the independence of the judiciary or the fair conduct of legal proceedings), the use of indecent abusive or threatening language in public places, fraudulent statements, statements amounting to crimen injuriae, false statements in a prospectus, the offer of any inducement to enter into a hire purchase agreement. (Union of South Africa).
20. The restrictions imposed upon the publications of preparatory examination and trial proceedings, where the offence charged involves any indecent act or an act in the nature of extortion, or upon the publication of information which is likely to reveal the identity of an accused person under nineteen years of age or of a child concerned in proceedings before a children court. (Union of South Africa)
21. The prohibition of the disclosure of information obtained in an official or semi-official capacity, whether or not the disclousre will affect the national safety or the "vital" interests of the State (Union of South Africa)
22. Restrictions upon the publication of a picture or a public entertainment, where the picture or entertainment is calculated to give offence to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the public, or where it is calculated to bring any section of the public into ridicule or contempt, or is contrary to the public interest or good morals. (Union of South Afric).
23. Restrictions upon the public tion of certain electoral matters. (Union of South Africa)
24. The restrictions imposed by the laws relating to copyright. (Union of South Africa).
25. Restrictions which it may xxx be considered necessary to impose in order to eliminate or control subversive ideological propaganda. (Union of South Africa).

Article 18

All persons shall have the right to assemble peacably for any lawful purpose including the discussion of any matter on which, under Article 17, any person has the right to express and publish his ideas. No restrictions shall be placed on the exercise of this right other than those prescribed by law and necessary to assure:

(a) national security;
(b) the protection of persons or property;
(c) the prevention of the obstruction of traffic or the free movement of others; or
(d) the protection of health or morals.

(Note: 1. An additional restriction was suggested as follows:

The prevention of foreign political interference. (Netherlands).

(Note: 2. The Government of the Netherlands suggested:

(a) That a clause be added making public meetings subject to official authorization; and

(b) That it should be understood that the right to assemble does not include the right to hold pageants or processions in the streets.

Note 3: The Government of the Union of South Africa pointed out that the exceptions did not cover prohibition of a public gathering where the Minister of Justice had reason to apprehend that the gathering would engender feelings of hostility between different sections of the population of the Union of South Africa).

Article 19

The right of association is recognized provided that right is exercised in whatever form may be appropriate under the law of the State and is directed to lawful aims including the defense and protection of the legitimate interests of the members of the association or the dissemination of information under Article 17. Associations shall enjoy the rights and freedoms set forth in Artifles 16 and 17.

Article 20

Equal protection of the law with respect to the enjoyment of any of the rights and freedoms set forth in Part II of this Covenant shall not be denied to any one on account of race (which includes color) sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, property status, or national or social origin.

Article 21 (deleted)

(Any advocacy of national, racial, or religious hostility that constitutes an incitement to violence shall be prohibited by the law of the State).

Article 22

Nothing in this Covenant shall be considered to give any person or State the right to engage in any activity aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms prescribed herein.

PART III

Article 23

1. This Covenant shall be open for accession to every State Member of the United Nations or party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice and to every other State which the General Assembly of the United Nations shall, by resolution, declare to be elligible.

2. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and as soon as _____ of the States Members of the United Nations have deposited such instruments the Covenant shall come into force between them. As regards any State which accedes thereafter, the Covenant shall come into force on the date of the deposit of its instrument of accession.

3. The Secretary General of the United Nations shall inform all members of the United Nations and the other States referred to in paragraph 1 above of the deposit of each instrument of accession.

Article 24

In the case of a Federal State, the following provisions shall apply:

(a) With respect to any Articles of this Covenant which the Federal Government regards as wholly or in part appropriate for federal action, the obligations of the Federal Governments shall, to this extent, be the same as those of parties which are not Federal States;

(b) In repsect of Articles which the Federal Government regards as appropriate under its constitutional systems, in whole or in part, for action by the consituent States, Provinces, or Cantons, the Federal Government shall bring such provisions, with favourable recommendation, to the notice of the appropriate authorities of the States, Provinces or Cantons at the earliest possible moment.

Article 25

(the Drafting Committee voted in favour of the first of the following texts).

A state party to this Covenant may at the same time of its accession thereto or at any time thereafter by notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations declare that this Covenant shall extend to any of the territories for the international relations of which it is responsible, and the Covenant shall extend to the territories named in the notification as from the thirtieth day after the date of receipt by the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the notification. The Contracting States undertake, with respect to those territories on behalf of which they do not accede to this Covenant at the time of their accession, to seek the consent at the earliest possible moment of the Governments of such teritories and to accede forthwith on behalf of and in respect of each such territory, if and when its consent has been obtained.

Text Proposed by the Reoresentative of the Soviet Union

The conditions of the present Covenant shall extend or be applicable both to the metropolitan territory which is signatory to the present Covenant, as well as to all the other territories (non-self-governing, trust, and colonial territories) which are being administered or goverened by the metropolitan power in question.

Article 26

(The Drafting Committee decided not to discuss the following Geneva text until the question of implementation has been considered).

1. Amendments to this Covenant shall come into force when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the Members of the General Assembly of the United Nations and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the parties to this Covenant.

2. When such amendments come into force they shall be binding on those parties which have ratified them, leaving other parties still bound by the provisions of the Covenant which they have accepted by accession, including earlier amendments which they have ratified.

Article 27 (deleted)

(In construing the Articles of this Covenant the several Articles shall be regarded in their relation to each other).

Proposed Additional Article

(The Drafting Committee took no action on the following text, proposed as an additional article by the representative of the United States).

The rights and freedoms set forth in Part II of this Covenant are in addition to and not in derogation of such rights and freedoms as may be guaranteed to all under the laws of any Contracting State. In agreeing to this Covenant, the Contracting Parties recognize that there are other rights and freedoms which may be made the subject of future covenant s or conventions.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ADDRESS BY MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AT THE SORBONNE, PARIS, FRANCE, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1948.

The Struggle for Human Rights

I have come this evening to talk with you on one of the greatest issues of our time -- that is the preservation of human freedom. I have chosen to discuss it here in France, at the Sorbonne, because here in this soil the roots of human freedom have long ago struck deep and here they have been richly nourished. It was here the Declaration of the Rights of Man was proclaimed, and the great slogans of the French Revolution -- Liberty, Equality, Fraternity -- fired the imagination of men. I have chosen to discuss this issue in Europe because this has been the scene of the greatest historic battles between freedom and tyranny. I have chosen to discuss it in the early days of the General Assembly because the issue of human liberty is decisive for the settlement of outstanding political differences and for the future of the United Nations.

The decisive importance of this issue was fully recognized by the founders of the United Nations at San Francisco. Concern for the preservation and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms stands at the heart of the United Nations. Its Charter is distinguished by its preoccupation with the rights and welfare of individual men and women. The United Nations has made it clear that it intends to uphold human rights and to protect the dignity of the human personality. In the Preamble to the Charter the keynote is set when it declared: "We the people of the United Nations determined ... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and ... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom." This reflects the basic premise of the Charter that the peace and security of mankind are dependent on mutual respect for the rights and freedoms of all.

One of the purposes of the United Nations is declared in Article 1 to be: "to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

This thought is repeated at several points and notably in Articles 55 and 56 the Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the United Nations for the promotion of "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

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The Human Rights Commission was given as its first and most important task the preparation of an International Bill of Rights. The General Assembly which opened its third session here in Paris a few days ago, will have before it the first fruit of the Commission's labors in this task, that is the International Declaration of Human Rights.

This Declaration was finally completed after much work during the last session of the Human Rights Commission in New York in the spring of 1948. The Economic and Social Council has sent it without recommendation to the General Assembly, together with other documents transmitted by the Human Rights Commission.

It was decided in our Commission that a Bill of Rights should contain two parts:

1. A Declaration which could be approved through action of the Member States of the United Nations in the General Assembly. This Declaration would have great moral force, and would say to the peoples of the world "this is what we hope human rights may mean to all people in the years to come." We have put down here the rights that we consider basic for individual human beings the world over to have. Without them, we feel that the full development of individual personality is impossible.

2. The second part of the Bill, which the Human Rights Commission has not yet completed because of the lack of time, is a Covenant which would be in the form of a treaty to be presented to the nations of the world. Each nation, as it is prepared to do so, would ratify this Covenant and the Covenant would then become binding on the nations which adhere to it. Each nation ratifying would then be obligated to change its laws wherever they did not conform to the points contained in the Covenant.

This Covenant, of course, would have to be a simpler document. It could not state aspirations, which we feel to be permissible in the Declaration. It could only state rights which could be assured by law and it must contain methods of implementation, and no state ratifying the Covenant, could be allowed to disregard it. The methods of implementation have not yet been agreed upon, nor have they been given adequate consideration by the Commission at any of its meetings. There certainly should be discussion on the entire question of this world Bill of Human Rights and there may be acceptance by this Assembly of the Declaration if they come to agreement on it. The acceptance of the Declaration I think, should encourage every nation in the coming months to discuss its meaning with its people so that they will be better prepared to accept the Covenant with a deeper understanding of the problems involved when that is presented, we hope, a year from now and, we hope, accepted.

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The Declaration has come from the Human Rights Commission with unanimous acceptance except for four abstentions -- the USSR, Yugoslavia, Ukraine and Byelorussia. The reason for this is a fundamental difference in the conception of human rights as they exist in these states and in certain other Member States in the United Nations.

In the discussion before the Assembly, I think it should be made crystal clear what these differences are and tonight I want to spend a little time making them clear to you. It seems to me there is a valid reason for taking the time today to think carefully and clearly on the subject of human rights, because in the acceptance and observance of these rights lies the root, I believe, of our chance for peace in the future, and for the strengthening of the United Nations organization to the point where it can maintain peace in the future.

We must not be confused about what freedom is; basic human rights are simple and easily understood: freedom of speech and a free press; freedom of religion and worship; freedom of assembly and the right of petition; the right of men to be secure in their homes and free from unreasonable search and seizure and from arbitrary arrest and punishment.

We must not be deluded by the efforts of the forces of reaction to prostitute the great words of our free tradition and thereby to confuse the struggle. Democracy, freedom, human rights have come to have a definite meaning to the people of the world which we must not allow any nation to so change that they are made synonymous with suppression and dictatorship.

There are basic differences that show up even in the use of words between a democratic and a totalitarian country. For instance "democracy" means one thing to the USSR and another to the USA and, I know, in France. I have served since the first meeting of the Nuclear Commission on the Human Rights Commission, and I think this point stands out clearly.

The USSR representatives assert that they already have achieved many things which we, in what they call the "Bourgeois democracies" cannot achieve because their government controls the accomplishment of these things. Our government seems powerless to them because, in the last analysis, it is controlled by the people. They would not put it that way -- they would say that the people in the USSR control their government by allowing their government to have certain absolute rights. We, on the other hand, feel that certain rights can never be granted to the government, but must be kept in the hands of the people.

For instance, the USSR will assert that their press is free because the state makes it free by providing the machinery, the paper, and even the money for salaries for the people who work on the paper. They state that there is no control over

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what is printed in the various papers that they subsidize in this manner, such for instance, as a trade union paper. But what would happen if a paper were to print ideas which were critical of the basic policies and beliefs of the Communist government? I am sure some good reason would be found for abolishing the paper.

It is true that there have been many cases where newspapers in the USSR have criticised officials and their actions and have been responsible for the removal of those officials, but in doing so they did not criticize anything which was fundamental to communist beliefs. They simply criticised methods of doing things, so one must differentiate between things which are permissible, such as criticism of any individual or of the manner of doing things, and the criticism of a belief which would be considered vital to the acceptance of communism.

What are the differences, for instance, between trade unions in the totalitarian states and in the democracies? In the totalitarian state a trade union is an instrument used by the government to enforce duties, not to assert rights. Propaganda material which the government desires the workers to have is furnished to the trade unions to be circulated to their members.

Our trade unions, on the other hand, are solely the instrument of the workers themselves. They represent the workers in their relations with the government and with management and they are free to develop their own opinions without government help or interference. The concepts of our trade unions and those in totalitarian countries are drastically different. There is little mutual understanding.

I think the best example one can give of this basic difference of the use of terms is "the right to work". The Soviet Union insists that this is a basic right which it alone can guarantee because it alone provides full employment by the government. But the right to work in the Soviet Union means the assignment of workers to do whatever task is given to them by the government without an opportunity for the people to participate in the decision that the government should do this. A society in which everyone works is not necessarily a free society and may indeed be a slave society; on the other hand, a society in which there is widespread economic insecurity can turn freedom into a barren and vapid right for millions of people. We in the United States have come to realize it means freedom to choose one's job, to work or not to work as one desires. We, in the United States, have come to realize, however, that people have a right to demand that their government will not allow them to starve because as individuals they cannot find work of the kind they are accustomed to doing and this is a decision brought about by public opinions which came as a result of the great depression in which many people were out of work, but we would not consider in the United States that we had gained any freedom if we were compelled to follow a dictatorial assignment to work where and when we were told. The right of choice would seem to us an important, fundamental freedom.

I have great sympathy with the Russian people. They love their country and have always defended it valiantly against invaders. They have been through a period of revolution, as a result of which they were for a time cut off from outside contact. They have not lost their resulting suspicion of other countries and the great difficulty is today that their government encourages this suspicion and seems to believe that force alone will bring them respect.

We, in the democracies, believe in a kind of international respect and action which is reciprocal. We do not think others should treat us differently from the way they wish to be treated. It is interference in other countries that especially stirs up antagonism against the Soviet Government. If it wishes to feel secure in developing its economic and political theories within its territory, then it should grant to others that same security. We believe in the freedom of people to make their own mistakes. We do not interfere with them and they should not interfere with others.

The basic problem confronting the world today, as I said in the beginning, is the preservation of human freedom for the individual and consequently for the society of which he is a part. We are fighting this battle again today as it was fought at the time of the French Revolution and at the time of the American Revolution. The issue of human liberty is as decisive now as it was then. I want to give you my conception of what is meant in my country by freedom of the individual.

Long ago in London during a discussion with Mr. Vishinsky, he told me there was no such thing as freedom for the individual in the world. All freedom of the individual was conditioned by the rights of other individuals. That, of course, I granted. I said: "We approach the question from a different point of view; we here in the United Nations are trying to develop ideals which will be broader in outlook, which will consider first the rights of man, which will consider what makes man more free: not governments, but man."

The totalitarian state typically places the will of the people second to decrees promulgated by a few men at the top.

Naturally there must always be consideration of the rights of others; but in a democracy this is not a restriction. Indeed, in our democracies we make our freedoms secure because each of us is expected to respect the rights of others and we are free to make our own laws.

Freedom for our peoples is not only a right, but also a tool. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of information, freedom of assembly--these are not just abstract ideals to us; they are tools with which we create a way of life, a way of life in which we can enjoy freedom.

Sometimes

Sometimes the processes of democracy are slow, and I have known some of our leaders to say that a benevolent dictatorship would accomplish the ends desired in a much shorter time than it takes to go through the democratic processes of discussion and the slow formation of public opinion. But there is no way of insuring that a dictatorship will remain benevolent or that power once in the hands of a few will be returned to the people without struggle or revolution. This we have learned by experience and we accept the slow processes of democracy because we know that short-cuts compromise principles on which no compromise is possible.

The final expression of the opinion of the people with us is through free and honest elections, with valid choices on basic issues and candidates. The secret ballot is an essential to free elections but you must have a choice before you. I have heard my husband say many times that a people need never lose their freedom if they kept their right to a secret ballot and if they used that secret ballot to the full.

Basic decisions of our society are made through the expressed will of the people. That is why when we see these liberties threatened, instead of falling apart, our nation becomes unified and our democracies come together as a unified group in spite of our varied backgrounds and many racial strains.

In the United States we have a capitalistic economy. That is because public opinion favors that type of economy under the conditions in which we live. But we have imposed certain restraints; for instance, we have anti-trust laws. These are the legal evidence of the determination of the American people to maintain an economy of free competition and not to allow monopolies to take away the people's freedom.

Our trade unions grow stronger because the people come to believe that this is the proper way to guarantee the rights of the workers and that the right to organize and to bargain collectively keeps the balance between the actual producer and the investor of money and the manager in industry who watches over the man who works with his hands and who produces the materials which are our tangible wealth.

In the United States we are old enough not to claim perfection. We recognize that we have some problems of discrimination but we find steady progress being made in the solution of these problems. Through normal democratic processes we are coming to understand our needs and how we can attain full equality for all our people. Free discussion on the subject is permitted. Our Supreme Court has recently rendered decisions to clarify a number of our laws to guarantee the rights of all.

The USSR claims it has reached a point where all races within her borders are officially considered equal and have equal rights and they insist they have no discrimination where minorities are concerned.

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This is a laudable objective but there are other aspects of the development of freedom for the individual which are essential before the mere absence of discrimination is worth much, and these are lacking in the Soviet Union. Unless they are being denied freedoms which they want and which they see other people have, people do not usually complain of discrimination. It is these other freedoms--the basic freedoms of speech, of the press, of religion and conscience, of assembly, of fair trial and freedom from arbitrary arrest and punishment, which a totalitarian government cannot safely give its people and which give meaning to freedom from discrimination.

It is my belief, and I am sure it is also yours, that the struggle for democracy and freedom is a critical struggle, for their preservation is essential to the great objective of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security.

Among free men the end cannot justify the means. We know the patterns of totalitarianism -- the single political party, the control of schools, press, radio, the arts, the sciences, and the church to support autocratic authority; these are the age-old patterns against which men have struggled for three thousand years. These are the signs of reaction, retreat and retrogression.

The United Nations must hold fast to the heritage of freedom won by the struggle of its peoples; it must help us to pass it on to generations to come.

The development of the ideal of freedom and its translation into the everyday life of the people in great areas of the earth is the product of the efforts of many peoples. It is the fruit of a long tradition of vigorous thinking and courageous action. No one race and no one people can claim to have done all the work to achieve greater dignity for human beings and greater freedom to develop human personality. In each generation and in each country there must be a continuation of the struggle and new steps forward must be taken since this is preeminently a field in which to stand still is to retreat.

The field of human rights is not one in which compromise on fundamental principles are possible. The work of the Commission on Human Rights is illustrative. The Declaration of Human Rights provides: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own." The Soviet representative said he would agree to this right if a single phrase was added to it--"in accordance with the procedure laid down in the laws of that country." It is obvious that to accept this would be not only to compromise but to nullify the right stated. This case forcefully illustrates the importance of the proposition that we must ever be alert not to compromise fundamental human rights merely for the sake of reaching unanimity and thus lose them.

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As I see it, it is not going to be easy to attain unanimity with respect to our different concepts of government and human rights. The struggle is bound to be difficult and one in which we must be firm but patient. If we adhere faithfully to our principles I think it is possible for us to maintain freedom and to do so peacefully and without recourse to force.

The future must see the broadening of human rights throughout the world. People who have glimpsed freedom will never be content until they have secured it for themselves. In a true sense, human rights are a fundamental object of law and government in a just society. Human rights exist to the degree that they are respected by people in relations with each other and by governments in relations with their citizens.

The world at large is aware of the tragic consequences for human beings ruled by totalitarian systems. If we examine Hitler's rise to power, we see how the chains are forged which keep the individual a slave and we can see many similarities in the way things are accomplished in other countries. Politically men must be free to discuss and to arrive at as many facts as possible and there must be at least a two party system in a country because when there is only one political party, too many things can be subordinated to the interests of that one party and it becomes a tyrant and not an instrument of democratic government.

The propaganda we have witnessed in the recent past, like that we perceive in these days, seeks to impugn, to undermine and to destroy the liberty and independence of peoples. Such propaganda poses to all peoples the issue whether to doubt their heritage of rights and therefore to compromise the principles by which they live, or try to accept the challenge, redouble their vigilance and stand steadfast in the struggle to maintain and enlarge human freedoms.

People who continue to be denied the respect to which they are entitled as human beings will not acquiesce forever in such denial.

The Charter of the United Nations is a guiding beacon along the way to the achievement of human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world. The immediate test is not only the extent to which human rights and freedoms have already been achieved, but the direction in which the world is moving. Is there a faithful compliance with the objectives of the Charter if some countries continue to curtail human rights and freedoms instead of to promote the universal respect for an observance of human rights and freedoms for all as called for by the Charter?

The place to discuss the issue of human rights is in the forum of the United Nations. The United Nations has been set up as the common meeting ground for nations, where we can consider together our mutual problems and take advantage of our differences in experience. It is inherent in our

firm

firm attachment to democracy and freedom that we stand always ready to use the fundamental democratic procedures of honest discussion and negotiation. It is now as always our hope that despite the wide differences in approach we face in the world today, we can with mutual good faith in the principles of the United Nations Charter, arrive at a common basis of understanding.

We are here to join the meetings of this great international Assembly which meets in your beautiful capitol City of Paris. Freedom for the individual is an inseparable part of the cherished traditions of France. As one of the delegates from the United States I pray Almighty God that we may win another victory here for the rights and freedoms of all men.

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UNITED NATIONS ACTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

A Fact Sheet

Office of Public Affairs
Department of State

October 11, 1948

Five proposals concerning the definition and guarantee of human rights are now before the United Nations General Assembly in Paris. They are: (1) an International Declaration of Human Rights; (2) a Draft International Covenant on Human Rights; (3) a Draft Convention on the Gathering and International Transmission of News; (4) a Draft Convention on the Right of Official Correction of False or Distorted Reporting; and (5) a Draft Convention on Freedom of Information. Under Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter the Members of the United Nations pledged themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the United Nations for the promotion of "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

The International Declaration of Human Rights now before the General Assembly is a completed statement of general principles prepared during the past two years by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. It is the product of the work of many governments. Consequently it does not reflect completely the point of view of any one of them, but consists rather of generally recognized principles. Acceptance of this document as a guide to a common standard of conduct for all nations is urged by the United States. Expressed approval of the principles of the Declaration is considered important at this time for several reasons: (1) It would be the first step under the Charter to promote human rights; (2) It would clarify and make objective the contrasting views on human freedom which underlie the disagreements between the USSR and the democratic nations; and (3) It would reaffirm the aims of the UN Charter. All the Members of the Human Rights Commission approved the Declaration of Human Rights in June 1948 except the Soviet bloc -- the USSR, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Yugoslavia -- which abstained.

The importance assigned to the Declaration of Human Rights by the United States Delegation was indicated by Secretary Marshall in his speech at the opening session of the General Assembly, September 23, 1948. The Secretary began his address by urging the nations to approve "a new declaration of human rights for free men in a free world." He continued:

"Systematic and deliberate denials of basic human rights lie at the root of most of our troubles and threaten the work of the United Nations. It is not only fundamentally wrong that millions of men and women live in daily terror of secret police, subject to seizure, imprisonment, or forced labor without just cause and without fair trial, but these wrongs have repercussions in the community of nations. Governments which systematically disregard the rights of their own people are not likely to respect the rights of other nations and other people, and are likely to seek their objectives by coercion and force in the international field.....

"Let this third regular session of the General Assembly approve by an overwhelming majority the Declaration of Human Rights as a standard of conduct for

all; and let us, as members of the United Nations, conscious of our own shortcomings and imperfections, join our effort in good faith to live up to this high standard."

Mrs. Roosevelt, Member of the United States Delegation to the General Assembly, in a speech before the Sorbonne in Paris September 28, said:

"Freedom for our peoples is not only a right, but also a tool. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of information, freedom of assembly--these are not just abstract ideals to us; they are tools with which we create a way of life, a way of life in which we can enjoy freedom."

The Declaration of Human Rights contains articles covering civil, political, social and economic rights as follows:

Civil and Political Rights:

Right to life, liberty, and security of person - Article 3
Freedom from slavery, torture, inhuman treatment or punishment - Article 4
Recognition as a person before the law - Article 5
Right to equality before the law - Article 6
Freedom from arbitrary arrest - Article 7
Right to a fair hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal - Article 8
Presumption of innocence and right to public trial, with all guarantees necessary for defense, in criminal cases - Article 9 (1)
Freedom from *ex post facto* laws - Article 9 (2)
Freedom from interference with privacy - Article 10
Freedom of movement and residence within a state - Article 11 (1)
Right to leave any country - Article 11 (2)
Right of asylum from persecution - Article 12
Rights concerning nationality - Article 13
Right to marriage and protection of the family - Article 14
Right to own property - Article 15
Freedom of religion - Article 16
Freedom of opinion, expression and information - Article 17
Freedom of assembly and association - Article 18
Right to participate in government - Article 19

Social and Economic Rights

Right to social security - Article 20
Right to work - Article 21
Right to health and security - Article 22
Right to education - Article 23
Right to rest and leisure - Article 24
Right to participate in cultural life - Article 25

John Foster Dulles, Member of the United States Delegation to the General Assembly in a speech in Paris on September 29, 1948 said:

"I should not leave this discussion of the potentialities of the United Nations in the economic and social field without referring particularly to one

of the issues before this session of the Assembly. That issue is the approval of the proposed International Declaration of Human Rights. I hope and believe this Assembly will endorse this Declaration. But we must not stop there. We must go on with the drafting of a Covenant which will seek to translate human rights into law. It does not minimize the importance of our own Declaration of Independence to recognize that the Constitution and its Bill of Rights were required to establish the body of law necessary to achieve practical results. So with the Declaration before the Assembly. It is an important proclamation of principles and should be approved. But that approval is only a step toward fulfilling the faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and the pledge to practice tolerance that is contained in the Preamble of the United Nations Charter."

The Covenant on Human Rights, still in draft form, differs from the Declaration in that it is a proposed treaty which will be legally binding on the countries which ratify it, whereas the Declaration is primarily a statement of objectives proposed as "a common standard of achievement" and does not impose legal obligations on the nations which approve it. When a final draft of the Covenant incorporating the necessary changes is completed by the Human Rights Commission, the Covenant will be reviewed by appropriate United Nations bodies, including the General Assembly, and then sent to each member of the United Nations for approval. This means that the Covenant will not be binding on the United States until it has been submitted in due course to the United States Senate and approved and ratified in accordance with our own constitutional procedures. By contrast, the Declaration needs only the approval of the General Assembly to attain its full stature as a statement of guiding principles in the field of human rights.

The Covenant will probably include only the basic civil rights such as freedom of speech, press, assembly, religion, freedom of information and opinion, freedom from slavery and torture, guarantee of fair trial and freedom from arbitrary arrest. A parallel to this procedure of giving immediate special legal status to selected human rights may be found in the original ten amendments to the United States Constitution which make up the so-called United States Bill of Rights.

It is not intended that the Covenant will be the only treaty on human rights to be presented for ratification to the Members of the United Nations. Additional treaties and conventions to guarantee specific rights are already being composed.

Three draft conventions on freedom of information are before the General Assembly this year. They concern freedom of news and were originally developed at the Conference on Freedom of Information held in Geneva in March 1948. With the exception of the Soviet bloc, which vigorously opposed all three conventions, there was general agreement in the Conference on their value, and if they are approved by the General Assembly, they will be submitted to individual nations for ratification. This will mean that the United States will not be a party to these conventions until the Senate has approved them, just as in the case of the Covenant on Human Rights.

The first of the three conventions is on the International Gathering and Transmission of News. Originally sponsored by the United States, it is intended to promote the free flow of information between countries by facilitating the work of foreign correspondents. It encourages the freest possible movement of foreign correspondents, protects them from expulsion for any lawful exercise of their rights, and insures equitable treatment of their outgoing dispatches.

The second draft convention, originally sponsored by the French Delegation to the Geneva Conference, proposes an international right of official correction to provide protection against false or distorted reporting likely to injure friendly relations between nations. A complaining government would send its own version of the facts to the State in which an objectionable report has been published, and the latter would then be obliged to make this version available to the information agencies which supply news to its public.

The third convention, the Draft Convention on Freedom of Information, was originally sponsored by the United Kingdom Delegation to the Geneva Conference. This Convention is more general in nature than the other two. It applies to all nationals of all Contracting States, not alone to foreign correspondents and information agencies. It seeks to establish the broad principles of freedom of information and the extension of those principles to regions where they are not now fully recognized in practice.

The United States is working to achieve strong and effective provisions in each of these conventions. The report of the Freedom of Information Conference was considered in August by the Economic and Social Council, but due to lack of time, only the United States Convention was reviewed, and suggestions were made which weaken its provisions. Changes in the conventions may be expected as the discussions progress in the General Assembly in Paris. In the Economic and Social Council in August, 1948, Assistant Secretary of State Thorpe stated the United States position as follows:

"My country, and I know that this is shared by the large majority of countries throughout the world, believes in freedom of information. We are convinced that without access to unfettered news, the people in any country cannot carry out their democratic functions as an informed body of citizens. We are convinced that without a free flow of information between countries, the development of stable international relations is impossible. We are not afraid of so-called false and slanderous information which may at times find its way into the columns of a free press. We are not afraid of it because we believe in the dignity, capacity and worth of man. We believe in his judgment and innate intelligence, and we are certain that we can trust in his judgment based upon information and opinion of all kinds freely presented and freely received."

For additional information see: An International Bill of Human Rights, Department of State Publication 3055; "Progress Report on Human Rights," Department of State Bulletin, August 1948; and United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information, Geneva, Switzerland, March 23-April 21, 1948: Report of the United States Delegates with Related Documents, Department of State Publication 3150.

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE UNITED NATIONS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. January 14, 1949

ADDRESS AT GENERAL SESSION OF CONFERENCE

DEVELOPMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT THE PARIS MEETING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

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I think I need hardly go back and tell you anything about the International Bill of Human Rights. You know that it was set up to be in two parts, first a declaration and then a covenant, and that the covenant has had only a very small amount of work and consideration in the Human Rights Commission. It has had only brief consideration, and measures of implementation which must be included in the covenant have had an even less amount of consideration thus far, but the declaration had had a great deal of work done on it in the Human Rights Commission and it was accordingly presented to the General Assembly in the fall of 1949 for approval. Accordingly what I am going to talk to you about today is what happened to the Declaration when it was presented to the General Assembly.

You are familiar with the fact that for two and a half years the Human Rights Commission had been working on the Declaration, and it was referred to all the member Governments of the United Nations for comment and then to the Economic and Social Council for its consideration.

The Declaration was placed on the agenda of the Third Committee of the General Assembly, the committees of the General Assembly, as you know, are composed of one member from each of the fifty-eight governments represented in the United Nations. We were fortunate in having as chairman of Committee Three Dr. Malik of Lebanon who had been the rapporteur of the Human Rights Commission. We had also a number of people in the Third Committee who had also served in the Human Rights Commission and a number who had served not only in the Human Rights

Commission but in the Economic and Social Council. But they were a very small number, and the others took the Declaration exactly as though it was all an entirely new idea and that nobody had ever looked at it before. On the first three articles we spent four weeks and we changed only three words. That was because everybody had to make a speech. It was absolutely unnecessary; apparently there was very little knowledge among a number of the delegates that their governments had ever had an opportunity to look at this document before.

Nevertheless, the interesting thing was that the document was good enough so that with all that argument it only got four words changed in the first three articles. For your amusement I will tell you that Dr. Chang, who had also served on both the Economic and Social Council and the Human Rights Commission, and who is a great stickler for the English language, made a lot of arguments on the subject of what he thought was really good English. But one day he came up to me towards the end of the month and he said "I wonder if anyone has calculated how much those four words have cost the United Nations in dollars and cents?" They were perhaps very expensive four words.

On the other hand, I'm not sure that it was not a good thing. M. Laugier, who is head of the Social Division of the United Nations Secretariat, said to me "This is an education and these people here have been educated and it is of great value to gather together people from all these nations and really go through this sort of a session." The mere fact that they have argued so much and so passionately for their own point of view very often does show that they consider this document of value.

Some people write to me now and say "Of what value are just words? You know this does not force us to change our laws or any country to change its laws. What was the use of having a declaration?" I remember what M. Laugier said, that this was an education and that this document perhaps was paving the way and without it perhaps we never would be able to write a covemant and to ask nations to ratify a covenant which would oblige them, if they did not already have laws, to enact laws to cover their commitments.

I have had all sorts of things said to me about this declaration. In spite of the fact that the USSR finally abstained, as its satellites abstained, in voting for it, I have been told that is is a Communist document. That is extremely interesting, to call it a Communist document. Why didn't the USSR and its satellites vote for it? They said they didn't vote for it because their amendments had not been accepted. Their amendments were very interesting because they kept insisting that this document, which is a declaration and not a covenant, must have implementation. The rest of us said "You can't have implementation in a declaration," but they said "Yes" for the reason that to them implementation is not international implementation, it is national implementation. Therefore, they want to add to article after article either the phrase "these rights shall be guaranteed by the state" or "according to the laws of the country". In spots that would obviously nullify the articles.

For instance, in the article on free movement, that you can move around your own country and settle where you like and leave your own country and return to it, there are very long arguments on that because all countries have some regulations relating to this. I must pay my income tax, I must have a doctor's certificate that I was vaccinated within three years or I can't come back. The USSR wanted to add to that, "You may have the right to leave and return according to the laws of your country".

After they had been voted down and the session was over--I had not argued with them in the session because it just delayed our work. I went up to Mr. Pavlov, the Soviet delegate, afterwards and I said "Mr Pavlov"--and they always, everybody, gathers around when you go up to talk to one of them, everyone in the circle must hear what you have to say--I don't mean others, but their own particular circle, and I said "Mr. Pavlov, it seems to me that you must understand that what you wanted would have been actually impossible because you would have made it impossible to exercise the great right of freedom of movement. Surely we all recognize small restrictions and regulations, but I can eventually leave my country and I can come back to it after I have complied with certain things, but let us take an example in your country. Before you passed the law forbidding your nationals to marry any foreigners, there were some of your nationals who married American and British GI's. I have sent dozens of letters from American GI's to your representative in the United States to forward to the proper headquarters representative. I have never had an answer of any kind except a brief one from Mr. Gromyko saying "I have received your communication of the 10th, 11th, 13th, 15th, and 17th. It has been forwarded." And that is all that ever comes back to me."

"Now" I said, "when you do that, when you make it impossible for your nationals, no matter what small restrictions they might fulfill to leave at all under any circumstances, then you prevent the important right of freedom of movement and decision of an individual as to what he wants to do in the world." He looked at me and said "Not at all. It is just a regulation like any other regulation." And that ended right there. That was the end of that conversation.

I had on another occasion an interesting little side conversation with Mr. Pavlov. He speaks French very well. He is the Soviet Ambassador in Belgium, and he is a cultivated, educated man. He made a speech on the marvelous system of medical care in the USSR, took care of you free from the cradle to the grave, and it was just "perfect." Everything is always free in the USSR! Some day I am going to rise up and protest because it is no more free, of course, than it is anywhere else, for it is simply a different way of paying for it, and it all comes from the work of people. People have to do the work or there would not be anything for the government to use to make these things free. But at the present moment we were discussing this free medical care.

In the course of his speech he had said that when the war came they had been able to increase their medical facilities 50 percent; 50 percent more doctors, 50 percent more hospital beds, 50 percent more nurses. You know that is quite extraordinary achievement, so I went out to him and I said "Sir, I was much interested in your statement. I didn't speak of it in the full committee but I would be very interested to know how you increased your doctors 50 percent over night practically". He said "Oh, it is the system." I said "What system? We would like to know about this." "Why" he said "we just plan." And I said "You plan? Well, then, you must have known when the war was coming in order to plan." "Oh, no, we did not know when the war was coming." I asked "Well, then, did you take doctors that had had one year of training and suddenly graduate them over night?" He replied, "No, it takes five years to make a doctor." I said "That is very interesting and I still don't understand how you produced 50 percent

more doctors and 50 percent more nurses and 50 percent more hospital facilities over night." And he looked at me and said "I'm sorry, I do not understand." That was the end of that conversation, and his French is perfectly good too.

Now, to go back, you were quite conscious of the fact from the very beginning that the USSR was going to use all possible tactics so that we would never come to a vote if possible. It was very awkward to vote against a declaration of human rights. Even before their own people that was going to be hard for the USSR to explain, and so it would be much simpler for the USSR it if turned out that agreement was not achieved on the Declaration in the General Assembly.

It was marvelous how they took every opportunity to delay us--every little word was brought up and discussed by all the nations, of course, because if somebody brought it up everybody else had to made a speech on it-- and very often others didn't see this game and they would fall into the trap and then we would have every South American country making a speech on something which had only been injected by the Soviet group for the sake of getting speeches, which would take time. This went on for days and days, and sometimes we despaired that we would ever be able to get through.

It was complicated by one other thing because when you can't get sufficient delay by just injecting questions on words and phrases, and so forth and so on, then you can make attacks on people. So something would come up and they would attack the United Kingdom or me. I learned a long while ago that you have to answer an attack. You have to say it is true or it is not true and why. I never tried to say that something is not true when I know it is true. I try to say that it is regrettable, if it is regrettable, that it is a failure in democracy but that in any case in the United States we know about our failures and we make an attempt, those of us who care, to correct them. I have yet to hear of anyone of the Soviet group say that anything can be improved in the USSR, not that it is wrong but that it could be improved.

We would go through this fairly often but I did not very often attack because I really wanted to get through the declaration. I do not say you should not attack; I think there are times when you have to, when you really have to go back and say "this is ridiculous" and you have certain vulnerable points, but if you have a job to do--and we had a job to do on the declaration--the real point was we had to get it through. It takes a great deal of self-restraint to sit quiet under attack and not retaliate. The reason I answer is because if you do not, the next day one of them is sure to say "Mrs. Roosevelt did not deny it so, of course, it is true;" so you are obliged to make the statement answering but you do not, of course, have to attack if you are able to take it.

We had one United Kingdom gentleman, called Mr. Mayhew, a member of Parliament, in the third committee, and one day it just got beyond him because the Soviet Delegates always chose to attack the

clause which says they are obliged to ask, because they have agreements with some of their territories that have their own legislatures that they will not make any commitments for them in international affairs before they consult with them first.

Well, that is a good agreement because it really requires the United Kingdom to consult with any one of its territories that has a legislature of its own; it is a self-governing principle that is good. The USSR always says that it is because the United Kingdom or any other people that controls other peoples does not wish to have the others brought under whatever the thing may be. In one case, it concerned the narcotic convention.

It happened that all United Kingdom territories had already joined the narcotics convention, but they were obliged in this clause, because they always do and we always defend them on it, to consult the territories, but we both get attacked and that happens to be the one thing--they might choose something else and be right about it very often, they might choose a very vulnerable thing, but that is the one they actually attack and we get it every time.

Mr. Mayhew got very angry, and the next day he not only denied many things, but he made a blistering attack on everything he could think of that was wrong in the Soviet Union. Well, that started a whole new round of speeches. You always have to weigh what is the good of what one does and where you get and what is you ultimate objectives. That is what you really have to keep before you all of the time; what am I ultimately trying to do; if I really want this declaration, then I have to think primarily about how I am going to get it through

And you had these two difficulties. As I look back I think the main difficulties were: Number 1, the USSR desired to have nothing because it was simpler for them, and then the desire among the South American countries to have political prestige by having as much of their Bogota Declaration in actual wording in the universal declaration. Those, I think, were really our two main stumbling blocks because the declaration had already really been worked over pretty carefully. It was a pretty good document before it got to the General Assembly. It had two and a half years work on it already and comparatively few changes were made in the document that was presented to the General Assembly. There were changes. Some of them may be for the better, some of them I think are distinctly not as good, but one thing I have come out of this last meeting with is this: we did make some very real efforts when we thought the USSR wanted something that really was sincere, we made some real efforts to find agreement.

We discussed proposed amendments for a long time on a number of articles, and as I look back on it now, I do not think a single thing we accepted as a compromise was an improvement, and it did not bring us agreement in the end because they abstained. They did not vote against the declaration, but they did abstain.

So I hope that I will always have enough objectivity to be willing to discuss and, if I thought a thing was really better, to accept it; but I do not think I ever again will accept what I do not think is as good, either in wording or in principle, just in the hope that it will be an opening wedge for bringing the USSR into an agreement on the whole subject. It just doesn't work. And I think they look upon us as weak when we do it, instead of looking upon it as a gesture of good will. I think they look upon it as a gesture of weakness. I have come to the conclusion I will watch myself carefully, because one does get irritated and one does not always keep a balance, but I do not think I will compromise even on words, when I really do not think they are better words,

in the future.

My time is running out and I want to tell you about the abstentions, because I think you should know about them. There were two absences and eight abstentions, the six Soviet bloc votes, and they gave as their reason that it was not a progressive enough document, that it was not precise enough, and that it carried no implementation; in short, we had not accepted their amendments. Then there were two others besides this one.

One was Saudi Arabia. The Saudi Arabian Delegate told me that he could not vote for the declaration because he was the representative of a Mohammedan country, and that the provision in the declaration relating to the right to change one's belief was contrary to the religion of his country.

It happened that the Delegate from Pakistan had voted against the inclusion of the right to change your religion in the Declaration in the Third Committee; but when it came to the final Assembly meeting in the final vote, the head of the Delegation, Zafrullah Khan, who is the Foreign Affairs Minister, got up and said, "Our Delegate voted against the declaration. She voted through a misapprehension. The Koran says, 'He who will believe shall believe and he who will not shall not believe; the only unforgiveable sin is to be a hypocrite', and therefore I will vote for the declaration and we will accept it." I thought that was very courageous and I was very much interested, particularly in the part about being a hypocrite. I thought that was rather a good thing for all of us.

Then there was only one other abstention. That was South Africa. Now, South Africa had a stormy time in this meeting, particularly in Committee Three. The Delegate in Committee Three said he had never been treated so in any meeting he had ever attended. He started out badly. He started on the very first article and he made a speech in which he said that certain peoples under their jurisdiction could not now <u>or ever</u> enjoy the rights and freedoms laid down in the declaration. Well, you could have heard a pin drop when he made that speech and there was a dead silence afterwards.

Finally one of the delegates said "Mr. Chairman, may we have that speech printed? I cannot believe what I heard." The next day I went and sat down behind the South African delegate and said "May I speak to you for a few minutes, Sir?" and he said "Yes". And I said "Perhaps you did not sense that your speech did not have exactly a sympathetic reception in the committee yesterday". He said "Yes, I did sense it but I am sure they did not understand what I meant." I said, "It is rather difficult to misunderstand what you said. You really condemned people who did not happen to be like yourself to perpetually not being able to enjoy certain rights and freedoms, and that, I think, when we look around this table you will see, is not a tenable position for anyone in this meeting." And he said, "well, but we are a minority of white people fighting for our lives and these people are just children." "Well, that is all right, they may be children today" I said "but you have taken away from them all hope of ever growing up."

It is a curious and interesting thing that when you start with restrictions, they never stay in one circle or group. I went over to ask an English friend of mine about this South African situation. It is apparently a rather strange situation. A woman had been there whom I knew quite well, married to a man in business which took them to South Africa a good deal. She said "The situation there is a little difficult. You know, don't you, how women are treated there?" And I said "No, I do not know anything about it. I would like to understand it." She said "Well, no woman, no matter if the money is her own,

can open a bank account in South Africa. She has to have her husband's signature and mostly he must cash the checks." And so the restrictions go right on to the women apparently.

To drive a car alone for a woman is a very un-heard-of thing in South Africa, I am told. It is very bad. If you do it, you never mention it, because what you are supposed to do is to have one of these very Kaffirs--against whom you are to be defended--dressed up as a policeman and sitting beside you while you are driving the car. I have never been to South Africa and I did not know anything about it and I had to take what I was told, but it seems to me certainly that they did not keep restrictions in one circle. It seems to widen out, and it is not a very good way to be moving into the world of today.

But we finally got the declaration through and with two abstentions. It does not have to be translated into any law in any country. But we did agree to a resolution which asked us to acquaint you with what was in that declaration and to strive to live up to the standards and the aspirations that are expressed therein, and it is the foundation from which we proceed to write the covenant.

Now there will be more than one covenant, of course, and the first covenant I hope will be a very simple one and perhaps we will think that it is nothing new, because it will express probably the original civil liberties and political rights that we have enjoyed for a very long time in this country and probably give the legal guarantees that we do. There is only one hitch to it. It does apply to everyone, everyone.

We had some rather amusing discussions. Miss Bernadino of Santo Domingo insisted we should not say "every man" but we should say "everyone"or "every human being", "no one", and that is the reason for the inclusion of these phrases in the declaration.

One gentleman has written me to ask how I, as the United States Delegate, could possibly accept the first article which says that every human being is born free and equal, or why, when in our declaration we say that all men are created equal. Well, there was a very long argument over that word "created", because it implies a divine origin. We can accept that. We would have been glad to accept it, and there was a great effort to have it, and to have the name of the Creator, of God, included somewhere, but there were an enormous number of people there who could not agree, who felt differently about it. When you write a universal document it can't be a document written by the United States.

I was quite surprised to have the Delegate from Chile, who had been in almost all of the meetings, come up to me and say "You must realize this is an Anglo-Saxon document and much of it shocked us Latin Americans at first very much. We have grown accustomed to it but it is an Anglo-Saxon document." Well, I had never thought of that, and it had never occurred to me before. I began to think, well, look, you had better think a little bit more, you had better realize that you just are not the only country in the world or the only person to be considered.

I hope we will broadcast the declaration, and I hope that it will be so well known that we will hear people quote it all of the time, because that is the way it gets into the spirit of a people, that this is something that they should live by. But I hope if we do it we will also make people realize that this is not a United States document or an Anglo-Saxon document, that it is a universal declaration for the first time in history and actually for the first time so many nations have agreed to such a document; and a good many of them, I think, are going to find it a pretty difficult thing to look at from the same point of view that we do, but nevertheless the actual education resulting from

the arguments in the General Assembly did a great deal for a great many people who won't get to put it into practice for quite a long while; still it will be a background for them.

It ought to be ringing words that go out over the world; it ought to help give us something--what we are talking about this morning is just one of the little links in the chain, but I think it is an important one because the recognition that human beings as individuals have rights and freedoms that must not be trampled on may help us a great deal in keeping peace.

1949 · Materials · ~~United Nations~~

Human Rights

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS was approved by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris December 10, 1948, by a vote of 48 to 0. Eight countries abstained—the U. S. S. R., the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Saudi Arabia, and the Union of South Africa.

The Declaration is a statement of principles approved as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations. It is not a treaty and therefore imposes no legal obligations. It is, however, a challenge to all mankind to promote world-wide respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

An International Covenant on Human Rights is now being developed in the United Nations. This will be a treaty and will deal with certain of the basic civil and political rights embodied in the Declaration. The United Nations Commission on Human Rights expects to complete the drafting of this Covenant at its next session early in 1949. It will then be considered by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and later by the General Assembly. After it has been approved by the General Assembly, the Covenant will be submitted to individual countries for ratification and will become legally binding on the countries which ratify it.

The United States actively supported the approval of the Declaration of Human Rights in the General Assembly in Paris. Secretary of State Marshall called for its approval at the opening of the session. He began his address by urging the nations to approve "a new declaration of human rights for free men in a free world", and continued:

"Systematic and deliberate denials of basic human rights lie at the root of most of our troubles and threaten the work of the United Nations. It is not only fundamentally wrong that millions of men and women live in daily terror of secret police, subject to seizure, imprisonment, or forced labor without just cause and without fair trial, but these wrongs have repercussions in the community of nations. Governments which systematically disregard the rights of their own people are not likely to respect the rights of other nations and other people and are likely to seek their objectives by coercion and force in the international field."

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UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Approved by the General Assembly at its Plenary Meeting on 10 December 1948

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now therefore

The General Assembly,

Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and educa-

tion to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent

national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the Government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration insuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free,

at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1949

- How are the minority groups treated in the textbooks used in American schools?
- Do these textbooks teach understanding —or prejudice?
- Are they fair?

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INTERGROUP *Relations* in TEACHING MATERIALS

Report of the Committee on the Study of Teaching Materials in Intergroup Relations

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials

Of the 131,699,273 Americans reported in the 1940 census, approximately 11,500,000 were born outside of the United States; 118,000,000 were white; 13,000,000 were Negro; 5,000,000 were Jews; 22,000,000 were Roman Catholics; 30,000,000 were Protestants; one-third of a million were American Indians; one-third of a million were Asiatics—and so on. Many Americans speak another language (their native tongue) in their homes and their communities.

The American population is a congeries of "groups." On the whole, through most of American history, the groups have got along together reasonably well—but not as well as they should. We are not without group conflict; indeed, we may as well admit that with the increased urbanization of our society—the crowding of diverse peoples together—conflicts have increased, or at least we are more aware of them.

Children develop attitudes from what they see, hear, and read, in the home, the church, and the school. This book can treat only the situation within the school, the job the school has to do, and only one of the implements it has to work with—teaching materials. There are other approaches equally important—student organizations, methods of teaching, techniques of guidance, numerous day-by-day practices in group living; but what is taught to pupils, directly or by implication, by the textbooks they study has a great deal to do with the attitudes they develop, their prejudices, and their sympathies.

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This study is not a partisan plan for "better treatment" of Negroes or Jews or Catholics or Orientals or Mexicans or other racial or ethnic or religious groups, but it does analyze issues and materials in which these groups sometimes feel themselves affronted or unjustly ignored. No "black list" or "white list" of books is offered; individual examples remain anonymous. But the importance and the possible effect of *words* was never brought out more forcefully. The committee hopes that its survey and appraisal of teaching materials may be of practical help to all those—or at least some of those—who speak, write, and publish for the guidance of youth.

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PUBLISHED MARCH, 1949

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(continued on back)

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HILDA TABA, *Director*

The four booklets described in this circular are the first publications in the Work in Progress Series, issued by the staff of the Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools. This was a three-year experimental project sponsored by a committee of the American Council on Education, and financed by a grant from the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

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16 - Human Rights

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Progress of Covenant On Human Rights

A Review of the Work of the Seventh Session of the Commission on Human Rights

By

Dr. Charles Malik

Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights and Minister of Lebanon in the United States

Published by

UNITED NATIONS

Department of Public Information

June 1951

Progress of Covenant on Human Rights

By Dr. Charles Malik

Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights and Minister of Lebanon in the United States

SINCE the adoption and proclamation by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the main task of the Commission on Human Rights has been the elaboration of a Covenant on Human Rights.

Whatever may be the legal value of the Universal Declaration, solemnly adopted and proclaimed without any opposing vote by representatives of 48 nations, (and I can argue at some length that it has greater legal value than an ordinary recommendation or resolution of the General Assembly,) the Covenant is to go further than the Declaration: (a) it will define, with a greater degree of legal precision, at least some of the rights proclaimed in the Declaration; (b) it will include certain international measures of implementation aiming either at the promotion of these rights, or at the supervision of their implementation within the contracting states; and (c) it will be open for signature and ratification by Member states, so that those who adhere to it will be legally bound by its terms.

The Commission on Human Rights at its sixth session held at Lake Success, New York, from March 27 to May 19, 1950, prepared a draft Covenant on Human Rights. However, the Commission itself considered this draft as not final when submitting it to the Economic and Social Council. The Council, after having examined the draft during its eleventh session held in Geneva from July 3 to August 16, 1950, submitted it to the General Assembly with a request to give guidance to the Commission on Human Rights on four major points in order that the Commission could complete its work on the Covenant. The General Assembly, in its Resolution 422 (V), acceded to this request of the Economic and Social Council, and the Commission, which met on April 16, 1951, in its seventh session, began the essential task of revision and completion of the Covenant in the light of the decisions of the General Assembly.

The Commission held a general discussion on the question of including provisions concerning economic, social and cultural rights. The following main points were raised and discussed:

whether the instructions of the General Assembly were binding on the Commission;

whether provisions on economic, social and cultural rights should be embodied in a separate instrument, in separate protocols, or in a separate part of the draft Covenant; and the difficulty of defining such rights in precise legal terms;

whether all the rights proclaimed in Articles 22-27 of the Universal Declaration should be included;

the differences between civil liberties and economic and social rights on the one hand, and their close relationship on the other;

the advisability of including a general undertaking modelled on Article 22 of the Universal Declaration, a broad general provision to promote conditions of economic, social, and cultural progress and development, to be supplemented by special undertakings;

the special measures of implementation which may be required as far as economic, social and cultural rights are concerned; and the question whether the articles on implementation elaborated last year were appropriate with regard to those rights;

that the inclusion of provisions on economic, social and cultural rights and on their implementation should accord with

the obligations undertaken under the Charter of the United Nations, the constitutions of the specialized agencies, and the agreements between the United Nations and the specialized agencies delimiting their respective responsibilities;

the need for avoiding overlapping with and duplication of the work of the specialized agencies, and for close co-operation with and between them in both the formulation and the implementation of these rights;

the part to be played by the State both in the national and international sphere;

the nature of the rights to be defined and the necessity to have regard to the resources of the State;

the need to avoid dividing Members of the United Nations into two groups — those who could, and those who, owing to insufficient economic and social development, could not, ensure certain economic and social rights;

the necessity of aiming at obtaining the maximum number of adherences to the Covenant;

the desirability of finding a common ground between more developed and less developed countries providing for the attainment of better conditions by stages;

the question of the obligations of states to implement effectively the economic, social and cultural rights enunciated in the Covenant;

the question of concrete ways and means of implementing the rights to work, to social security, to education and other rights proclaimed in the Declaration and the Covenant;

the principle that the implementation of the provisions of the Covenant in respect of their own citizens was an obligation laid on the governments of the signatory states, in which connection there was a discussion as to whether each of the articles relating to economic, social and cultural rights had to mention the definite measures to be adopted for the implementation of these rights.

We have in this session achieved two things: we have elaborated, for the first time so far as the Covenant is concerned, articles on economic, social and cultural rights, and we have revised the measures of implementation of last year and drafted new measures of implementation.

The General Assembly in the above-mentioned Resolution, 422 (V), gave the following guidance to the Commission on Human Rights:

"(THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,) . . . .

7. (a) DECIDES to include in the Covenant on Human Rights economic, social and cultural rights and an explicit recognition of equality of men and women in related rights, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations;

(b) CALLS UPON the Economic and Social Council to request the Commission on Human Rights, in accordance with the spirit of the Universal Declaration, to include in the draft Covenant a clear expression of economic, social and cultural rights in a manner which relates them to the civic and political freedoms proclaimed by the draft Covenant;

(c) CALLS UPON the Economic and Social Council to request the Commission on Human Rights to take steps as are necessary to obtain the co-operation of other organs of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies in the consideration of such rights;

(d) REQUESTS the Economic and Social Council to consider, at its twelfth session, the methods by which the specialized agencies might co-operate with the Commission on Human Rights with regard to economic, social and cultural rights."

Despite the decision of the General Assembly, certain delegations, and in particular the delegations of the United Kingdom and of India, were not in favor of the inclusion of articles on economic, social and cultural rights in the present Covenant, but preferred to see them treated in a separate instrument.

Other delegations had a different attitude at the start of the work of the Commission. Certain of them thought that it would be sufficient, in order to comply with the wishes expressed by the General Assembly, to include in the Covenant a general clause prescribing to the Covenanting States simply that they promote economic, social and cultural rights. The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics took the other extreme view and presented a detailed set of draft articles dealing with these matters. In every one of these articles the state is explicitly

stated as being obligated to guarantee these rights. Another somewhat similar set of articles was presented by the delegation of Yugoslavia. But the majority of delegations held a view which could be defined as intermediate between these two extremes. They thought that, in accordance with the wishes handed down to us by the General Assembly, a clear expression of economic, social and cultural rights should find its place in the Covenant.

Specialized Agencies

The specialized agencies, particuarly the International Labor Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), sent strong delegations to this important session of the Commission. At one time they were represented by their three distinguished Directors-General. These three specialized agencies have left their unmistakable impress upon our work. The finished product bears many of the formulations suggested by them. This is, indeed, as it should be, as these on-going instruments of international co-operation in the economic, social and cultural domains know, on the technical side, more about these matters than many a member of the Commission does, and have been, each in its own field, trying to promote human rights for years, and in the case of the International Labor Organization, for decades. It is doubtful whether there has ever been a more fruitful association between the specialized agencies and any organ of the United Nations than the co-operation which the Commission was privileged to receive this time from these agencies.

The non-governmental organizations in consultative relationship with the Economic and Social Council were also strongly represented. They never failed to speak frankly and firmly on the issues which interested them. If a Covenant on human rights is going to emerge from our labors, it will be the interested and wise agitation of these non-governmental bodies which is going to move the governments to sign it.

As to the general scope of the adopted provisions, it will be apparent that there is a certain lack of balance between their diverse formulations. In particular, the article dealing with social security simply states "The States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone to social security." Similar texts were adopted for the rights to adequate housing, to adequate standard of living, and to the continuous improvement of one's living conditions. On the other hand, the articles dealing with the right to health and the right to education and culture have been drawn up in greater detail. The article recognizing the right of everyone to just and favorable conditions of work lies somewhere in between these two extremes, and the article dealing with the right to work has apparently a purely declaratory character.

Trade Union Rights

One category of rights which was considered essential by certain delegations, namely, trade union rights and the right to strike, gave rise to considerable debate. Certain delegations were of the opinion that there was no necessity for including a special provision on trade union rights as they were already covered by Article 16 dealing with the right of association, which was adopted last year. Here again the text finally agreed upon was a compromise solution which does not give satisfaction to either of the extreme views expressed. The article now reads: "The States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone, in conformity with Article 16, to form and join local, national and interna-

tional trade unions of his choice for the protection of his economic and social interests."

Another controversial matter was the question of including a special article on the equality of men and women, mentioned in sub-paragraph (a) of paragraph 7 of the General Assembly's Resolution. Of course the principle itself of equality of men and women was recognized by all delegations. However, some thought that the general provision on non-discrimination embodied in Article 1 of the draft Covenant was sufficient, and that to single out for special repetition the question of equality between men and women would not only lead to weakening the general principle but could also throw a certain amount of doubt on the equal importance of preventing discrimination on other grounds (race, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, etc.) Other delegations insisted not only on the inclusion of a special article dealing with the equality of men and women in the field of economic, social and cultural rights, but also wanted to have a repetition of the principle of equality in a number of articles dealing with substantive rights. The final decision of the Commission was to include an article which reads as follows: "The States parties to the Covenant recognize the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all economic, social and cultural rights, and particularly of those set forth in this Covenant."

"Umbrella Clause"

Another controversial issue was the question whether the part of the Covenant dealing with economic, social and cultural rights should be preceded by a general "umbrella clause" which would contain a kind of preamble to this part in addition to the undertaking of contracting states to take steps individually and through international co-operation in order to achieve progressively the full realization of the rights concerned. The objection against the adoption of such a clause was that it would amount to forming a kind of separate Covenant on economic, social and cultural rights (a sort of Covenant within a Covenant), contrary to the desire expressed by the General Assembly that a single Covenant embracing all rights should be prepared. The Commission, however, decided to include such an article in the Covenant. Nevertheless, when it proceeded to examine the various drafts presented to it, it rejected them all successivey one by one. A new proposal was then presented by the French delegation and finally adopted by 10 votes to 8. The adopted formula has been further criticized by some delegations on the grounds that the undertaking which it includes in its last paragraph allows of possible evasion.

A similar debate took place on the question of whether a general limitation clause should be included in relation to economic, social and cultural rights, and if so, how it should be worded. By a substantial majority of 11 votes to 6, with one abstention, the Commission adopted a clause according to which a State Party could submit the enjoyment of these rights only to such limitations as are determined by law and only so far as this may be compatible with the nature of these rights, and solely for the purpose of promoting the general welfare in a democratic society.

Problem of Implementation

The problem of implementation of economic, social and cultural rights presents special characteristics of its own. For here it is not enough to make sure that states comply with their commitments under the Covenant, but certain special positive assistance must be rendered them to enable them to achieve progressively their objectives. This problem raised two issues of capital importance: on

the one hand, the relationship between the machinery to be set up for implementation with the specialized agencies; on the other hand, the relationship of this machinery with the United Nations organization itself.

It was obvious from the start that the implementation of economic, social and cultural rights would require some system of reporting by Governments on the progress made by them under the Covenant. In addition, the problem of technical assistance as a means of enabling Governments to implement the Covenant was also raised.

The various specialized agencies, working each in its particular field, have set up for a number of years both a system of reporting and organs examining the reports and making recommendations to States members of these organizations. These agencies also play an essential role in the overall program of technical assistance.

It is for this reason that the members of the Commission were fully aware that while setting up new machinery for implementing economic, social and cultural rights, it would be indispensable to keep in mind the existing machinery of the specialized agencies in order to avoid duplication, leading not only to unnecessary expense, both for Governments and for the international organizations, but also to confusion, frustration and general weakening of international machinery. The representatives of the specialized agencies, especially of the International Labor Organization, were very emphatic in drawing the attention of the Commission to this point. However, not all members of the Commission held the same views on the coordination of the new machinery to be set up with the already existing machineries of the specialized agencies. Some believed that it would be contrary to the Charter to divest the United Nations of primary responsibility in the field of human rights in favor of the specialized agencies. Others did not feel that it would be contrary to the Charter to rely primarily on already existing machinery and to retain for the United Nations competence only in such cases where there is no competent specialized agency to deal with the matter, or where the State concerned is not a member of a specialized agency.

Proposal for Committee

The second cardinal issue was the relationship between the implementation machinery and the United Nations. The first proposal submitted by the delegation of Lebanon provided for a special Committee composed of independent persons elected in their personal capacity by the Economic and Social Council amongst nationals of States Parties to the Covenant. This Committee would consider reports from Covenanting States and would make recommendations to them on the promotion and observance of economic, social and cultural rights without further appeal to other organs. Later, this proposal was revised in such a manner that the Committee would come under the authority of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly.

The delegations of Pakistan and Sweden presented a joint proposal differing from that of Lebanon in the relatively greater emphasis placed upon the specialized agencies than upon the United Nations.

A third proposal by the French delegation maintained that the Council should consider the reports but insisted that the Commission on Human Rights, the only Commission mentioned in the Charter, should retain, under new terms of reference, competence to assist the Council in its task. The representative of France maintained that the States Parties to the Covenant should undertake to report according to recommendations made by the General Assembly to all members of the United Nations, as every such member is already under

an obligation to promote human rights in accordance with the Charter.

A working group was set up to try to reconcile these diverse points of view. The text adopted by the working group, which was afterwards confirmed with very minor amendments by the Commission, embodied the following principles: (a) a reaffirmation of the primary responsibility of the United Nations with respect to implementation, although States members of specialized agencies will continue their reporting to these agencies in the regular manner; (b) the central implementation organs within the United Nations would be the Economic and Social Council together with the Commission on Human Rights; (c) the Economic and Social Council to establish a program of reporting by stages in consultation with the specialized agencies, and to make special arrangements with these agencies in respect of their reporting to it on the progressive implementation by their member States of the Covenant; (d) the use of technical assistance as a means of promoting the implementation of these rights.

The draft Covenant as prepared last year during the sixth session of the Commission contained a set of articles dealing with implementation. When the Commission took up again this problem during the present session, the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics submitted a draft resolution inviting the Commission on Human Rights to omit from the draft Covenant the provisions on implementation, on the ground that they amounted to an attempt at intervening in the internal affairs of States, and thus would violate their sovereignty. However, the Soviet draft resolution has been rejected by the Commission.

Significant Changes

The Commission went over the provisions of implementation it developed last year. The following were the significant changes introduced this year: (a) the Human Rights Committee is to be composed of nine rather than seven members; (b) this Committee is to be elected by the International Court of Justice from a list of persons nominated by the States Parties to the Covenant; (c) the Secretary of this Committee is also to be elected by the International Court of Justice from a list of three names submitted by the Committee; (d) the Committee, in serious cases where human life is endangered, is entitled to act forthwith at the request of a Contracting State and after notifying the State or States directly concerned; (e) the Committee is authorized to request the Economic and Social Council to submit legal questions arising in connection with its work to the International Court of Justice for advisory opinion.

Various unsuccessful attempts were made to include the right of petition by individuals, groups or organizations in the present system of implementation. This whole question of petitions will come up again for consideration next year when the Commission will have to consider, among other documents, proposals by the United States and by Uruguay. The latter is urging the setting up of an Office of United Nations Attorney General.

At the end of the session, the delegation of India moved a draft resolution according to which the Commission was to request the Economic and Social Council to recommend in its turn to the General Assembly to reconsider its decision of last fall to include economic, social and cultural rights in the same Covenant with political, civil and personal rights. The Commission rejected this proposal by 12 against 5 with 1 abstention. The feeling of the Assembly that one and the same Covenant must contain all these types of rights is thereby strongly reflected in the Commission.

The seventh session of the Commission on human rights has been a good session. Delegates worked incessantly and seriously for five full weeks. A positive spirit of understanding and forbearance was evident throughout. Everybody did his best to accommodate himself as much as possible to the points of view of others. Differences, no matter how radical, were never allowed either to impede the progress of the work or to impair the friendly relations between the members of the Commission. The debates often reached a very high level of quality, and there is hardly a basic international problem that was not explicitly or implicitly touched upon. And thus the Commission carries on its mandate under the Charter to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world, always mindful that this is the heart of the world situation today, and that insofar as man's inherent dignity suffers anywhere, peace, real peace, is an illusion.

Who will inherit the earth? Only the people and the country which, overcoming its own internal difficulties, steps forth with courage and humor and responsibility to lead the rest of the world in the effective affirmation of that which essentially belongs to man.

Reprinted from United Nations Bulletin, Vol. X, No. 12

Human Rights

82D CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 6587

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 14, 1952

Mr. HELLER introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

A BILL

To amend title 18 of the United States Code to provide protection against vandalism committed on account of racial or religious prejudice.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That the Congress finds as fact that the succeeding provi-
4 sions of this Act are necessary to promote universal respect
5 for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental free-
6 doms for all without distinction as to race or religion, in
7 accordance with the undertaking of the United States under
8 the United Nations Charter, and to further the national policy
9 in that regard by securing to all persons under the jurisdic-
10 tion of the United States effective recognition of certain of

1 the rights and freedoms proclaimed by the General Assembly
2 of the United Nations in the Universal Declaration of Human
3 Rights.

4 SEC. 2. Chapter 13 of title 18 of the United States Code
5 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new
6 section:

7 "§ 245. Vandalism on account of race or religion.

8 "Whoever damages any place of worship, dwelling, or
9 other property, real or personal, out of malice toward any
10 race or religion, or with intent to ridicule, intimidate, or
11 otherwise injure any person on account of his race or religion,
12 shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more
13 than one year, or both, except that whoever in violating this
14 section causes property damage in excess of $1,000 shall be
15 fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than
16 twenty years, or both, and whoever in violating this section
17 causes the death or bodily injury of any person shall be
18 punished by death."

19 SEC. 2. The table of contents of chapter 13 of title 18
20 of the United States Code is amended by adding at the end
21 thereof

"245. Vandalism on account of race or religion."

82D CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 6587

A BILL

To amend title 18 of the United States Code to provide protection against vandalism committed on account of racial or religious prejudice.

By Mr. HELLER

FEBRUARY 14, 1952

Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE UNITED NATIONS

By DR. CHARLES MALIK

Minister of the Republic of Lebanon in the United States and Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations

I

THE eighth session of the Commission on Human Rights, lasting for nine weeks (April 14-June 13), was the longest the Commission ever held and one of the longest held by any organ of the United Nations. And yet all that the Commission managed to complete of its agenda was three or four out of a total of some twenty items. Those of us who have followed closely this enterprise ever since San Francisco now realize that we have all along underestimated the complexity and difficulty of this issue. We began with the somewhat naive, albeit sincere, determination to work out an International Bill of Rights and, in the initial impulse of our inexperience, we saw the completion of this task just around the corner. There were three steps to the undertaking: a declaration whereby the rights and freedoms appertaining to man are theoretically defined; a series of covenants whereby adhering states explicitly bind themselves to the strict observance of the rights and freedoms elaborated in them; and measures of implementation whereby the international community can make sure that human rights and fundamental freedoms, whether on the level of the Charter or of the Declaration or of the covenants, are in fact being promoted and observed. We completed the first step in 1948, and many of us thought the other two steps would be forthcoming in speedy succession. We have been grappling with them now for four years, and while much indeed has been accomplished during this time, the end is not yet in sight. We have all been sobered by the realization of the truly formidable task assigned to us.

NATURE OF TASK Now this task was none other than the determination of the proper structure of human dignity, the working out of all those enjoyments which are inherent to man and without which he would be less than himself, less than his Author intends him to be, less at any rate than he is capable of becoming and being. And we were not only to bring about agreement (or register whatever agreement there was) among the nations of the world as to what these natural rights and freedoms were, but also to suggest ways and means whereby human dignity, thus determined and thus agreed upon, can be promoted and achieved by international co-operation.

All that one has to do to appreciate what all this really involves is (a) to remember that man by himself is at best very difficult to determine, even if it were one philosopher proceeding from one coherent set of presuppositions who attempted this determination; (b) to reflect that the nations, in the consideration of this question in its present all-embracing scope, have really come together seriously for the first time in history, and that, so far as international action by responsible representatives of governments is concerned, the Commission's work is creative and pioneering in every respect; (c) to keep in mind the radical differences that obtain in the interpretation of man among the effective cultures of the world, some stressing this, some stressing that side of his nature; and (d) to brood upon the sad phenomenon of power politics entering into and vitiating everything, including man himself. We know now that the nobility and importance of our task is matched only by its inherent difficulty and by the long time we must in all fairness allow for its unfolding.

II

Among the general circumstances that conditioned the eighth session of the Commission, three are particularly worthy of consideration. There was first the oppressive weight of the general world situation which affected our progress at every turn. People's minds were on the whole elsewhere than on the problems of human rights, and some found it difficult to concentrate upon our immediate endeavors. The debate seemed to them utterly academic. Thus it is not clear how much the Foreign Offices of the Member governments, or the respective departments dealing with the United Nations, took active notice of our deliberations; nor whether we were just those eighteen "experts" blissfully left by our governments to hammer out all by ourselves whatever texts we could, as best we could. Now, the troubled world situation has been with us for a number of years, but the more we are removed in time from the original moral indignation evoked by the Second World War in favor of man and his freedoms, the more the questions of war and peace cast their pall upon the reality of our work.

WORLD SITUATION This is one of man's tormenting paradoxes: that such fundamental work, for man and in his name, cannot go on in a vacuum, but must take its proper place within the context of the serious world situation: must indeed reflect people's concern for their existence and their destiny. When existence is in question, the "how" of existence recedes to the background. And yet what is the "use" of existence unless it be made worthy of man and his highest, unless its just "how" is assured? When discord deepens and war threatens, we slacken in our interest in human rights; and yet is not the violation of these rights among the fundamental causes of war and discord, and can there be tranquility and progress without adequate recognition of these rights and freedoms throughout the world?

NO HURRY The second general situation that determined this session, a situation not altogether independent of the first, was that nobody seemed in a hurry to push our work to a conclusion. I cannot accuse anybody of intentional dilatoriness, but people were on the whole expansive, and many a decision could have been reached with one-half or one-third of the argumentation that led up to it. Certainly the sense of urgency and drive that characterized the preparation of the Declaration back in 1947 and 1948 was absent, and it was impossible to brush aside the reflection that the proclamation of the Declaration in 1948 was really something of a miracle, so that if it were not proclaimed then, possibly we would still be working on it now. In these fundamental matters vigorous leadership makes all the difference: one or two nations, knowing exactly what they want and determined in advance to

finish a total job, have a good chance to lead the rest in the attainment of their end. But to leave eighteen representatives to argue more or less ramblingly about what belongs to the dignity of man, without an overarching vigorous design aiming at the completion of a job no matter how difficult, would doubtless lead, if not to trackless, then certainly to inconclusive wanderings. You could not this time—at least until the very last few days—get the Commission to adopt rules limiting the number of interventions per person per subject and the length of time of each intervention, even in respect to those subjects gone over a hundred times before; nor could you set a firm deadline for the receivability of proposals, and amendments, and amendments to amendments; and always when the Chairman wanted to close the list of speakers, practically the whole round of representatives wanted to put their names in again. People simply loved going on and on—arguing, attacking, coaxing, refining.

ONE OR TWO COVENANTS The third fundamental circumstance was that the situation prevailing in the Third Committee of the General Assembly with respect to this matter carried over to the Commission. The issue that was debated for weeks and weeks in the Third Committee last year and the year before was whether to work out one covenant, comprising within its scope civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, or two separate covenants, one for civil and political rights, and one for economic, social and cultural rights. "One or two" became the question; and when great issues are reduced to such absurd simplicity, people in the confusion of the times do not always take sides on the merits of the case. There is room for neat, political manoeuvring and bargaining: room to score a victory against or inflict an embarrassment upon the "twoers" or "oners" by shrewdly siding with the opposite camp. From the point of view of the truth, it is always dangerous to oversimplify issues in international gatherings: overlapping, interpenetration, the providing of significant "riders," the insertion of pregnant nuances, all this helps to prevent false divisions of the house for reasons entirely extraneous to the objective subject-matter under consideration. He who thinks representatives are always swayed by the objective compulsion of the truth and never fall to the seductions of abstract simplification does not know the real character of international existence.

Be that as it may, the 1950 decision of the General Assembly was in favor of one covenant, and the Commission in its session in Geneva last year worked assiduously on the basis of that presupposition. But in 1951 the General Assembly reversed its directive to the Commission, asking us to prepare two separate covenants, to be gone over with equal care, to include as much common language as possible, to be presented to the General Assembly and thence to be opened for accession at the same time, but withal to be two separate instruments capable of being adhered to separately and independently.

Now, there was nothing in the reversal in itself to cause the Commission any special difficulty or embarrassment: we receive our ultimate directives from the General Assembly through the Economic and Social Council and we try to execute them as faithfully as possible. But in this particular reversal, what was decisive from the point of view of the general conditions under which we carried out our mandate was the structure of the voting in the General Assembly, considered both quantitatively and qualitatively. From the former point of view, the decision to have one covenant for the two types of rights was carried in 1950 by an overwhelming majority, 38 votes to 7, with 12 abstentions. When this decision was reversed last year in favor of two covenants, the voting was 27 for, 20 against, with 3 abstentions. On the other hand, those that favored two covenants were led by the more developed countries, whereas those who favored one comprised under-developed countries and the Soviet bloc.

Qualitatively, the house in general divided on this issue between the Western world and the Eastern world (India and Lebanon, however, went with the West) with the Soviet world siding with the East and the Latin American world dividing more or less evenly between the two. As a result, at once two matters came to the fore which are of the essence of our present involvement, matters that were, to be sure, partly the cause, but are undoubtedly also partly the effect, of this division: I mean the host of questions subsumed under the rubric "self-determination of peoples" and the antithesis between the developed and the less developed. The whole atmosphere of human rights in the United Nations is now charged with these two themes.

TWO BLOCS The structure of voting in the Third Committee reflected itself both times faithfully in the Commission. Last year a strong majority of the Commission could always be counted upon in support of the idea of one covenant. This year the house was pretty nearly evenly divided on most important issues. Some of the great decisions (whether to adopt or to reject texts) taken this year by the Commission were taken by a bare majority of one or two, and in certain cases we had to call into the room one or two members who were outside attending to some other business in order to enable the Commission to come to a decision. Nothing is more despairing to a Chairman than to be dealing with an evenly divided house: the grounds of seriousness seem then to be withdrawn from underneath his feet. The Commission's work at its eighth session this year cannot be properly appraised without constantly keeping in mind (and without fully appreciating the significance of this fact) that two more or less solid and equal blocs at once formed themselves on practically every important issue, the one composed of the U.S.S.R., the Ukraine, Poland, Yugoslavia, Chile, Uruguay, Pakistan and Egypt, the other of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Australia, Belgium, Sweden, Greece and China, with Lebanon and India sometimes dividing between the two blocs, sometimes voting with the first, sometimes (in fact for the most part) voting with the second bloc. (This statement does not of course apply to every vote taken, but it certainly approximates the normal pattern observed in the voting. Also the listing above is made in the order of firmness with which the country in question stuck to the bloc under which it is listed. Thus the two or three countries toward the end of each listing did not invariably vote with the rest of that bloc, and in one instance—that of communications—the pattern of voting underwent a revolution: the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and France coming together in indissoluble union.)

The Commission labored under three great handicaps: the overshadowing world tension, the utter leisureliness with which people moved or wanted to move, and the even division of its membership on the fundamental issues. The first distracted our attention somewhat, the second slowed down our progress considerably, and the third cast a shadow of doubt upon the finality of such results as we were able to achieve.

III

In general and despite the expansiveness and repetitiveness, the quality of debate in this session was high. To attend the meetings day after day and listen carefully to the development of our themes was a veritable education in itself. Because of the nature of our subject-matter — the basic structure of human dignity—no fundamental issue in the world today was not directly or indirectly touched upon. This has always been the case in the Commission on Human

Rights. It is doubtful whether in the debates of the United Nations anything compares with the proceedings of this Commission in depth and comprehensiveness.

SELF-DETERMINATION The debate on self-determination revealed two antithetical facts: on the one hand, that in itself this question is exceedingly complex; on the other, that the non-Atlantic nations would brush aside all such complexity in favor of a simple, direct affirmation that every people and every nation has a natural right to self-determination. It is not that the Atlantic nations and their friends are just defensively and selfishly resisting change: the problem is genuinely and objectively complex. Nor is it, on the other hand, that the Soviet, Asian and Latin countries are just spiting and rebelling against the West: people today insist on their right to determine their own fate freely even if that should mean transfer of attachment from one power camp to another. The Western doctrine of freedom is gradually coming to full bloom in non-Western lands; and in this closely-knit world, so long as the two camps remain poised against each other in irresolution and unsettlement, everybody else has a chance to clamor for his right to independence of thought and action. The zest generated by the idea of self-determination is due precisely to the fact that the mind does not at first suspect the formidable complexities concealed under this idea. There is no short-cut to the sophistication of experience and reflection.

Among the questions raised and debated in this connection were the following:

(1) How much does world peace depend upon safeguarding the right of self-determination to peoples and nations?

(2) Whether the right to self-determination, to which all were agreed in principle, was an individual or a group right, and consequently whether it fell under the Charter concept of "fundamental human rights" which it was the intent of the Declaration to define and the covenants to implement.

(3) How much does the exercise of other rights depend upon the prior realization of the right of self-determination?

(4) Where should this right be affirmed? As an integral article in the body of the covenant or covenants? Or in the preamble? Or in the Declaration of Human Rights? Or in a separate document? Or in a special and separate resolution of the General Assembly? (Because our instructions were explicit, the Commission decided that self-determination be an article in the body of the covenants.)

(5) Should its content be a short simple statement of principle, or should it be detailed?

(6) If the structure of self-determination should be gone into in detail, was the Commission competent to undertake this job? Should it not rather seek assistance from the International Law Commission, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, and UNESCO, in the determination of the diverse moments of this idea?

(7) How is self-determination related to freedom, independence, self-government?

(8) What constitutes a "people"?

(9) When are "minorities" entitled to this right?

(10) When in their maturation are "peoples" entitled to this right?

(11) What legitimate action may a people take to achieve this right?

(12) What should the attitude of other peoples and nations be to a people struggling for the right of self-determination?

(13) The question of plebiscites: when to be taken? under whose auspices?

(14) The great question of "cultural self-determination": is there such a thing? Are people, for instance, entitled to suppress freedom of thought, conscience and enquiry in the name of "cultural self-determination"?

(15) The great question of "economic self-determination," of the right of peoples freely to dispose of their own natural resources: how does this affect international economic co-operation, including the question of development?

(16) Is the right of self-determination according to the Charter unqualified? Is it subject to overarching considerations of international security and peace?

It will be highly rewarding to the student of this topic to go back to the clashes of opinion in the original proceedings of the Commission, and to try to penetrate to the reason and significance of these clashes.

The text of the article on self-determination finally adopted by the Commission for inclusion in both covenants under consideration was as follows:

1. All peoples and all nations shall have the right of self-determination, namely, the right freely to determine their political, economic, social and cultural status.
2. All States, including those having responsibility for the administration of non-self-governing and trust territories and those controlling in whatsoever manner the exercise of that right by another people, shall promote the realization of that right in all their territories, and shall respect the maintenance of that right in other States, in conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter.
3. The right of the peoples to self-determination shall also include permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence on the grounds of any rights that may be claimed by other States.

The Commission was also instructed by the General Assembly to work out recommendations concerning international respect for the self-determination of peoples, the presupposition being that pending the elaboration and the coming into force of the covenants, surely the United Nations cannot remain inactive in this field. Two such recommendations were drawn up in which the member governments were asked to uphold the principle of self-determination, particularly with respect to non-self-governing and trust territories, and those responsible for such territories were asked to include in the information transmitted by them under Article 73e of the Charter an account of the political progress of these territories.

IV

Whatever we were able to adopt of the covenant on economic, social and cultural rights was gone over with great care. We have now precise texts on the right to work, to appropriate conditions of work, to social security, to special protection of maternity, children and the family, to food, clothing and housing, to an adequate standard of living, to health, to education, to science and culture, and to forming and joining trade unions. There is also an article on the progressive implementation of compulsory primary education free of charge for all. Besides these substantive articles, there are what might be termed "regulative provisions" on non-discrimination, especially as between men and women, on general limitations on the exercise of these rights, on the fact that the present convention cannot derogate from human rights already in force, and on the fact that the realization of these rights is to be "progressive."

The specialized agencies again took active interest in our work. Especially did the respresentatives of UNESCO and ILO play a significant role in our deliberations. The Commission respectfully deferred to their expert opinion, and our present text reflects some of their ideas.

The Soviet bloc, as is to be expected, were most active in the debates on these matters. They urged

the most advanced provisions, especially with respect to non-discrimination, and never tired of alleging that in their respective countries economic and social conditions were incomparably better than in the Western world. I think a study of our proceedings will reveal that the amendments we adopted to the old texts under examination responded for the most part more to Soviet than to Western promptings.

GUARANTEES But on their major thesis they were not successful. They wanted to see a strict governmental *guarantee* for practically every right. According to the Soviet concept, the government is the agency that "guarantees" for everybody the enjoyment of the right to work, to proper conditions of work, to "social security," to education, etc. The majority of the Commission did not share this view, believing on the contrary that economic power and enforcement should not be a monopoly of the state. Of course this fundamental difference in viewpoint between the Soviet and the non-Soviet worlds raises the three formidable issues: (a) of how governments can enter into international compacts in matters over which they do not have direct control; (b) of how such compacts can therefore be implemented; and (c) of whether the international promotion of this type of right lends itself to the same sort of treatment as that possible for civil and political rights.

LIMITING CLAUSES In two limiting but important cases there is an expression of governmental guarantee. The first is the non-discrimination clause of the general "umbrella" article. Here "the States Parties undertake to guarantee that the rights enunciated in this Covenant will be exercised without distinction of any kind, such as race, color sex, etc." The point of this undertaking is that while some of these rights may not be realized except "progressively," owing to limitations of "available resources" and other conditions, yet insofar as a right is exercised at all, it cannot be exercised on a basis of discrimination. Thus there may not be at once enough schools for all children, but the available schools must take in children without discrimination. The second case is the provision on trade union rights which reads: "the States . . . undertake to ensure the free exercise of the right of everyone to form and join . . . trade unions . . .," the idea being that all that the states here obligate themselves to is *not to interfere* in trade union activity, and therefore such negative (formal) obligation can be assumed all at once.

The other clause of the opening "umbrella" article reads: "Each State Party hereto undertakes to take steps, individually and through international cooperation, to the maximum of its available resources, with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in this Covenant by legislation as well as by other means." This text was probably fought hardest of all. Behind every phrase lurks a precise intention, or the avoidance of a supposed danger. The "enthusiasts" saw practically behind every word a possible loophole for evasion by governments; the "realists" argued that these "material" rights differed from the "formal" ones of the other covenant precisely by the feature that they depended on objective, material conditions which can only be brought into effective operation progressively. The realists finally won the day.

SCIENCE AND CULTURE In the debate on science and culture, some of the dread ultimate issues in the world today came to the fore. The Soviet viewpoint was again that the states must "ensure" that the development of science and culture subserve "the interests of progress and democracy." This proposal was defeated by 12 votes to 4, with 1 abstention. Nothing is more detrimental to the spirit and vitality of a culture than to make freedom of thought and enquiry subject to the opinion of the State as to what is good for "progress and democracy" or, for that matter, for anything. Science, culture, truth are absolutely independent of politics: their development obeys an autonomous law of its own. Even if "progress," "democracy," "peace," were univocal terms (and the present world crisis consists precisely in the fact that they are not), and even if they referred to good and desirable things, it is not the business of science, culture and creation to pursue them. These pursue their own proper ends, which are nothing other than the discovery and expression of the truth (which is fulness of life and beauty no less than of mind) in complete freedom. Not only will science and truth wither away where freedom is suppressed or curtailed, but the state itself will wake up one day to the realization that, both by reason of a pervasive dullness of mind which it has succeeded in generating among its citizenry, and by reason of the unavailability of material instruments which the inventiveness of freedom alone can supply, it is decisively handicapped in the pursuit of its own ends. He tampers with the source of life itself who tampers with freedom.

RIGHT TO PROPERTY For the second year an unsuccessful attempt was made to include an article on the right to own property. Article 17 of the Universal Declaration proclaimed this right, but since then the Commission has not been able to agree on an appropriate text for the covenant. The French Delegation put forward a proposal, but so many difficulties and objections were raised, particularly with regard to expropriation and compensation, that finally the Commission, tired of the apparent hopelessness of this matter, decided to adjourn the debate on it. The concept of property and its ownership is at the heart of the great ideological conflict of the present day. It was not only the Communist representatives who riddled this concept with questions and doubts: a goodly portion of the non-Communist world had itself succumbed to these doubts. A study of this particular debate will reveal the extent to which the non-Communist world has been communistically softened or frightened. It seems incredible that in these economic matters, which reflect indeed much more than mere economic divergencies, the Western world is so divided on itself as to be incapable of presenting a common front against Communism. When the material appetite is aroused, there is no end to its claims unless it be checked at some point with the original restraints of the spirit.

V

No drastic revisions have been introduced in the civil and political formulations that have come down to us from the Commission's labors of 1950. One can in general speak of having subjected these rights only to further refinement.

The catalog comprises the right to life; the prohibition of inhuman or degrading treatment; the prohibition of slavery and forced labor; the right to liberty and security of person; freedom from imprisonment on account of inability to fulfill a contractual obligation; the right to liberty of movement; the protection of aliens against arbitrary expulsion; the right to a fair trial; the prohibition of retroactive criminal legislation; the right to recognition as a person before the law; freedom of thought, conscience and religion; freedom of opinion and expression; the right of peaceful assembly; the right of association; and equality before the law. There were further three articles of a "regulative" type: one expressing the obligation to respect and ensure the rights enumerated in the covenant; one on the scope and limitation of derogations allowable under exceptional circumstances; and one safeguarding the covenant from abuse and preventing any restrictions upon rights in force not recognized in it.

The student who wishes to go more deeply into these matters must read the records of the Commission or its report to the Economic and Social Council. Among the themes that received significant discussion were the following: the question of capital punishment; how to preserve the integrity and independence of the Genocide Convention in respect to the article on the right to life; what medical and scientific experimentation is permissible on man; the distinction between forced and hard labor; the question of conscientious objectors; the question of exile and of the possibility of return to one's own country; minimum guarantees for accused persons; for what purpose speech may be limited; and whether states may be allowed to sign the convention even if at the time they do not measure up to all its requirements.

FREEDOM OF RELIGION There was an interesting revision of the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. Thanks to the admirable endeavors and openness of mind of the representative of Egypt, and to the studied and profound concern of Dr. Frederick Nolde, representing nongovernmental religious organizations, the modifications suggested by the representative of Egypt were all unanimously adopted. Although it can be philosophically shown that the right to *change* one's religion or belief (the provision of the Declaration) necessarily implies the right to *maintain* one's religion or belief, it was felt that this implication had better be made explicit in the covenant. Consequently, the formulation now is "freedom to maintain or to change" one's religion or belief. Now, this revision was meant to guard against an inordinate emphasis upon "changing one's religion or belief," but since it labors the obvious, and since freedom to change necessarily implies freedom to maintain, but freedom to maintain does not necessarily imply freedom to change, it in turn lays itself open to the criticism of overemphasizing the static aspect of freedom of religion or belief. To restore the balance once more, a new clause was introduced into this important article reading: "No one shall be subject to coercion which would impair his freedom to maintain or to change his religion or belief."

In this way, absolute freedom of conscience to see the truth and follow it, whether by confirming one's previous position or by changing it, is safeguarded. Although he heartily endorsed these modifications, Dr. Nolde read important reservations into our records. I believe no student or interpreter can afford in the future to fail to take notice of these reservations. Important statements guarding against possible misinterpretations of the concept of coercion were also made in the debate. It is always artificial social pressure (the sanction of the group), and not any innate and incurable perversion in man's understanding, that prevents him from seeking, finding and espousing the truth. But that weakness of the will called cowardice also plays an important role.

FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES Again and again it became apparent that our difficulties stemmed for the most part from radical differences in intent with regard to fundamental concepts. We referred above to the equivocal character of such terms as "democracy," "progress," "peace." One can make a list of the fundamental concepts, arising from the objective confusion of the historical moment, which were at the base of our perplexity and torment. Such a list would include, in addition to the three mentioned above, the concepts of "science," "arbitrary," "Fascist" and "Nazi." But it is primarily because "government" is understood and practiced in entirely different senses throughout the world that our confusion was worse confounded.

The ultimate contrast is between "government" as the expression of the free will of the people, and "government" as possessing an independent wisdom and infallibility of its own which would enable it to dictate its will upon the people. This contrast reveals contradictory interpretations of the nature of man, and since our attempt was precisely to determine this nature, no wonder we did not agree. If real horses could meet and argue, presumably, since each is really a horse, they would strike some agreement. But when "governments" meet (through their representatives), and when, although the same term is used ("governments"), the realities indicated by the term are so radically different, how is real, effective agreement ever possible? The alternative is not despair, but patience and faith —both infinite—and a lively sense of humor.

PREAMBLE The Commission decided that there be no difference in the preambles of the two covenants. Much of the adopted language was taken from the preamble of the Declaration. The phrase "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights" stresses the notion that these rights belong to the nature of man. Again, the recital "recognizing that these rights derive from the inherent dignity of the human person" refutes any notion that an external power, such as a benevolent government or even the United Nations, "granted" man these rights. It is difficult to think of a stronger or more adequate language with which to express the law of nature. But the question remains: do all these rights have the same ultimacy so far as the natural law is concerned?

VI

COMMUNICATIONS Every year the United Nations receives thousands of communications concerning human rights. The procedure of treating these communications is regulated by strict decisions taken by the Economic and Social Council. An attempt was made this year, on the initiative of India, to recommend to the Economic and Social Council to change somewhat these regulations so as to enable the Commission to make reports and recommendations to the Economic and Social Council concerning serious cases of violation of human rights brought to the notice of the Commission by these communications. Some argued that it was a pity nothing whatsoever was done to these communications so far, and that it would conduce to the promotion of human rights if the Commission were allowed to make a significant report to the Economic and Social Council on them. Others, however, stressed the complexity and delicacy of the issue, denying at the same time any competence to the Commission, under the Charter and the Economic and Social Council, to consider complaints or form any judgment on them. The Indian effort was beaten by 9 votes to 6, with 2 abstentions.

The Commission permitted the publication this year of a preliminary analysis by the United Nations Secretariat of the communications received during the thirteen months from April 3, 1951, to May 7, 1952. Of course neither the Secretariat nor the Commission expressed any opinion regarding either the accuracy of the facts alleged by the communications or the constructions placed upon them by their authors. But it is interesting to note that, according to the analysis of the Secretariat, a total of 25,279 communications were received during this period; 36 of which discussed general theoretical principles; 24,194 alleged persecution on political grounds; 305 alleged genocide; 119 alleged violation of the right to freedom of assembly and association; 64 alleged discrimination against and persecution of minorities; 83 dealt with trade union rights; and some 480 alleged contraventions of a variety of rights and freedoms. Certainly the world seems to expect a great deal of the United Nations in the field of human rights.

So long as the Charter exists, which pledges Member states to promote human rights, these concrete communi-

cations cannot be altogether disregarded. Sooner or later the Commission or somebody else will have to do something about them. To suppose that all of them are unfounded is of course nonsense. To suppose also that to bring some of them, after the most careful and responsible sifting, to the attention of the Economic and Social Council is to contravene the domestic jurisdiction clause of Article 2 of the Charter, is to forget that, under the Charter itself, human rights problems are no longer exclusively or even essentially matters for domestic jurisdiction. There is no evading the fact that in the modern world, where everybody knows pretty well what goes on in everybody else's domain, we are all on the spot. The more man awakens, the more he will clamor for his natural rights and fundamental freedoms; and the future does not belong to those who hide their heads in the sand, but to those who, facing the truth in all humility, accept the joyous suffering of transforming the given into the image of the just and true.

VII

SHIFTING EMPHASIS A quiet revolution has occurred in the Commission on Human Rights since its establishment. In the years 1946, 1947 and 1948 attention was fastened for the most part on what we now call civil and political rights. The archetype of what we were trying to ensure was freedom from discrimination and from arbitrary arrest, and freedom of religion and speech. It never occurred to us that anything else was as important as these.

Today the emphasis has shifted. Economic, social and cultural rights have come to their own, and indeed with a vengeance. The paradigm today is "the adequate standard of living." There were three logical steps to this transition. The first is to say, the civil, political and personal is primary, but the economic, social and cultural also has its place. The second is to move insensibly from this position to the view that both types of rights are equally important. And the third obviously is to say, what is the use of the civil, political and personal if the economic and social is not first guaranteed? *Ergo,* the social and economic is primary and more important. It is a fit topic for research to trace this development not only with respect to the Commission as a whole, but also with respect to individual members of the Commission who have participated in this enterprise since its beginning.

We may characterize the revolution as the overwhelming of the end by the means, the personal and intellectual by the social, the wholeness of life by its components, the integral unity (the soul) of the individual by endless factors, conditions, impulses, the perfect and actual by the imperfect and potential, the dignity of freedom by the turbulence of desire. This is the materialistic revolution of the times.

Three not altogether unrelated causes have brought about this revolution. First, the increasing impact of Marx and the amazing persistence of the Soviet representatives in harping upon their views. Second, the rise of the economically and socially less developed, where the accent is far more on the material and social than on the personal and inner. And third, the apparent unimaginative helplessness of the Western world in the face of these two impacts.

What goes on in the Commission is but a reflection of what goes on in the wide world. There is a general disturbance of right order. It will not be by chance, or by halfheartedness, or by surrendering before the material, or by overlooking its just claims, that order is going to be righted, but by the rejuvenation of the original intellectual and spiritual grounds of life. The task is much harder than some people think, but salvation is coming, and when it comes it will not be from the Commission or the United Nations, but from the living institutions of the mind and spirit vigorously reaffirming their faith in truth, justice and order. There are, then, independent grounds of hope that the materialistic revolution will be arrested and reversed, certainly not without much suffering.

DRAFT COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS

PREAMBLE

The States Parties hereto,

Considering, that, in accordance with the principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Recognizing that these rights and freedoms derive from the inherent dignity of the human person,

Recognizing that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal of free men enjoying freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his economic, social and cultural rights, as well as his civil and political rights,

Considering the obligation of States under the Charter of the United Nations to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and freedoms,

Realizing, that the individual, having duties to other individuals and to the community to which he belongs, is under responsibility to strive for the promotion and observance of the rights recognized in this Covenant,

Agree upon the following articles:

ARTICLE ON SELF-DETERMINATION

1. All peoples and all nations shall have the right of self-determination, namely, the right freely to determine their political, economic, social and cultural status.

2. All States, including those having responsibility for the administration of non-self-governing and trust territories and those controlling in whatsoever manner the exercise of that right by another people, shall promote the realization of that right in all their territories, and shall respect the maintenance of that right in other States, in conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

3. The right of the peoples to self-determination shall also include permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence on the grounds of any rights that may be claimed by other States.

ARTICLE 1

1. Each State Party hereto undertakes to take steps, individually and through international cooperation, to the maximum of its available resources, with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in this Covenant by legislative as well as by other means.

2. The States Parties hereto undertake to guarantee that the rights enunciated in this Covenant will be exercised without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

ARTICLE 2

The States Parties to the Covenant undertake to ensure the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all economic, social and cultural rights set forth in this Covenant.

ARTICLE 3

The States Parties to this Covenant recognize that in the enjoyment of those rights provided by the State in conformity with this Covenant, the State may subject such rights only to such limitations as are determined by law only in so far as this may be compatible with the nature of these rights and solely for the purpose of promoting the general welfare in a democratic society.

ARTICLE 4

1. Nothing in this Covenant may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person, any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights or freedoms recognized herein or at their limitation, to a greater extent than is provided for in this Covenant.

2. No restriction upon or derogation from any of the fundamental human rights recognized or existing in any country in virtue of law, conventions, regulations or custom shall be admitted on the pretext that the present Covenant does not recognize such rights or that it recognizes them to a lesser extent.

ARTICLE 5

1. Work being at the basis of all human endeavor, the States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right to work, that is to say, the fundamental right of everyone to the opportunity, if he so desires, to gain his living by work which he freely accepts.

2. The steps to be taken by a State Party to this Covenant to achieve the full realization of this right shall include programs, policies and techniques to achieve steady economic development and full and productive employment under conditions safeguarding fundamental political and economic freedoms to the individual.

ARTICLE 6

The States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone to just and favorable conditions of work, including:

(a) Safe and healthy working conditions;
(b) Remuneration which provides all workers as a minimum with:
  (i) Fair wages and equal remuneration for work of equal value without distinction of any kind, in particular, women being guaranteed conditions of work not inferior to those enjoyed by men, with equal pay for equal work; and
  (ii) A decent living for themselves and their families; and
(c) Rest, leisure and reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

ARTICLE 7

The States Parties to the Covenant undertake to ensure the free exercise of the right of everyone to form and join local, national and international trade unions of his choice for the protection of his economic and social interests.

ARTICLE 8

The States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone to social security.

ARTICLE 9

The States Parties to the Covenant recognize that:

1. Special protection should be accorded to motherhood and particularly to maternity during reasonable periods before and after childbirth; and

2. Special measures of protection, to be applied in all appropriate cases within and with the help of the family, should be taken on behalf of children and young persons, and in particular they should not be required to do work likely to hamper their normal development. To protect children from exploitation, the unlawful use of child labor and the employment of young persons in work harmful to health or dangerous to life should be made legally actionable; and

3. The family, which is the basis of society, is entitled to the widest possible protection. It is based on marriage, which must be entered into with the free consent of the intending spouses.

ARTICLE 10

The States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone to adequate food, clothing and housing.

ARTICLE 11

The States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living and the continuous improvement of living conditions.

ARTICLE 12

The States Parties to the Covenant, realizing that health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health.

The steps to be taken by the States Parties to the Covenant to achieve the full realization of this right shall include those necessary for:

(a) The reduction of infant mortality and the provision for healthy development of the child;
(b) The improvement of nutrition, housing, sanitation, recreation, economic and working conditions and other aspects of environmental hygiene;
(c) The prevention, treatment and control of epidemic, endemic and other diseases;
(d) The creation of conditions which would assure to all medical service and medical attention in the event of sickness.

ARTICLE 13

1. The States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone to education, and recognize that education shall encourage the full development of the human personality, the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the suppression of all incitement to racial and other hatred. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial, ethnic or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society;

2. It is understood:

(a) That primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all;
(b) That secondary education, in its different forms, including technical and professional secondary education, shall be generally available and shall be made progressively free;
(c) That higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit and shall be made progressively free;
(d) That fundamental education for those persons who have not received or completed the whole period of their primary education shall be encouraged as far as possible.

3. In the exercise of any functions which they assume in the field of education, the States Parties to the Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to choose for their children schools other than those established by the public authorities which conform to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State and to ensure the religious education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.

ARTICLE 14

Each State Party to the Covenant which, at the time of becoming a party to this Covenant, has not been able to secure in its metropolitan territory or other territories under its jurisdiction compulsory primary education, free of charge, undertakes, within two years, to work out and adopt a detailed plan of action for the progressive implementation, within a reasonable number of years, to be fixed in the plan, of the

principle of compulsory primary education free of charge for all.

ARTICLE 15

1. The States Parties to the Covenant recognize the right of everyone:

(a) To take part in cultural life;

(b) To enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications.

2. The steps to be taken by the States Parties to this Covenant to achieve the full realization of this right shall include those necessary for the conservation, the development and the diffusion of science and culture.

3. The States Parties to the Covenant undertake to respect the freedom indispensable for scientific research and creative activity.

CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS

PREAMBLE

The States Parties hereto,

Considering, that, in accordance with the principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Recognizing that these rights and freedoms derive from the inherent dignity of the human person,

Recognizing that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal of free men enjoying civil and political freedoms and freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his civil and political rights as well as his economic, social and cultural rights,

Considering the obligation of States under the Charter of the United Nations to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and freedoms,

Realizing that the individual, having duties to other individuals and to the community to which he belongs, is under responsibility to strive for the promotion and observance of the rights recognized in this Covenant,

Agree upon the following articles:

ARTICLE ON SELF-DETERMINATION

1. All peoples and all nations shall have the right of self-determination, namely, the right freely to determine their political, economic, social and cultural status.

2. All States, including those having responsibility for the administration of non-self-governing and trust territories and those controlling in whatsoever manner the exercise of that right by another people, shall promote the realization of that right in all their territories, and shall respect the maintenance of that right in other States, in conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

3. The right of the peoples to self-determination shall also include permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence on the grounds of any rights that may be claimed by other States.

ARTICLE 1

1. Each State Party hereto undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in this Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

2. Where not already provided for by existing legislative or other measures, each State undertakes to take the necessary steps, in accordance with its constitutional processes and with the provisions of this Covenant, to adopt such legislative or other measures as may be necessary to give effect to the rights recognized in this Covenant.

3. Each State Party hereto undertakes:

(a) To insure that any person whose rights or freedoms as herein recognized are violated shall have an effective remedy, notwithstanding that the violation has been committeed by persons acting in an official capacity;

(b) To develop the possibilities of judicial remedy and to ensure that any person claiming such a remedy shall have his right thereto determined by competent authorities, political, administrative or judicial;

(c) To ensure that the competent authorities shall enforce such remedies when granted.

ARTICLE 2

1. In time of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation, and the existence of which is officially proclaimed, the States Parties hereto may take measures derogating from their obligations under this Covenant to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, provided that such measures are not inconsistent with their other obligations under international law and do not involve discrimination solely on the ground of race, color, sex, language, religion or social origin.

2. No derogation from Articles 3, 4, 5, 7, (paragraphs 1 and 2), 11, 12 and 13 may be made under this provision.

3. Any State Party hereto availing itself of the right of derogation shall inform immediately the other States Parties to the Covenant, through the intermediary of the Secretary-General, of the provisions from which it has derogated, the reasons by which it was actuated and the date on which it has terminated such derogation.

ARTICLE 3

1. Nothing in this Covenant may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person the right to engage in any activity or perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms recognized herein or of their limitation to a greater extent than is provided for in this Covenant.

2. There shall be no restriction upon or derogation from any of the fundamental human rights recognized or existing in any contracting state pursuant to law, conventions, regulations or custom on the pretext that the present Covenant does not recognize such rights or that it recognizes them to a lesser extent.

ARTICLE 4

1. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of life. Everyone's right to life shall be protected by law.

2. In countries where capital punishment exists, sentence of death may be imposed only as a penalty for the most serious crimes pursuant to the sentence of a competent court and in accordance with law not contrary to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

3. Any one sentenced to death shall have the right to seek pardon or commutation of the sentence. Amnesty, pardon or commutation of the sentence of death may be granted in all cases.

4. Sentence of death shall not be carried out on a pregnant woman.

ARTICLE 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In particular, no one shall be subjected without his free consent to medical or scientific experimentation involving risk, where such is not required by his state of physical or mental health.

ARTICLE 6

1. No one shall be held in slavery; slavery and the slave trade in all their forms shall be prohibited.

2. No one shall be held in servitude.

3. (a) No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labor.

(b) The preceding sub-paragraph shall not be held to preclude, in countries where imprisonment with hard labor may be imposed as a punishment for a crime, the performance of hard labor in pursuance of a sentence to such punishment by a competent court.

(c) Forced or compulsory labor within the meaning of this paragraph shall not include:

(i) Any work or service not covered in Paragraph (b) and normally required of a person under detention in consequence of a lawful order of a court;

(ii) Any service of a military character and, in countries where conscientious objection is recognized, any national service required by law of conscientious objectors;

(iii) Any service exacted in cases of emergency or calamity threatening the life or well-being of the community;

(iv) Any work or service which forms part of normal civic obligations.

ARTICLE 7

1. Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention. No one shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedure as are established by law.

2. Anyone who is arrested shall be informed, at the time of arrest, of the reasons for his arrest and shall be promptly informed of any charges against him.

3. Anyone arrested or detained on a criminal charge shall be brought promptly before a judge or other officer authorized by law to exercise judicial power and shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release. It shall not be the general rule that persons awaiting trial shall be detained in custody, but release may be subject to guarantees to appear for trial, at any other stage of the judicial proceedings, and, should occasion arise, for execution of the judgment.

4. Anyone who is deprived of his liberty by arrest or detention shall be entitled to take proceedings before a court, in order that such court may decide without delay on the lawfulness of his detention and order his release if the detention is not lawful.

5. Anyone who has been the victim of unlawful arrest or deprivation of liberty shall have an enforceable right to compensation.

ARTICLE 8

No one shall be imprisoned merely on the ground of inability to fulfil a contractual obligation.

ARTICLE 9

1. Subject to any general law of the State concerned which provides for such reasonable restrictions as may be necessary to protect national security, public safety, health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others, consistent with the other rights recognized in this Covenant:

(a) Everyone legally within the teritory of a State shall, within that teritory, have the right to (i) liberty of movement and (ii) freedom to choose his residence;

(b) Everyone shall be free to leave any country including his own.

2. (a) No one shall be subjected to arbitrary exile;

(b) Subject to the preceding sub-paragraph, anyone shall be free to enter his own country.

ARTICLE 10

An alien lawfully in the territory of a State party hereto may be expelled therefrom only in pursuance of a decision reached in accordance with law and shall, except where compelling reasons of national security otherwise require, be allowed to submit the reasons against his expulsion and to have his case reviewed by and be represented for the purpose before the competent authority or a person or persons specially designated by the competent authority.

ARTICLE 11

1. All persons shall be equal before the courts or tribunals. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, or of his rights and obligations in a suit at law, everyone shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing by a competent, independent and impartial tribunal established by law. The press and public may be excluded from all or part of a trial for reasons of morals, public order or national security in a democratic society, or when the interest of the private lives of the parties so requires, or to the extent strictly necessary in the opinion of the Court in special circumstances where publicity would prejudice the interest of justice; but any judgment rendered in a criminal case or in a suit at law shall be pronounced publicly except where the interest of juveniles otherwise requires or the procedings concern matrimonial disputes or the guardianship of children.

2. Everyone charged with a criminal offence shall have the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, everyone shall be entitled to the following minimum guarantees, in full equality:

(a) To be informed promptly in a language which he understands and in detail of the nature and cause of the accusation against him;

(b) To have adequate time and facilities for the preparation of his defence;

(c) To defend himself in person or through legal assistance of his own choosing; to be informed, if he does not have legal assistance, of this right; and to have legal assistance assigned to him, in any case where the interests of justice so require, and without payment by him in such case where he does not have sufficient means to pay for it;

(d) To examine, or have examined the witnesses against him and to obtain the attendance and examination of witnesses on his behalf under the same conditions as witnesses against him;

(e) To have the free assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court;

(f) Not to be compelled to testify against himself, or to confess guilt.

3. In the case of juveniles, the procedure shall be such as will take account of their age and the desirability of promoting their rehabilitation.

4. In any case where by a final decision a person has been convicted of a criminal offence and where subsequently his conviction has been reversed or he has been pardoned on the ground that a new or newly discovered fact shows conclusively that there has been a miscarriage of justice, the person who has suffered punishment as a result of such conviction shall be compensated unless it is proved that the non-disclosure of the unknown fact in time is wholly or partly attributable to him.

ARTICLE 12

1. No one shall be held guilty of any criminal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a criminal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time when the criminal offence was committed. If, subsequent to the commission of the offence, provision is made by law for the imposition of a lighter penalty, the offender shall benefit thereby.

2. Nothing in this article shall prejudice the trial and punishment of any person for any act or omission, which, at the time when it was committed, was criminal according to the general principles of law recognized by the community of nations.

ARTICLE 13

Everyone shall have the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

ARTICLE 14

1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right shall include freedom to maintain or to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching.

2. No one shall be subject to coercion which would impair his freedom to maintain or to change his religion or belief.

3. Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

ARTICLE 15

1. Everyone shall have the right to hold opnions without interference.

2. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, etiher orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.

3. The exercise of the rights provided for in the foregoing paragraph carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall be such only as are provided by law and are necessary, (1) for respect or the rights or reputations of others, (2) for the protection of national security or of public order, or of public health or morals.

ARTICLE 16

The right of peaceful assembly shall be recognized. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those imposed in conformity with the law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order, the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedom of others.

ARTICLE 17

1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

2. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order, the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others. This article shall not prevent the imposition of lawful restrictions on the exercise of this right by members of the armed forces or of the police.

3. Nothing in this article shall authorize States Parties to the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize Convention, 1948, to take legislative measures which would prejudice, or to apply the law in such a manner as to prejudice, the guarantee provided for in that convention.

MR. CHARLES MALIK of Lebanon stops to greet Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt (U.S.A.) before a meeting of the Commission of Human Rights is called to order. In the background are Mr. D. Bracco (Uruguay) and Mr. B. Jevremovich (Yugoslavia).

ARTICLE 18

All persons are equal before the law. The law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

UNESCO'S STUDY TOUR FOR WORKERS

During July and August, over 800 European workers enjoyed travel abroad as members of UNESCO's travelling study groups for workers. Over forty groups, from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia, spent their summer vacations abroad. The workers were selected from trade unions, co-operatives and workers' educational organizations.

In initiating the scheme, UNESCO sought and found ready co-operation from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Co-operative Alliance, the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, and the International Federation of Workers' Educational Association.

UNESCO stipulated that groups should be made up exclusively of rank-and-file workers who would not normally have an opportunity of travel abroad. Programs were left to the individual organizations, on the understanding that each one should be genuinely educational, with adequate opportunities for meeting the people of the host country.

The International Labor Office in Geneva, Switzerland, was the host for ten days to a group of 25 members of the British Workers' Educational Association.

A group of British workers took part in an Anglo-Scandinavian Co-operative Summer School.

Oxford welcomed 36 Scandinavians from the Workers' Educational Associations of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, who joined British colleagues in a two-week summer school and study tour organized by the Workers' Educational Association.

Twenty-five Dutch workers visited Austria for two weeks to study social and economic conditions in that country.

Forty Belgian, British, French and Swiss worker-students (all members of the Workers' Educational Associations) took part in an international summer school at Rambouillet, France.

This plan was financed with $40,000 voted by UNESCO's General Conference in 1951.

TOWARDS A NEW AGE IN ERITREA

A young Kunama man. These people live in the extreme south-west areas of Eritrea.

TWO thousands years ago Eritrea was part of the Ethiopian kingdom, whose capital was then Axum, fifty miles south of the Eritrean border. From this city close contact was maintained with the Arab countries, Egypt, and Greece. Along the old caravan routes to the ancient Greek port of Adulis, just south of Massawa, came gold, frankincense, gum arabic, and even lions and fighting elephants. With the decline of the Byzantine Empire, however, foreign links disappeared, and Eritrea, along with the rest of Ethiopia, became isolated until Vasco da Gama's voyages of the fifteenth century.

The capital of Ethiopia was then no longer at Axum but in the interior, and Eritrea formed part of Ethiopia's most northerly province, the Tigrai. The period that followed was one of constant warring, with internal disturbances caused by local war lords and attacks by Somalis, Egyptians, Turks, Sudanese, and Italians. In 1868 the British Government sent a military expedition under Lord Napier to free the British consul at Massawa, who had been imprisoned by the then ruler of Ethiopia. The British withdrew after releasing the prisoners. The Comaile valley, however, along which Napier marched, is still known as the English road.

The Eritrea of today was created, firstly, by the boundaries established under the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1900 and expanded in 1936, after the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, when Eritrea became part of Italian East Africa, and the districts of Tigre, Danakil-land, and Haussa, which had been part of Ethiopia, were added to it.

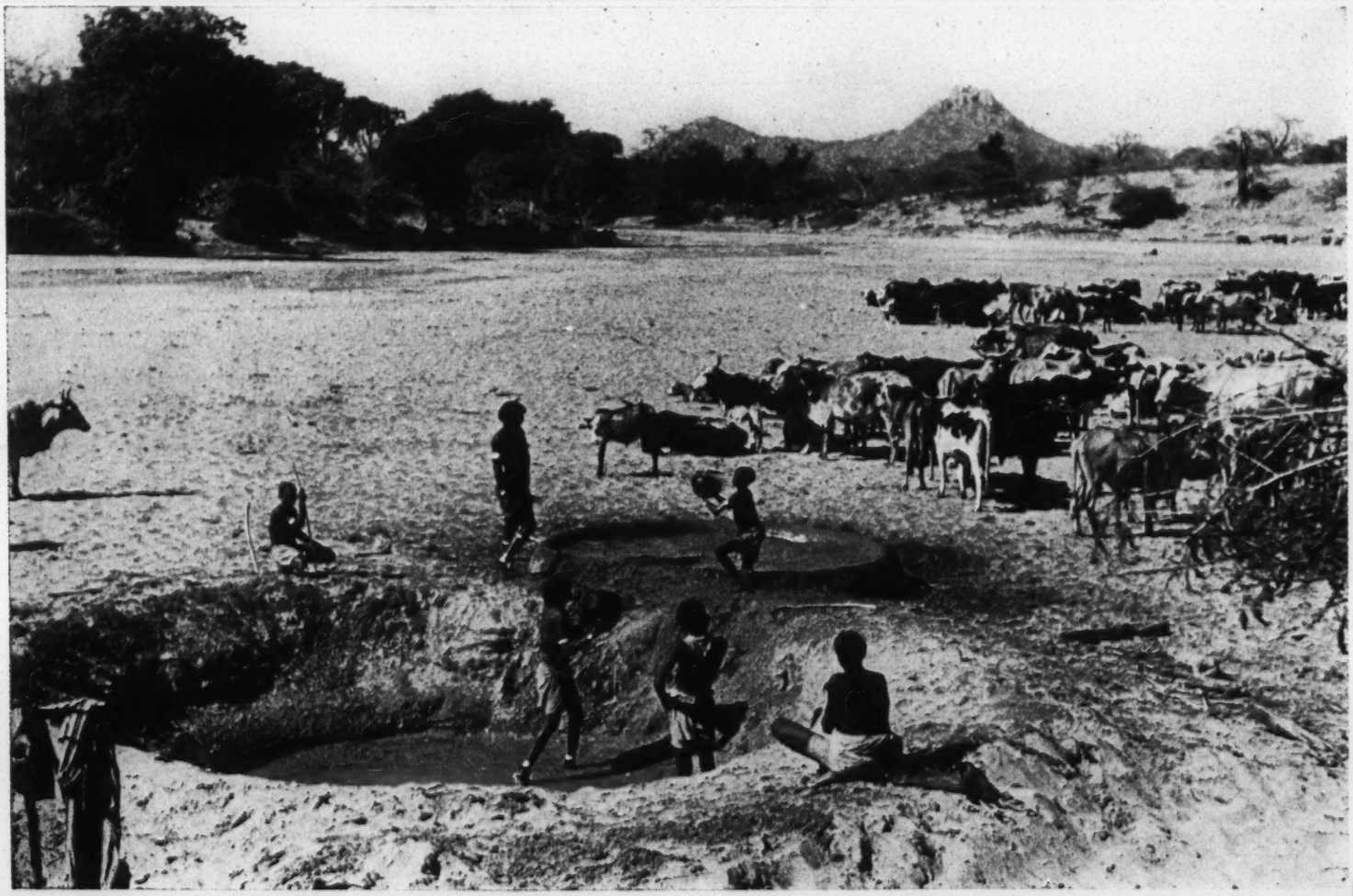
In 1941, Major-General Platt, acting as commander under General Wavell, defeated the Italian forces in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Eritrea was then taken over by the Allies and placed under British military administration, pending its final disposition.

After big power failure to reach agreement, the question of Eritrea's future was referred to the United Nations in 1948 and considered by the General Assembly in 1949. A commission of investigation was then sent to the territory to ascertain more fully the wishes of the Eritreans and the best means of promoting them. After considering the commission's report and many conflicting proposals, the General Assembly, in December 1950, resolved that Eritrea should be federated with Ethiopia as an autonomous unit under the Ethiopian Crown.

The accompanying pictures show something of the life and activities of Eritrea's inhabitants, who through the successful mission of the United Nations Commissioner, Dr. Eduardo Anze Matienzo, will this month achieve autonomy in federation with Ethiopia.

Water carrying — the girls' task. Note the paraffin can — an improvised utensil used throughout the whole of Africa.

LARGE HERDS OF CATTLE roam the country in continuous search of grazing. Often the rivers dry up and water holes then have to be dug. The seasonal droughts vitally affect both the settled farmers and the nomadic graziers.



HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

10 DECEMBER 1953

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Published by United Nations and UNESCO

WHAT IS HUMAN RIGHTS DAY?

ON December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations meeting that year in Paris, adopted and proclaimed the historic Universal Declaration of Human Rights "as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction." To celebrate it, the General Assembly in 1950 asked that in future years 10 December be set aside as Human Rights Day by governments and interested organizations, and that reports on these celebrations be made to the Secretary-General by governments.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CELEBRATION

How Governments, Public Authorities and UNESCO National Commissions could Celebrate the Anniversary.

Proclaim 10 December Human Rights Day.

Sponsor and enlist the aid of local authorities in organizing official ceremonies, concerts, receptions, public meetings, exhibitions.

Issue special postage stamps or use special postage cancellations.

Issue special instructions or suggestions and teaching materials to schools.

Issue new translations or editions of the Declaration.

Issue posters for display in public places.

Sponsor Human Rights exhibits in government buildings, libraries and museums.

Sponsor special observances at national shrines.

Illuminate national monuments on 10 December.

Sponsor special displays of United Nations flags.

Call upon non-governmental organizations to help plan and execute celebrations.

Sponsor study groups or Human Rights institutes.

Adopt Human Rights Day resolutions.

Sponsor broadcasts of international, national or local celebrations.

Sponsor film showings.

How Colleges and Universities could Celebrate the Anniversary.

Sponsor public lectures and symposia by members of the faculty on historical and other aspects of the Declaration.

Sponsor student assemblies or university-wide ceremonies.

Sponsor student debating, essay, fine arts, dramatic or musical contests on the theme of Human Rights.

Arrange Human Rights exhibits in college libraries.

Sponsor Human Rights broadcasts.

Sponsor student model meeting of Commission on Human Rights.

Publish Universal Declaration of Human Rights in college paper or periodical.

"There are many standards by which we can measure social progress. One is the degree to which human rights are respected — by governments, peoples, and individuals. Civilization is not a product of technical advance, unless this advance carries with it and inspires a development of the social conscience of mankind. The adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed an international standard of rights and freedoms. On the anniversary of that proclamation it is fitting to take stock of what has been done to gain acceptance for its principles, not only in laws and treaties, but also in the behavior of peoples to each other. To promote the widest acceptance and practice of these principles is one of the continuing tasks of all men of good will. It is a task to which the United Nations is dedicated as part of its work."

DAG HAMMARSKJOLD, *Secretary-General*

How Schools could Celebrate the Anniversary.

Distribute text widely in the schools.

Arrange a pageant in which all schools in the community take part.

Prepare several weeks in advance for celebration in the school, through class activities such as history, art, music.

Display posters and other exhibit material prepared by pupils.

Hold a school assembly, including music, reading all or part of the Declaration, talk by a teacher, reading of statements by national leaders.

Study text of the Declaration in higher classes.

Each student selects one article and gives his own interpretation which is discussed by class.

In class, relate selected articles to history, literature, civics.

Study the connexion between rights and duties, with examples drawn from pupil's experience.

Show how the work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies helps to establish conditions under which Human Rights can be widely achieved.

Sponsor debating, essay or poster contests.

> ***"For the people of the United States as well as for people everywhere, the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a significant beacon in the steady march towards achieving human rights and fundamental freedoms for all."***
>
> ***President* DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER**

How Non-Governmental Organizations could Celebrate the Day.

Hold special local, state or national meetings.

Reprint the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in organization journals.

Co-operate with governments, UNESCO National Commissions, U.N. Information Centers in national celebrations.

Join with other organizations in planning local activities, such as concerts, Human Rights institutes, conferences or other special observances.

Prepare and release special press and radio material.

Organize public exhibitions, art competitions, essays or debating contests.

Conduct community action projects or surveys.

> ***"To the roll of the historic Declarations of the rights of man, the United Nations now adds the most comprehensive document of all, the first in history to define from a truly universal stand point the basic rights and fundamental freedoms to which all men everywhere are entitled."***
>
> ***General* CARLOS P. ROMULO**

How Press, Radio, Television and Cinema could Celebrate the Anniversary.

Press reproduces the text of the Declaration.

Press reports celebrations.

Press prints editorials on Human Rights, photo features, stories and cartoons.

Radio broadcasts U.N. Headquarters celebrations.

Radio broadcasts special U.N., UNESCO radio documentaries and features.

Radio and television broadcast special anniversary events.

Radio and television originate and broadcast feature programs.

Radio and television use Human Rights Day spot announcements.

Radio and television broadcast reading of the Declaration by eminent actors.

Cinemas show special Human Rights films.

MAKING THE DECLARATION KNOWN

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights existed in English and French originals only on 10 December 1948. It is now circulating in forty-six languages, including the vast majority of those spoken throughout the world:

Arabic	Gurmukhi	Pushtu
Assamese	Hebrew	Russian
Basque	Hindi	Samoan
Bengali	Icelandic	Serbo-Croat
Burmese	Indonesian	Sinhalese
Chinese	Iranian	Slovak
Czech	Irish	Slovene
Danish	Italian	Spanish
Dutch	Japanese	Swedish
English	Korean	Tagalog
Esperanto	Macedonian	Tamil
Finnish	Malayalam	Telegu
French	Maori	Thai
German	Norwegian	Turkish
Greek	Oriya	Welsh
	Portuguese	

MATERIAL AVAILABLE

Available from United Nations sales agents:

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Pamphlet texts in English, French, Chinese, Russian and Spanish. 12 pages. $.15, 1/- stg. Also available in forty-one other languages in vest-pocket editions from United Nations and UNESCO Headquarters.

Poster texts of the Declaration in English, French or Spanish. Three colors, 30" x 40". $.25*, 1/9d. stg.

THE IMPACT OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS (Revised Edition)

Pamphlet tracing the influence of the Declaration on international organizations governments, court decisions, treaties, organizations and individuals. 56 pages. $.25*, 1/9d. stg. English, French and Spanish in preparation.

OUR RIGHTS AS HUMAN BEINGS

A discussion guide for teachers, group leaders, clubs, etc. English, French and Spanish. 32 pages. $.15*, 1/- stg.

Available from United Nations Information Centers:

Most of the above, plus the following:

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

A film strip in English, French, Spanish, Chinese, Russian, German, Portuguese, Turkish, Arabic. This film strip is also available from McGraw-Hill Co., 330 West 42nd Street, New York 18, N.Y. $3.00.

FOUR-PANEL POSTER SET (No. 31)

A set of four 30" x 40" two-color posters illustrating the text of the Declaration. In English, Arabic, Chinese, Danish, French, Dutch, Hebrew, Hindi, Norwegian, Persian, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Swedish, Urdu. These are also available from United Nations Headquarters. $1.00, 7/6d. stg.

*Or its equivalent in other currencies.

"Our Declaration is a most vigorous and necessary protest by humanity against the atrocities and oppressions which have made victims of so many millions of human beings over the centuries and particularly during and between the two World Wars."

***Professor* RENE CASSIN**

Available from UNESCO sales agents:

Special Human Rights Day Issue of UNESCO "COURIER". 16 pages, illustrated (November Issue) $.20, 1/- stg., 50 F. frs.

HUMAN RIGHTS EXHIBIT ALBUM

110 illustrated sheets and captions for mounting and display in schools, clubs, libraries, etc. An explanatory leaflet, giving details of various types of exhibition possibilities. A 35-page brochure, "A Short History of Human Rights". English, French and Spanish. Complete set: $3.00, 16/- stg., 800 F. frs.

PAMPHLETS

	$	Sterling	French francs
The Race Question	.05	3d	10
The Roots of Prejudice	.25	1/6	75
Race and Psychology	.25	1/6	75
Racial Myths	.25	1/6	75
Race and Biology	.25	1/6	75
Race and Culture	.25	1/6	75
Race and History	.25	1/6	75
Significance of Racial Differences	.25	1/6	75
Race and Society	.25	1/6	75
The Race Concept	.50	2/6	125
Teachers' Guide to Universal Declaration of Human Rights	1.00	5/-	250
What Is Race?	1.00	5/-	250
Race and Class in Rural Brazil	1.25	7/6	350
The Catholic Church and the Race Question	.40	2/-	100

(Similar pamphlets from Jewish, Protestant, Moslem and Hindu religions in preparation.)

Available from UNESCO National Commissions

Eleven film strips with the following titles:

Milestone	Freedom of Thought
Abolition of Slavery	The Right to Education
Emancipation of Women	Arts and Life
Fundamental Education	Technical Training
Patzcuaro	West Africa

What is Race?

Available free from UNESCO Headquarters Paris or New York Office

Leaflet and four color posters explaining UNESCO Gift Coupon Plan as means to implement the "Right to Education".

*Or its equivalent in other currencies.

THE FRONT COVER

(The cover design is an adaptation of the stamp to be issued on December 10, 1953 by the United Nations Postal Administration honoring the anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the General Assembly.)

THE IMPACT OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The Universal Declaration is being used increasingly as a source of law.

It has had a marked influence on the new constitutions of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Eritrea, Haiti, Indonesia, Libya, and Syria and on the constitution of Jordan and of the United States Territory of Puerto Rico and the basic law of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Its influence has been reflected in legislation in Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, and in projected legislation in the United Kingdom.

It has been cited in various opinions and judgments of the International Court of Justice as well as in the courts of Austria, Belgium, Netherlands, Philippines, and the United States of America.

It has served as a model in drafting such international agreements as the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights, the human rights provisions of the Somaliland Agreement, the Statute of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union, and it is explicitly mentioned in the preamble to the Japanese Peace Treaty.

Its definition of rights and freedoms is a vital part of the United Nations programme for peace.

It has become a principal theme in the work of UNESCO to raise the educational, scientific, and cultural standards of the world.

It has claimed the interest of people in almost all countries and territories in celebrating the anniversary of its adoption and proclamation.

"It might well become the International Magna Carta of all mankind."

Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt,

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF Human Rights

WHEREAS *recognition of the inherent dignity and of he equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,*

WHEREAS *disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,*

WHEREAS *it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,*

WHEREAS *it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,*

WHEREAS *the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,*

WHEREAS *Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,*

WHEREAS *a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,*

NOW, THEREFORE, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY PROCLAIMS *this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.*

Article 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11. (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shal a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14. (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15. (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16. (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17. (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21. (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26. (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27. (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its 183rd meeting, held in Paris on 10 December 1948

U. S. NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO

(United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization)

A Film List

for

"HUMAN RIGHTS"

Discussion leaders and teachers intending to use films to assist discussion programs on HUMAN RIGHTS have available to them, through local film libraries and commercial distributors, a number of films directly related to the problem. In many instances the local film librarian, or the local film council, may be helpful in suggesting films suitable for group discussion, and supplying information about their terms of rental or purchase.

The following are a few examples of generally available films relating to HUMAN RIGHTS, and catalogues in which other such films are described:

OF HUMAN RIGHTS (1950) 16 mm. b&w sound 20 min.
Produced and directed by Helen van Dongen, in cooperation with the United Nations Film Division.

"...a story based on the Declaration of Human Rights, takes place in the office of a newspaper editor in a small town...an incident involving economic and racial prejudice among children...dramatizes the importance of the Declaration."

NOTE: There are two editions, coded "A" and "B". The "A" edition contains scenes from concentration camps; the "B" edition is considered more suitable for children, and also is cleared for television. Inquiries should specify which edition is desired.

(United Nations Distribution Office, 1600 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.; available through regional distributors for United Nations Films.)

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AMERICANS ALL (1945) 16 mm. b&w sound 18 min.

"...shows what has been done in various parts of the country to combat racial and religious discrimination...explains work of the Southern Regional Council and the Springfield, Massachusetts, schools."

(March of Time, Forum Edition, 369 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.)

THE BILL OF RIGHTS (1939) 16 mm. color sound 20 min.

"...dramatic reenactment of some of the events influencing the colonists' demand for freedom of speech, religion, and person, and culminating in the adoption of the Bill of Rights."

(Teaching Film Custodians, Inc., 25 W. 43rd Street, New York 18, N.Y.)

BOUNDARY LINES (1947) 16 mm. color sound 10 min.

"...animated color film with an unusual modern art technique...shows imaginary lines which divide people...color, wealth, nationalism, fear..."

(International Film Foundation, 1600 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.)

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN (1946) 16 mm. color sound 11 min.
Produced for the United Automobile Workers, CIO.

"Based on the pamphlet 'Races of Mankind'...animated cartoon in color demonstrating similarities of men...demonstrating the environmental origin of the three races of mankind...Caucasian, Negro, Mongolian... recommends that racial discrimination be abolished."

(Brandon Films, Inc., 1700 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.)

THE CUMMINGTON STORY (1945) 16 mm. b&w sound 21 min.

"...a group of European refugees in a small New England town...their gradual absorption into the life of the community, and their acceptance as friends and neighbors."

(United World Films, Inc., Castle Films Division, 1445 Park Avenue, New York 29, N. Y.)

DOES IT MATTER WHAT YOU THINK? (1947) 16 mm. b&w sound 15 min.

"...emphasizes the importance of an individual's beliefs and his expressing them by voting and by group action...importance of the individual in creating public opinion in a democracy."

(British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y., or nearest branch, or British Consulate)

DUE PROCESS OF LAW DENIED (1950) 16 mm. b&w sound 29 min.

"...depicts the kind of unlawful trial sometimes held in the early days of the West...denial of the due process of law. Illustrates the necessity of recognizing the right of the individual as held by the Constitution."

(Teaching Film Custodians, Inc., 25 W. 43rd Street, New York 18, N.Y.)

ENGLISH CRIMINAL JUSTICE (1948) 16 mm. b&w sound 22 min.

"...stresses such principles as the right of trial by jury, presumption of innocence until proved guilty, impartiality of the judge, right of the accused to counsel, and hearings in an open court."

(British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y., or nearest branch, or British Consulate.)

MAKE WAY FOR YOUTH (1947) 16 mm. b&w sound 20 min.
Sponsored by Youth Division, National Social Welfare Assembly.

"...a community, stimulated into action by tragedy, constructs a youth program, and clashes between neighborhoods, races, and religions begin to break down."

(Association Films, Inc., 35 W. 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y.)

PICTURE IN YOUR MIND (1949) 16 mm. color sound 16 min.
Julian Bryan production endorsed by United Nations Film Board.

"...animated color film, dealing with inter-group and international relations...the origins of the earliest roots of prejudice...first prize for animated film at World Film Festival in Brussels, 1949."

(International Film Foundation, Inc., 1600 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.)

A PLACE TO LIVE (1941) 16 mm. b&w sound 18 min.

"...more than a 'housing' film...presentation of the dilemma of a single family...and the human dignity of the members of that family... a reminder of the basic democratic concept of respect for the dignity and welfare of the individual."

(Brandon Films, Inc., 1700 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.)

PREJUDICE (1949) 16 mm. b&w sound 58 min.
Produced by the Protestant Film Commission.

"...story of a production manager who believes he is tolerant...but through lack of security falls back on prejudice..."

(Religious Film Association, Inc., 45 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

NOTE: Names and addresses of distributors or those who can give distribution information are in parentheses; if the local film library cannot secure a desired film, the distributor should be able to advise where a print is available. SOUND FILMS CANNOT BE USED WITH A SILENT PROJECTOR.

SOME FILMSTRIPS AND RECORDINGS

The filmstrips, UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS (73 frames) and GENOCIDE - THE GREATER CRIME (62 frames) are obtainable from Film and Visual Information Division, United Nations, Lake Success, New York. UNESCO has prepared and will presently be distributing a series of six film strips relating to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: MILESTONE, ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN, FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION, ARTS AND LIFE. The first is described as a general study of the historical development and concept of human rights; the other five deal with single articles of the Universal Declaration. Further information about the UNESCO filmstrips will soon be available from the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO.

"The New Frontier", a series of 13 recorded radio programs, dealing with the problems of Human Rights in the United States, has been produced by the Institute for Democratic Education, 2121 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York. Further information may be obtained from the Institute regarding the availability of the programs to radio stations, as well as to schools, clubs and groups.

CATALOGUES AND FILM LISTS

Other sources of information about films relating to HUMAN RIGHTS include the following:

102 MOTION PICTURES ON DEMOCRACY (1950) Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Bulletin 1950, No. 1. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. (20¢) 51 pp.

> 16 mm. sound films selected and recommended by the Office of Education Advisory Committee. Includes films on Heritage, Meaning of Democracy, Democratic Processes, Films for Patriotic Occasions. Annotated and evaluated.

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING (1950) Published by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Committee on International Relations, National Education Association. Copies may be obtained from the Committee on International Relations, National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. (25¢) 63 pp.

> Catalogue comprises an annotated list of 440 16 mm. films, with running time and detailed production data. Films deal with United Nations, its Member States, and related subjects.

SELECTED LIST OF HUMAN RELATIONS FILMS, Film Division of the American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. (15¢) 28 pp.

> "A catalogue of films which have a common goal - the improvement of relationships between people of varied origins as they live together." Annotated and briefly evaluated for age groups.

These three are examples of the many catalogues and film lists which describe films relating to human rights. For a descriptive bibliography of films covering many subjects and from many different sources, see "General Catalogues of Educational Motion Pictures and Filmstrips", prepared by Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Washington 25, D. C.

The Office of Education has also published "A Directory of 897 16 mm. Film Libraries" (1949) 32 pp. which contains a state-by-state listing of local film libraries. It is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. (15¢)

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U. S. NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO
Department of State
Washington 25, D. C.

RADIO UNESCO RADIO

OUR CHILDREN'S HOME

A Dramatization About
The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Duration: 14 min.

VOICE (powerful, clear, simple) "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."

NARRATOR (casual, confidential, but earnest) Old familiar words, aren't they? Noble thoughts of ancient wisdom - like a prophet's words. They roll off the tongue so easily -- Where did we first hear them? Who taught them to us? - Let us listen again--

VOICE "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

NARRATOR Who said it first? - Thomas Jefferson might have written that when he was drafting the American Declaration of Independence -- Or was it a Frenchman on the eve of his revolution?

VOICE "They are endowed with reason and conscience -- "

NARRATOR Oh, that must come from the ancient Hindu Scriptures -- Wait a minute! Wasn't it a Greek philosopher?

VOICE " -- and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."

NARRATOR This we must have heard in church -- or read in the Bible. Yet, the Chinese scholar may argue that it was a Chinese prophet who said it long before. Others will claim that it

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NARRATOR (Cont.) comes from the Koran -- Actually, this is Article One of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, passed and proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948. Fifty-eight nations of the world are the authors. The people of the world are the authors. Say these words in any corner of the earth: everywhere, they will have a familiar ring -- everywhere, from the deep well of time, they will draw ancient echoes of native wisdom, spelling out an age-long dream. -- This great Declaration ....

CYNIC (interrupting, sneeringly) A scrap of paper!

NARRATOR What's that?

CYNIC A scrap of paper, I said. Just another scrap of paper.

NARRATOR Oh, it's you. The Cynic.

CYNIC Call me what you want. I am a man just like you. We're all free and equal, you say. -- Well, are we?

NARRATOR Of course we are. What's your point?

CYNIC You can declare human rights from now till doomsday -- man will not be any better off for all that. Look at the world today.

NARRATOR Look at the world yesterday. Don't you think we've marched quite a bit forward?

CYNIC Get this, mister: man never marches forward. Just turns around in circles -- trudging in the mud. Goodbye. I'm busy.

NARRATOR Busy at what?

CYNIC Turning around in circles. (Laughing cynically)

NARRATOR (topping his laugh with a good humored chuckle) -- Well, that's that. Let's look at another busy man. -- Pardon me, Professor - would you mind a minute's interruption?

ARCHAEOLOGIST I don't mind minutes, I mind centuries. My job is looking into the cave-man's kitchen, so to speak -- the stone age,

ARCHAEOLOGIST (Cont.) you know - and all that sort of thing -- You see, I am an archaeologist.

NARRATOR Perhaps you have the answer. Tell me: do you believe that man never marches forward - that he is, as it were, just turning around in circles - trudging in the mud?

ARCHAEOLOGIST Now, these are pretty big words. As a scientist, I wouldn't like to jump to conclusions. I'd rather see the evidence first — Trudging in the mud, you say? Let me show you something. Take a look at this plaster cast. What do you make of it?

NARRATOR It's a footprint. A human footprint, isn't it?

ARCHAEOLOGIST Right. In mud.

NARRATOR Oh — Trudging around, huh?

ARCHAEOLOGIST Yes. A man. A cave-man. Some forty thousand years ago.

NARRATOR Forty thousand years ago! He sure had a long march ahead of him after he left this footprint.

ARCHAEOLOGIST Quite. Even then, he was born free and equal. But his freedom and equality were those of the beast. He was exposed to wild beasts with no means to fight them and together with the beasts he had to endure the hardships of nature. He had no net to fish with, no trap, no bow and arrow to hunt for his food - he hadn't yet invented the needle to sew his clothes - nor the flint to make fire -- He couldn't cook his food or heat his shelter or light his cave to keep out the night with its threats --

NARRATOR And all along the way, as he made each step, he had to put up with his fellow-man, the Cynic - who kept repeating:

CYNIC Get this, mister: man can't march forward. Just turns around in circles.

NARRATOR That's just what he did - turn around in circles - until he circled the world. He has left more than footprints wherever he went. He's left a heritage. — Listen to his offspring.

FARMER I am a farmer. My forefathers sowed the first field and made the plough to labour it. They reaped the first crop and settled down. They left me my land and my home for me to make it a happier one.

JUDGE I am a judge. When our ancestors settled the land and made up rules whereby to establish the boundaries of their fields, they founded law and justice for me to protect and improve them.

TEACHER I am a teacher. When man had built his home, he made up the alphabet to record History and Law. Thereafter, before his death, he could write down what he knew. He left me his wisdom for me to teach his children so they might teach their own.

NARRATOR That's the way it went. The teacher taught the farmer's son and the judge was the guardian of justice. As man learned more - he feared less. Instead of dreading nature, he observed it - and he founded science. He had two new tools now: justice and truth.

VOICE "All human beings are endowed with reason and conscience."

NARRATOR It seems obvious - but it didn't just happen by itself. Reason and conscience are dear commodities. Before they became our self-evident rights, millions had to suffer and die. Out of these millions we remember only a few --

VOICE There was the one who said: "It is most honorable and most easy, not to put a check upon others, but for a man to take heed to himself, how he may be most perfect."

NARRATOR — He was a teacher in ancient Greece and he preferred to die rather than to renounce the freedom of his wisdom. His name was Socrates.

VOICE — Another said: "Love thy neighbor as thyself --"

NARRATOR — He came from a humble village of Judea, called Nazareth - and he marked this planet with the cross on which he died.

JOHN HUSS — "Love one another and see to it that truth should always prevail."

NARRATOR — He was a Czech preacher by the name of John Huss, and was burned to death, for no one could convince him that it was wrong to worship God in his own way.

LINCOLN — "It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces."

NARRATOR — He was an American woodsman - Abraham Lincoln - who died of a madman's bullet for having freed the slaves.

GANDHI — "The very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of citizenship of the world."

NARRATOR — He was an Indian sage killed by another madman's bullet for his belief that human rights imply human duties. His name was Mahatma Gandhi. We remember these great names. Yet, there were other martyrs - more humble - who had made the supreme sacrifice for far less glory -- the nameless millions --

MONTAGE OF VOICES, MALE AND FEMALE, IN A STEADY FLOW

Male: — -- I was sixteen - a baker's apprentice - when I died storming the Bastille.

Male: — -- Two thousand years ago - in China - I taught a prince how to rule with justice. His father, the Emperor, condemned me to death.

Female: — I studied history in St. Petersburg. I spoke at a secret meeting for freedom of the press. The Czar sent me to Siberia. I was twenty-one and it was forty below zero.

Male: — I'm German. Coal miner. They shot me when we went on strike for the eight-hour day.

Female: — I am no heroine. I was handing out leaflets in the streets of London. For women's rights. A nasty evening and old shoes. Pneumonia.

Male: — I was serving a life sentence in Sydney, Australia. Then I volunteered in prison to try out a malaria serum. Didn't work.

Male: — Geologist. Mexican. Fell off a cliff while on survey.

Female: — Red Cross worker. Swiss. Killed while tending casualties.

Male: — Sailor. Norwegian. Froze to death on polar expedition.

Male: — Doctor. Brazilian. Caught cholera while fighting epidemic.

(SLOWLY FADE OUT UNDER:)

VOICE - BOOMING OUT, CLEAR AND RESOLUTE, OVER THE FADING ROLL CALL.

"Article Two: Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

NARRATOR Did you hear that? Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms — everyone. That means you - and you - and you - whoever and wherever you may be, fellow-citizens of the world. These rights are your passport - your identity badge. But you must wear this badge. -- Remember Gandhi?

GANDHI "The very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of citizenship of the world."

NARRATOR — That's it. We cannot have anything for nothing. Not even man's heritage.

Look -- The farmer inherited the plough. What happens if he doesn't use it? The plough gets rusty and the farmer goes hungry.

Rights and liberties get rusty too if we don't use them - and the free become slaves.

And the Declaration? You heard only Articles One and Two. There are others. Thirty in all - All written in blood.

CYNIC — Aah! A scrap of paper! Another scrap of paper!

NARRATOR — Watch your step, citizens of the world! Don't let the Cynic have the last word.

(with energetic emphasis)

Unless we use our rights, this Universal Declaration will be as much of a scrap of paper as the writ of Habeas Corpus would have been - if it weren't for generations of stubborn Englishmen who stood by their freedoms.

The French declared the Rights of Man two centuries ago. So did the Americans. — We would not even remember it if the men and women of these nations had failed to live their liberties. We wouldn't remember Confucius if all the peoples of Asia hadn't sprinkled bits of his wisdom over the humble deeds of their daily life.

What's left of ancient Egypt? The pyramids? They are merely tombs of their dead. But in these tombs the Books of the Dead were found. And the Books say: Only those deserve eternal life who can honestly say:

SECOND VOICE (Quoting from the Book) — "I never oppressed the poor —

I never forced my fellow-man to toil beyond his strength --

SECOND VOICE (Cont.)

I wronged no one --

I killed no one --

I betrayed no one --

I never tipped the scales --

I never kept milk from the mouths of children --"

NARRATOR

A pretty hard test - even today. But apparently, enough souls could pass it - since Egypt is immortal in our minds - since we understand a dream four thousand years old. And apparently, four thousand years haven't been wasted - since fifty-nine nations today can agree on a new common dream. Fifty-nine nations had agreed to build a home where our children shall live in freedom of speech and belief - in freedom from fear and want.

On December 10, 1948, the architects of world peace accepted the blueprint of universal freedom.

We can start building. You - and you - and you - all of us. Come on -- it will be our children's home.

THE END

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